

**HISTORY
OF
INDO-PERSIAN LITERATURE**

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NABI HADI

**IRAN CULTURE HOUSE
NEW DELHI**

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Dedicated
to
My Teacher
Professor Hadi Hassan

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INTRODUCTION

This book relates the story of Persian literature in the Indian sub-continent during nine centuries, that is, from Abu Raihān al-Birūnī (d. 440/1048) to Shaikh Muhammad Iqbāl (d. 1357/1938).

Earlier, the Muslims in their first wave as carriers of a new civilization, introduced Arabic language. Muhammad b. Qasim left only faint traces of his achievement (93/711). Following his footprints, the *Khawarij* who fled for safety from the civil and religious wars in their homeland, built widely scattered fortifications over the area of Sind and portions of Punjab upto the hills of Kashmir. In course of time the *Khawarij* disappeared from the scene; and their vacant strongholds were occupied by another class of adventurous exiles, the Ismā'ilis, who had been displaced under similar circumstances. The cultural contribution of the *Khawarij* and the Ismā'ilis was almost nil. But, the activities of these people subscribed to retain the link of Muslim existence till the emergence of a new scenario.

In the second phase, the mobility of the Muslims was guided by the Persianized Turks, whose centre of authority was Ghaznah, a city in southern Afghanistan. Incidentally, they had chosen Persian as the vehicle of their culture and administration. Mahmūd-i-Ghaznawī's advent was a turning point; it brought many changes in quick succession. The sub-continental history experienced the close of ancient era and the beginning of the medieval. From Ghaznah Mahmūd launched seventeen invasions over the

Gangetic valley. More consequential in impact was the decision taken by his descendants to shift the Capital. It was an old custom of the Turks to shift during the year between winter and summer quarters. For administrative convenience they made Lahore their second capital and the city soon grew up as an intellectual centre. Mahmūd desired to see his Ghaznah excelling Baghdad and Cordova in glory. Wherever he heard of a talented man or woman, the royal decree was issued to invite him or her to his capital city. Two contemporaries defied the royal order. They were Ibn Sina and Ferdowsi. The one did not come to Ghaznah at all, and the other left the city after heaping permanent insult upon its master. Mahmūd's frustration was, however, alleviated by the presence of al-Biruni in his court.

Let us remember that Mahmūd had been the first ruler of Islamic history whose temporal power was augmented by the title, *Sultān* = ruler. The distinction inherent in the title deserves a brief explanation. As the Abbasid Caliph lost his grasp over the universal Islamic empire and independent potentates emerged in different regions, a legal fiction had to be invented. The Caliph issued *Manshūr* = charter of legitimacy with robe of honour, in favour of the de facto ruler. In return, the ruler sent costly gifts to the supreme head of Muslim community and gave assurances of his allegiance. The custom secured the ruler's position against revolt and aggression. As regards the Indian sub-continent, all Muslim monarchs down to the last member of the house of Lodi Afghans ostensibly called themselves *Sultans* and took pride in the title. Bābur, the descendant of Timur brought about the change. During his time, the caliphate of the Islamic world was controlled by the Ottoman Turks. Their supremacy was not acceptable to Bābur. For, Timūr had fought and defeated Bayazid Yıldırım. Babur, therefore, discreetly gave up the title of *Sultān* and adopted the modest appellation of *Badshah*. All the Timurids adhered to it.

Persian literature found scope for gaining wider influence in the sub-continent when Muhammad b. Sām Ghorī, a prince of old Iranian stock, planted his power in Delhi (588/1192). Among the members of his family, whose seat of authority was Ghor, a town in northern Afghanistan, the

prince made himself famous for his ability to survive defeats and debacles. Delhi becoming the Capital of the empire was an epoch-making event. Persian language was going to dominate over the sub-continent in the following centuries till it would be replaced by English in 1253/1837.

The literature produced in this area tended to develop its distinct traits from the beginning. The reasons were obvious. Those who contributed to it belonged to various races: Iranian, Turk, Afghan, Tajik, Arab, and Indian. All of them, running the empire, pooled their energy to the formation of its idioms, vocabulary, and accent. The other important factor was the taste of the ruling classes, who offered patronage to the literary men. They had been responsible to create a new social order. Environment as a natural phenomenon determined all responses of the human mind. The Iranians themselves gradually withdrew their insistence on the standard and original phraseology of Isfahan and Shiraz once they reached Agra and Delhi.

Naturally, the Iranians had major advantage on account of their language in the Indian sub-continent. With the dawn of Mughal age, they established undisputed supremacy in all important departments, particularly, the literary domain. The most honoured poet, 'Urfi, came from Shiraz. For, being an eloquent spokesman of universal tolerance and gifted with philosophical bent of mind, he represented the spirit of the age. Three out of the four poet-laureates of the Great Mughals belonged to Iranian extraction. The entire race loved poetry. Thanks to their genius, poetry attained the prestige of queen among fine arts. The kings and princes of the house of Timur were poets themselves and gave friendly treatment to men of that class. Indian Muslims relied chiefly on Persian literary classics for seeking guidance to improve their Urdu. Yet, in course of time, they developed quite independent intellectual traditions.

In the estimate of the sub-continental people, there were five poets whom they treated as their oracles. They were Amir Khusraw, Faizi, Bedil, Ghalib, and Iqbal. Surprisingly, none of them was Iranian. Three out of them were Turks by blood namely Amir Khusraw, Bedil and Ghalib; Faizi's great grandfather was an Arab emigrant from Yemen; Iqbal descended from the Brahmins of Kashmir. The Iranians on their part, made no serious effort to

discover them. But some of them found ardent admirers in Afghanistan and Tajikistan; they remained obscure in Iran. These poets reminded, however, that Persian at a stage played the role of an international language. It could display remarkable inventiveness as regards diction, idioms, subject-matter and themes to suit the purpose of great masters, who lived outside Iran. They used it most successfully to transmit their ideas. In the land where people spoke Persian as mother tongue, they deserved more attention and respect. Poetry's primary function is to explore beauty and truth. In this respect, they rank with leading luminaries of the literary world. The art of versification in Persian attained new heights due to them.

There are several Persian works of pioneer importance which have been written in the Indian sub-continent: the first book dealing with Sufism, *Kashful Mahjub*, was written by Ali Hujwiri; the first surviving biography of the poets, *Lubabul Albab* was penned by 'Aufi. Besides, important and outstanding works in Persian were also produced in India from time to time: *Ādabul Harb wa Shuja'a* on warfare by Fakhr-i-Mudabbir; *Ādabus Saltanat* on State crafts by Xavier; *Tārīkh-i-Cheen*, the history of China translated from Italian into Persian by Farangi Khan *alias* Paulo Zaman; *Qarib ul Fahm*, a work on civil and revenue matters by Budh Singh; to name a few.

Decidedly, the Iranians outnumbered the literary men in the sub-continent. They faced indifferent rulers at home and having crossed over to the sub-continent, they were called the outsiders. Their works hardly offered attraction or appeal at home. This was not an unknown instance. Englishmen of the British Isles also had reservations about writers of their language living in distant lands. The Iranians went in this matter to the extreme. They altogether forgot their 'outsiders.' On the contrary, the sub-continental people remembered them as architects of their culture and their works added to the richness of Indo-Persian legacy.

There are fourteen broad divisions in the *History of Indo-Persian Literature* which include about three thousand writers and poets. Let me admit, I am not a careful person. Many cards were misplaced by me during the progress of this project and in order to avoid further loss, I arranged them in

alphabetical order. Thus, came into being the *Dictionary of Indo-Persian Literature*. The task became easier for me to transfer the writers, from alphabetical to chronological order and distribute them into the fourteen chapters of the *History of Indo-Persian Literature*. Briefly, my sources for this *History* are as follows: 1. Prefaces of the authors of manuscripts, quite a large number of them uncatalogued. 2. Anthologies of sufis and poets. 3. Works of history and 4. Published catalogues of the libraries. A glance at the title index may provide some idea about the sources of the present study.

I wish to remember here my teacher, Professor Hadi Hasan. Initially, he graduated in science from Cambridge and served as professor of Persian at Aligarh Muslim University. The contemporary teaching community in Indian universities respected him as a man of versatile qualities. Once, he was invited to deliver a lecture at Madras. The topic was Arab Mathematics. Sir C.V. Raman, the Nobel- laureate, presided over the function. Professor Hadi Hasan possessed intimate knowledge of *al-Jabr wa'l Moqabala*. His occasional conversations touching upon Indo-Islamic history made me a curious student of the subject and broadened my understanding. I gratefully dedicate this book to him.

Nabi Hadi

20-6-2001.

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My young friends in Jamia Millia Islamia, New Delhi: Dr. 'Iraq Reza Zandi, Prof. Aziz ud-Din Husain and Prof. Qamar Ghaffar, whose careers I watched with interest since their student days, offered me ungrudging help. Dr. S. 'Ain ul-Hasan of Jawaharlal University, Dr. Mu'tasim Abbasi of Aligarh Muslim University and Dr. Syed Akhtar Husain presently Lecturer in Calcutta University, extended active sympathy towards my pursuits. I am thankful to all of them.

Mr. Muhammad Wasim Khan Sherwani, undertook the task of proof reading. Mr. Rehan Abbasi, Manager of Ifrah Computer Centre, Jamia Nagar, New Delhi, supervised the typing under his patient care. He invested all his professional experience to make my manuscript free from errors. I am grateful to these gentlemen.

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ABBREVIATIONS

- AMU. Aligarh Muslim University Collections
 Abd ul-Haiy (Haiy), Abd us-Salam (Abd), Aftab, Ahsan, Habib
 Ganj (Habib), Jawahir, Munir 'Alam (Munir), Qutb ud-Din
 (Qutb), Sheftah, Subhan allah (Subh), Sulaiman, University
 (Univ.).
- Asf. Asafiyah Hyderabad.
- Asiatic. Asiatic Society, Calcutta.
- BHp. Bhopal, Mss. Library.
- Kh.B. Khuda Bakhsh Library, Patna.
- Madras Univ. Library.
- Mar. Marshall, D.H., *Mughal Bibliography*.
- Monz. Ahmad Monzawi, *Comprehensive List of Persian Manuscripts
 in Pakistan*.
- NM. National Museum of Pakistan.
- Salar. Salar Jung Museum, Hyderabad.
- Shafi. Professor M. Shafi Collection, Lahore (Pub. Dr. Muhammad
 Bashir Husain).
- St. C.A. Storey, *Persian Literature: Bio-Bibliographical Survey*.

FOREWORD

History of Indo-Persian Literature is a monumental work of Professor Nabi Hadi. The book covers entire gamut of Indo-Persian literature that has been produced in the Indian sub-continent from A.D. eleventh to twentieth century. It consists of an erudite introduction and fourteen full length chapters for the readers to behold the origin and development of Persian literature in the length and breadth of India. The author is, undoubtedly, an authority on Indo Persian literature, a connoisseur of Urdu literature and a devoted scholar of medieval Indian history and culture. He has accomplished the uphill task single handedly and plodded the tedious path of Shibli, Browne and Rypka. Admittedly, the *Sherid Ajam, Literary History of Persia* and *History of Iranian Literature* are pioneer works in the realm of writing literary history of Persian. None the less, Nabi Hadi's oeuvre is likely to have a little edge on them, as the book at hand is exclusively a literary history of Persian produced in the Indian sub-continent. This scribe can vouch for the profound scholarship of Nabi Hadi and his dexterity to preserve the strewn gems of Indo-Persian literature in this treasure-trove. The couplet: *Nami gardid kutah rishta-i-m'ani reha kardam; Hikayat hūd bi payan ba khamoshi ada kardan* (it was a difficult task to epitomize the saga so I set it free; the story was unending, thus I silently concluded it.) is a befitting tribute to the endeavour of Nabi Hadi for writing the *History of Indo-Persian Literature*.

Through the ages, the Indian sub-continent has been a melting pot of cultures and civilizations. In such a vast time and space Persian emerged as court language and language of spiritualism as well. From the days of Delhi Sultans to the British period, it continued to play a significant role to mould shape and develop the cultural life of the peoples of India. A distinct school of Persian evolved in the sub-continent that came to be known as *Sabk-i-Hindi* whose popularity reached as far as Iran and the Ottoman empire, during the time of the great Mughals. Verily *Sabk-i-Hindi* is a high watermark in the annals of Persian literature. Having enjoyed the patronage of the Great Sultans and Padshahs, it produced literary gems of whom India is ever proud. From Amir Khusrau to Dr. Muhammad Iqbal there is 'god's plenty' in the *History of Indo-Persian Literature*. Nabi Hadi has dealt with three thousand poets and writers of Indo-Persian literature in this literary history and placed them under appropriate periods, chapters and headings. The author has painstakingly shown the causes of development of the Persian literature during the rule of various dynasties from the Ghaznavids to the British and also the patronizing role of the regional dynasties from Kashmir in the north to Deccan in the south and Gujarat in the west to Bengal in the east of India. One would be amazed to note in the book that there were twelve centers of Persian literature in India namely: 1. Lucknow, 2. Rohilkhand, 3. Patna, 4. Murshidabad, 5. Punjab, 6. Kashmir, 7. Sindh, 8. Tonk, 9. Bhopal, 10. Hyderabad, 11. Karnataka and 12. Mysore and against all odds they continued to patronize Persian till it fell into disuse in the years after 1837.

There are detailed accounts of the great Indo-Persian writers and poets in the book. Al-Beruni, Ali b. Usman Hujwiri, Masud Salman, Fakhr-i-Mudabbir, Aufi, Isami, Barani, Afif, Amir Khusrau, Bedil, Ghalib and Iqbal have invoked great deal of attention of the author and he has also allotted sufficient slots to the Sufis of Islam namely Khwaja Moinuddin Chishti, Qutbuddin Bakhtiyar Kaki, Shaikh Hamiduddin Nagori, Bahauddin Zakaria, Fariduddin Masud Ganj-i-Shakar, Shaikh Nizamuddin Aulia, Nasiruddin Mahmud Chiragh-i-Dehli and a host of others in his book. Besides the biographical details, the author has explained the nuances of Sufism, too, which indeed make the reading of the book all the more absorbing. Mag-

nificent kings like Mahmud and Akbar and praiseworthy nobles like Rahim Khan Khanaḥ have been graphically depicted as patrons of fine arts and literature. Thousands of minor poets and writers with the assessments of their works have been mentioned by Nabī Hādī. Thanks to the *History of Indo-Persian Literature* which has saved them from receding into oblivion.

Professor Nabī Hādī has tinged the book with his crisp expression and incisive observations. It is amusing to read some of the passages in the book which can be oft quoted in the researches of Indo-Persian literature. He observes: "Every famous poet encountered atleast one formidable rival during his life time. Bedil had none." His comment on the inadequate portrayal of Muhammad b. Tughlaq is also noteworthy. "Posterity has been handed over a cartoon and not a portrait of Muhammad b. Tughlaq". He effortlessly unravels the secret of the economic prosperity of human civilizations in these words: "... to build road system that it brought prosperity to mankind entitled him (Sher Shah) a place among great administrators of India. al Masalik, as the Arabs called them enabled past civilizations to expand and flourish. Tacitus identified neglect and dilapidation of roads as one of the causes of the decline of the Roman empire." Such expressions in the book and insights of the author will enable the young scholars of Indo-Persian studies to pursue their researches on original lines and inspire them to open new vistas of knowledge.

At the end I extend my sincere thanks to Dr. Syed Akhtar Husain of Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, for the copy editing and Ms. Aisha Fozia for typing the edited copy of the *History of Indo Persian Literature*.

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CHAPTER 1

The Ghaznawids

Prelude to Indo-Persian Literature

(421/1030-588/1192)

In order to trace the beginning of Persian literature in the Indian sub-continent, we must look back to Hijra fifth/eleventh century A.D. The new ground, which proved so much fertile for the growth of Persian literature during the coming nine hundred years, was discovered by the dynasty of princes with their seat of power in the mountains of southern Afghanistan, precisely, Ghaznah. The pathfinders first came as visitors. In course of time, many of them settled in the North-Western India. The cities which the Persian speaking gentry chose to live at the initial stage, were Multan, Uchchah and Lahawar (Lahore). Also, Bada'un in the Gangetic valley and Nagaur in Rajasthan were the two early colonies of the Muslims.

Conquest and domination are ephemeral phenomena of history. The men of the Ghaznawid period are remembered for bringing about sea change in socio-cultural domain of India. They turned the page of history from the ancient times to medieval. Their collective genius brought into existence a brilliant culture which is known as the Indo-Islamic culture. They initiated the slow and difficult process of the confluence of the two civilizations rooted in Hinduism and Islam.

Among the Ghaznawid princes, only Sultan Mahmūd possessed extraordinary talents as a ruler and conqueror and the rest were weaklings. They managed to survive under the shadow of the Great Seljuqs, whom they accepted as their Suzerains. And, their precarious ascendancy lasted for an unduly long period of about one and a half century, till the last member of the dynasty, Khusraw Malik, was overthrown by Sultan Mu'izz ud-Din Muhammad b. Sam Ghori (582/1186) a few years before his expedition to Delhi. These Sultans enjoyed considerable leisure to cultivate friendship with a large number of scholars. Hakim Sanai, the first Sufi poet of Iran, lived in their capital. He laid the foundation of philosophical poetry and gave it religious direction. Both al-Biruni and Shaikh Ali b. Usman Hujwiri witnessed their times. Shaikh ur Ra'is ibn Sina (Avicenna) turned down the invitation of Mahmūd to visit the royal court. The successors of Sultan Mahmūd (d. 421/1030,) not withstanding their political insignificance, left their mark as great promoters of civilization.

All the Ghaznawid princes gave powerful impulse to intellectual activities, particularly, in the literary field. In fact, it was their legacy which continued in the Indian sub-continent for more than two centuries. With gradual strengthening of their control over Punjab and the adjacent areas, the number of emigrants from Iran and Central Asia increased correspondingly. Although majority of them exhausted their energies in the administration of the State; none the less, there were a select few, who spared their entire attention for the exclusive business of reading and writing. The title of pioneers was their dignified and just reward. For, Indo-Persian literature, as it later on came to be known, owed its birth and growth to their endeavours. Of necessity the emigrants spoke Persian and its use as vehicle of expression came in vogue because of them.

Ghaznawid Sultans: (1) Alaptigin d. 367/977. (2) Subuktigin d. 387/997 (3) Mahmud d. 421/1030 (4) Muhammad b. Mahmud (ruled five months) (5) Mas'ud d. 433/1041 (6) Mas'ud d. 441/1049 (7) Mas'ud b. Mas'ud d. 442/1050 (8) Ali b. Mas'ud d. 443/1051 (9) Abd ur-Rashid d. 445/1053 (10) Farrukhzad d. 450/1058 (11) Ibrahim d. 472/1079 (12) Ala ud-Din d. 509/1115 (13) Arsalan Shah d. 510/1116 (14) Bahram Shah d. 547/1152 (15) Khusraw Shah d. 555/1160 (16) Khusraw Malik d. 583/1187.

Interestingly, a distinct class of scholars, made additional contribution to enhance the importance of the period. 1. Ferdowsi consolidated the ancient historical lore of his country in sixty thousand couplets of his *Shah Namah*. Strangely, the people of Iran allowed the actual history to pass out from their memory. They forgot the record of the Achaemenians (B.C. 550-330). The great dynasty, posing challenge to the Greeks, did not exist in their historical scheme. In its place, their fertile imagination conceived legendary heroes who were never born, and unreal events which never took place. They treated the corpus of legends as their national legacy. Ferdowsi applied his genius for thirty years and preserved them from extinction. 2. Abu Nasr'Ulbi made a detailed study of the change of political scene from Bukhara to Ghaznah and the passing of power from the Samanids to the Ghaznawids. The work was accomplished in Arabic. 3. Abu Sa'eed Abd ul-Hayy Gardezi brought out his *Zain ul-Akhhbar* in a curious fashion. It contained miscellaneous information revealing the panorama of human life in the region. He left an interesting vision of the past enjoyed by the people of his age. 4. Shams ud-Din Mawali confined his attention to the antiquity of the province of Sistan. In his *Tarikh-i-Sistan* he traced the history of the region from legendary times to the year of its completion, 445/1053. 5. Abu'l Fazl Baihaqi was the author of one of the best historical works written in Iran. He depicted an eyewitness account of Sultan Mahmud and his son Mas'ud. Unfortunately, the early half portion of Baihaqi's *Mujalladat* has perished.

Prior to the Ghaznawids who descended to exercise their sway over Sindh and Punjab, the territory had attracted the attention of the Muslims in the early days of their history. The *Khwarij*, members of the *Khariji* sect, were compelled to look towards a safe haven as hostile pressure increased against them in their homeland. They built fortresses and retained possession all over the land. Their appearance on the stage preserved the memory of Muhammad b. Qasim from fading away. Sultan Mahmud was astonished to notice their fortresses like regular dots on a graph paper. He was a typical Turk. The Turks had recently embraced Islam and were unfamiliar with tolerance on matters of creed. Mahmud wanted to liquidate the *Khwarij*, but could not find time due to other preoccupations. In course of time, the sect mingled with the orthodox as

the *Kharijī* movement lost momentum. Their place was taken by another wave of rebellious refugees who left their homes under similar circumstances. They were the *Ismā'ilīs*. During the later days of the Ghaznawids, the influence of the *Ismā'ilīs* was quite visible over the vast valley of the Indus and the five rivers. Historical evidence about the *Khawārij* and their successors, the *Ismā'ilīs*, seems to be scanty but the fact may not be denied that their hold was continuous and stable. The area offered favourable conditions of security to them.

Faced by administrative necessity, the later Ghaznawids made Lahore almost their second capital. The Indian dominion yielded major portion of revenue to their treasury. Moreover, from Lahore it was easier to launch successful raids down to Qannauj. Often, the Sultans moved from Ghaznah to Lahore where they passed one season of the year. The court life had daily routine of cultural activities and the Sultans, namely Mau'dūd, Farrukhzād, and Bahram Shāh possessed good taste of poetry. They generously patronized men of letters. But, the age failed to produce a single compiler of anthologies, who could preserve the account of literary men as the *tazkirah* writers used to do in their typical racy manner.

As regards creative activity, let us not forget that the learned classes were chiefly concerned with religious sciences which they wrote exclusively in Arabic. For, Arabic decidedly remained the medium of serious writing among the Muslims. Consequently, that practice narrowed down the scope of Persian. Persian began to serve mainly as the language of prose books on social subjects like history and secondly, its natural usefulness had already been tried in the Sāmanid times for exhibiting aesthetic experiences, that is to say, poetry, which gradually acquired dominant position in the Indo-Persian literature. Luckily, in the sub-continent it was adopted as the language of administration and government.

The Early Visitors

There were visitors who formed a link between the large Islamic world and the Indian sub-continent. They visited India in a hasty manner, but their

memory has survived for all times to come. Among the thousands of soldiers and experts of different professions, chiefly related to the needs of the army, who accompanied Sultan Mahmud periodically as he invaded seventeen times, the learned classes also made their existence felt. For instance, the poet-laureate, Unsuri, invariably joined his master at the head of his four hundred versifiers regularly employed in the court. Marching with the Sultan was their normal duty. History has preserved the names of only a limited number of them. Particularly, in the case of poets, their evidence of having visited India has been provided by references occurring in their own poems. The Ghaznavid poet, had been trained on the literary traditions cultivated earlier in the Samanid court at Bukhara. In the same manner, the learned men of those days had inherited the profound and multi-dimensional scholarship of Baghdad.

Al-Birūnī, Abu Raihān Muhammad ibn Ahmad, was the most illustrious visitor, who turned towards the Indian subcontinent during the days of Sultan Mahmud. Born in 362/973, in the province of Khwarizm, now part of Uzbekistan, his place of birth, Birun, was situated in the suburb of Gorganj on the bank of river Oxus. It was the capital of Khwarizm. Sharāzari, the author of *Tārīkh al-Hukama*, spread the error that Birun was a place in Sind, and that al-Biruni came out from there. Authentic research has discarded this statement as unacceptable.

He exhibited his genius from very early age and made first astronomical observation on large scale when he was only eighteen years old. A little later, still living at Gorganj, he co-operated with another scientist, Abu Wafa, stationed at Baghdad, to determine the longitudinal position of the two cities. Before finally leaving his home town, he had become the author of about ten books. Meanwhile, he made two attempts to measure the circumference of the earth. The efforts succeeded later on.

As the period of formal education at Gorganj was over, al-Biruni went to seek employment at Rey, modern Tehran. Soon, from Rey he moved to Gurgan in Tabaristan, where Qabus Ibn Washmigh gave him kind treatment. After some time he returned to his home-town, Gorganj. He continued his studies in various disciplines. His interest was mainly

focussed on mathematics and astronomical science. When Sultan Mahmūd annexed Khwarizm, 407/1016, and invited the scholars of the court of Ma'mun Khwarizmshāh, to his royal court al-Biruni accepted the invitation. He, then had reached the age of about forty five years.

One of the young scholars living in Khwarizm, who declined Sultan Mahmūd's invitation to reside at Ghaznah, was Shaikh ur-Ra'is Abū 'Alī ibn Sina (Avicenna). Ibn Sina's original home was the city of Bukhara. He and al-Biruni exchanged friendly letters and discussed matters of academic importance. The letters have been published.

al-Biruni's company proved quite useful to Mahmūd during his Indian raids. The Sultan utilized al-Biruni's knowledge of geography about the routes of his campaigns. The jewels which the Sultan acquired as booty were passed on to al-Biruni for evaluation. Later on, he wrote a book on precious stones. Similarly, he was consulted over questions which worried Mahmūd. When asked to forecast, he readily applied his astrological knowledge and tried to satisfy the Sultan. Sometime, his correct answers invited the Sultan's displeasure instead of reward (see Nizami Aruzi: *Chahar Maqalah, Maqalah 3*).

Having arrived in Ghaznah, al-Biruni saved time from accompanying in periodical expeditions and stayed longer in India. He developed contacts with the Brahmins and learnt Sanskrit. Once command over the language was acquired, it became easy for him to have deeper understanding of the sciences of the Hindus. Supposedly, his periodical wanderings as a seeker of knowledge continued for about fourteen years. None the less, relations with the court remained unbroken. Often, Mahmūd summoned him for meetings and he submitted detailed information regarding necessary matters which the Sultan needed. His wise suggestions made the Sultan's policy a continuous record of success.

After Mahmūd's death (422/1030), al-Biruni survived for two more decades. The first half of that duration was marked by revolutionary developments. For, the Seljuqs emerged on the scene and wrested power from the hands of Mas'ūd, son of Mahmūd. The battle of Dandangan sealed Mas'ūd's fate (431/1039), and, in utter desperateness, his nobles

and slaves murdered him in 432/1040, al-Biruni witnessed all those tragic events. The following decade of his life passed in Ghaznah, Sultan Ma'udad paid regularly for his simple needs, and taking advantage of peaceful retirement, he remained fervently engaged in writing books till the end came, ca. 440/1048.

Evidence has been left by al-Biruni himself of the number of books he had written by the year 427/1035. Their reckoning reached one hundred and thirteen, precisely. Although, let us suppose, the addition to the catalogue continued in the following years (his death occurred at the age of seventy-eight years). Most of the works covered scientific subjects. For, the author's particular fields of interest were mathematics and astronomy, next to them came medicine, ethnography and geography. In fact, the original *Fihrist* was compiled to oblige a friend, who had desired complete information about the books left by Muhammad ibn Zakariya Rāzi (d. 313/925). Accordingly al-Biruni prepared an exhaustive bibliography of ibn Zakariya's works. In the end, he thought fit to append to the same list his own works also. By the way, Rāzi (Razes) was the author of one hundred and eighty-four books ranging from mathematics to natural science and medicine. The renowned *Fihrist* has survived intact.

Of the one hundred and thirteen books (one hundred ninety as mentioned by Yaqūt Hamawī and one hundred eighty by ibn Nadīm Baghdādī, which al-Biruni wrote mostly in Arabic, a considerable portion has perished. A few of the most important, which survived the ravages of time, may be mentioned as follows:

al-Asār ul-Bâqiyah. * This work was dedicated to Qabus ibn Washmgir, prince of Tabaristan. It was a chronicle of the nations but not in its ordinary and familiar sense. Deviating from the account of ruling dynasties and their political record, the author confined his attention to the intellectual contribution made by the ancient nations. With great sympathy, he examined the quest of man in different realms,

* Edward Sachau (tr.) *Chronology of Ancient Nations*.

particularly, religion to reach the ultimate truth. To his joy, he discovered a peculiar uniformity in human character. All nations adhered to certain set of beliefs; for their preservation they would willingly invite martyrdom. In every society there were days of festivity and solemnity, and people, both sophisticated and the common folk, observed them with great ardour. So, human beings were controlled by uniform laws inspite of their apparent diversity.

A devout Muslim, al-Biruni essentially possessed the temperament of a scientist. The civilizations of ancient Greeks, the Jews, the Christians, and the Persians have received equally objective treatment on the vast canvas of *Chronology*. Nor did he allow his partiality or prejudice to interfere in the study of heretical movements which influenced Iran immediately before and after the emergence of Islam. The initiators of those movements at different stages of time were Mani (Manes), Mazdak, Bih-Afrid, Al-Muqannah of Nakhshab, Sinbad, the Magian, and others. How much those heresies tinged the Islamic thinking, must be examined by the experts of religion; he was merely an honest reporter.

That the knowledge of mathematics and astronomy must be applied to the use of history was quite natural in al-Biruni's scheme. He fully described the subject of calendars used among the various people of civilized world, that is, Romans, Indians, Persians, and the Muslims. His plea was that their calendars were mutually deducible without much lengthy calculation. He laid down the method of their interconvertibility by adding or subtracting a given number of days. In fact, the early Muslim historians faced baffling problem in examining the antiquity of foreign nations. For, some ancient nations conceived fantastic notions of time. They confused their history with fictitious legends. Many of them forgot real events and in their place created purely imaginary past. Distinction between historical personages and legendary heroes ceased to exist. Nor could the time span be exactly ascertained about important happenings known to living memory. The conclusion was obvious: that in case the people, despite adequate command over astronomy, failed to apply that subject to their history they committed serious lapses regarding the past. And, scientific method would be of no avail if fiction became part of faith.

With a view to overcome these difficulties a thorough understanding of astronomical science was indispensable for historical scholarship.

An intellectual himself, mainly the ideas and systems conceived by learned men of antiquity excited al-Biruni's curiosity. He did not bother much about the multiplicity of customs prevailing among the masses, which baffled the Greek historian, Herodotus. His focus was on men endowed with knowledge. Possibly, it was Mas'udi (d. 346/957), the historian among his predecessors, whose arrangement adopted in the *Muruj az-Zahab* – *Golden Meadows* – influenced al-Biruni's plan.

Kitâb ul-Hind – *India**, Its exact title as announced by the author was, *Tahqiq Ma Li 'l-Hind*. Having roamed in North India down to Varanasi (Benaras), al-Biruni collected information about the land and the people, particularly, the achievements of the learned classes. By consistent attention he developed high degree of proficiency in Sanskrit. The books were read to him, he heard them and prepared his own notes. The Brahmuns did not allow him to touch them. Knowledge was sacred, and as prescribed by the social code of Manu, they equated him to the caste of *malichha* = impure and untouchable. None the less, they appreciated the scholar's zeal and were inclined to be co-operative and courteous. Thus, al-Biruni enabled himself to put together the most original information ever since the Greek and the Chinese travellers, Megasthenes, Fa Hian and Hsueh Tsang, had ceased to inform the world about India. Being well-to-do, he could manage to buy Sanskrit books despite restrictions imposed by the Brahmuns. All necessary sources were consulted and materials extracted from them as his project made progress. The result was a monumental work.

The *Kitâb Ul-Hind*, as introduced by the author himself, is nothing but a simple historical record of facts. "I shall place before the reader the theories of the Hindus exactly as they are, and I shall mention in connection with them similar theories of the Greeks in order to show the relation between them".

* Sachau (tr.) *al-Biruni's India*.

Briefly, the *Kitab Ul-Hind* containing eighty chapters may be divided into two parts; the description of Hindu society and the description of Hindu sciences. He made lengthy sittings with the learned Brahmins and obtained their views about religious and scientific matters. None the less, he had complete awareness of the Hindu social division into four orders or castes. The lowest order was treated as dirty and untouchable. In a way, he himself experienced the drawbacks of the awkward custom. Before taking up the above-mentioned work he had already translated two Sanskrit books into Arabic; 1. *Samkhya*, discussing the origins of the creatures, and 2. *Patanjali*, which explained the emancipation of soul from bodily fetters; it implied the cycle of birth and death. Initially, the difficulty arose in the study of *Vedas*. The Brahmins read and he heard, they did not allow him to touch the sacred text. The same problem continued as he pursued through the *Mahabharat* and the *Puranas*. It seems that he had a collection of *Dharm Shashtra* literature, the *Smritis*, in his possession. Without making detailed comments, he mentioned the twenty works known to him. As he was instructed, the pillars on which the edifice of literature stood were: 1. *Vyakaran* = grammar 2. *Chhand* metrical system and 3. *Jyotish* = astrology and astronomy. Furthermore, his book gave references to important medical treatises. Nor could the celebrated 'Mirror of the Kings' = *Panchatantra* escape his attention.

His primary interest in science impelled him to deal with miscellaneous subjects in the *Indica*: they were cosmology, physical geography, the system of eras, and the astronomical concepts. Interestingly, for his personal calculations, he usually employed *Abjad* method - numbers derived from the value of alphabetical letters. The knowledge of the Indian figures of numeration had reached Baghdad quite early, and his predecessors: Abu Ma'shar Balkhi and Ibn Musa Khwarizmi knew it. However, credit was once again earned by al-Biruni for re-introducing Indian numerals. Later, the figures passed on to the Latin West as "Arab numerals."

In his quest, al-Biruni was often overtaken by disappointment as he surveyed the state of knowledge among the Hindus. For, he viewed,

"they lacked the classical perfection of the Greeks." Furthermore, "they obscured their scientific ideas beneath the layers of superstition. I can only compare their mathematical and astronomical literature, as far as I know it, to a mixture of pearls and dung, or of costly crystals and common pebbles."

As regards polytheism and idolatry, al-Biruni explained that it was the popular religion to which illiterate mind could easily succumb. Both the Greeks and the Hindus adhered to the practice of idolatry. The Greek society produced enlightened and bold thinkers, Socrates for example, who endeavoured to deliver the people from mythological fascinations. Not a single Brahmin scholar ever thought of risking his life on matters of theology. However, indications were available in their early writings, that their intellectuals had been capable of attaining the truth of monotheism.

al-Biruni had the philosopher's mind to concede that the deep Hindu hatred against his co-religionists was not unreasonable. For, the Muslims conquered their country and plundered their temples where devotees customarily poured silver and gold as offerings. What perplexed him most was their hauteur and conceit. "We can only say, folly is an illness for which there is no medicine, and the Hindus believe that there is no country but theirs, no nation like theirs, no kings like theirs, no religion like theirs, no science like theirs. They are haughty, foolishly vain, self-conceited, and stolid. They are by nature meekly in communicating that which they know, and they take the greatest possible care to withhold it from men of another caste among their own people, still much more, of course, from any foreigner." These remarks were uncharitable no doubt, posterity deemed them incontrovertible. Brahmin arrogance received fitting tribute from al-Biruni, the *malichha*.

Qānūn al-Mas'ūdī, was dedicated to Sultan Mas'ūd, son of Mahmūd. The author combined in the work a variety of topics concerning mathematics and astronomy, for example, eclipses of the sun and the moon, method of measuring the depth of rivers and seas, and establishing the coordinates, that is, longitude and latitude of

places. It was the indispensable necessity of the Muslims in order to determine the direction of the Ka'bah and ascertain the time of five times prayers wherever they settled. al-Birani determined the coordinates of a large number of places situated east of Ghaznah down to Multan and Lahore.

Tahdid Nihâyah al-amâkin The book dealt with crucial problems of cosmology, that is, the creation and the non-eternity of the world. Further, it contained indications supporting the heliocentric theory, it added to the importance of the work. The author devoted its major portion to the problem of coordinates. First, he explained how to find out the longitude and the latitude of a particular place. Next, he emphasized that mathematics was the essential science to promote all scientific subjects, chiefly, geography. The measurement of the circumference and diameter of the earth was also given in *Tahdid*. The experiment was carried out near the fort of Nandana, North Punjab. In it, the author advanced the view that the area of Sind was once an ocean. Another important view propounded by the author was that environment governed the habits of man.

Kitab al-Jamâhir fî Ma'rifat al-Jawâhir, was a book on minerology and gave extremely interesting information about minerals, metals, and precious stones. Of three parts, the introduction concerned itself with moral discourse: *Muruwat* = virtue, and *Futuwat* = perfection, which man must cultivate in his character. Then, part one: *Jawahir* = precious stones, supplied most original information; part two: *Falazzat* = metals. In this book, al-Birani rejected the transmutation theory, which gave alchemy so much importance in human quest. He agreed with his contemporary, Ibn Sina, who already arrived at the conclusion that a baser metal could not be transformed into a noble metal, chiefly, gold.

Ghurraṭ uz-Zijât (ed. Samad Husain Rizawi), was translation of a Sanskrit work on astronomy, *Karan Tilak*. Its author, Vijay Nandi, was a learned man of Varansi. al-Birani purchased the manuscript at Multan, and most probably, completed its translation while staying in the same city. Later on, all the original copies were lost, al-Birani's Arabic version

has survived. The *Karan Tilak* was a handbook of practical guidance and could be utilized for calculating horoscopes. In the existing *Ghurrah-uz-Ziyat*, as arranged by its editor, there are fourteen chapters summarily discussing all the topics required for the acquaintance of a student of astronomy as well as practising astrologer.

Kitab ut-Tafhim li Awa'il Sana 'at'al-Tanjim The book appeared in bilingual version, both in Arabic and Persian. A noble lady, Raihanah, belonging to al-Biruni's home, Khwarizm, had requested him for such book. It dealt with astrology, the science based on the hypothesis that there was a close relationship between movement of the stars in the sky and the day-to-day happenings in the life of worldly beings. So, man's future could be predicted by studying the changes which occurred in the position of the stars. The author of the *Tafhim* extended the scope of the subject by asserting that knowledge of many subjects, for example, geodesy, geometry, nature of the universe, laws of natural phenomena: snow, rains, thunder, rainbow and the forces of elements, was essential to make a perfect astrologer. In final conclusion, according to al-Biruni, the possibility of correct prognostication was just fifty per cent; no more. He warned that there was clear boundary between a scientific astrologer and a sorcerer. Indeed, many professional astrologers crossed the limit and deceived their clients. Moreover, his contemporary, Ibn Sina, outright rejected astrology as deserving no credence. Both the Persian version of *Tafhim* (ed. Jalal Huma'i) and the Arabic version (ed. Ramsay Wright with English tr.) have been published.

Ahmad b. Hasan Maimandi, Khwajah, was the prime minister of Sultan Mahmud and possessed exceptional talents as an administrator. When the Sultan, overtaken by a fit of rage, threw al-Biruni into prison, the Khwajah was instrumental in securing the poet scholar's release. Similarly, his presence of mind created situation to revise the Sultan's opinion about the poet, Ferdowsi. Further, the despatching of promised reward to Ferdowsi was due to the Khwajah's efforts. During the last days of his reign, Mahmud grew angry with his prime minister and imprisoned him in the fortress of Kalanjar. As Mas'ud succeeded his

father, his counsellors insisted to restore the original position of the Khwajah. For, according to them, he was the only man who could save the empire from the impending calamity. The historian, Baihaqi, reported that the Khwajah travelled from the prison to Ghaznah in a palanquin; for, he was old, sick and weak. Notwithstanding the business of the state, the Khwajah was famous for his remarkable literary understanding.

Abu Nasr Mishkân, Khwajah, controlled the *Diwan-i-Risalat* imperial secretariat, as its head and exercised great mastery over the art of drafting. As chief secretary, all the important documents and secret papers of Mahmūd's government were known to him, in fact, he himself drafted them and placed before the prime minister, who, in turn, submitted them for the Sultān's approval. Khwajah Abu Nasr Mishkân promoted the career of young Abul Fazl Baihaqi, the historian. Baihaqi learned the writing of official bulletins under the Khwajah's guidance and remembered him with gratitude as a kind teacher. Khwajah Abu Nasr Mishkân visited Hindustan a number of times.

Bahramī, Abu'l Hasan 'Alī, was a court poet of Sultān Mahmūd. He came from Sarakhs, Khurasan, and established his position as a literary scholar. His books on prosody, *Ghāyat al-Uruzian* and *Kanz ul-Qafiyah*, acquired great fame and were very much popular as mentioned by Nizāmī Aruzī, the author of *Chahar Maqalah*. Later on, they ceased to exist.

'Unsuri, Abul Qāsim, was the poet-laureate of Sultān Mahmūd. He was head of four hundred poets regularly employed in the court. Like all imperial servants, 'Unsuri accompanied the Sultān on his military expeditions and was eyewitness to a number of important events. Sultān Mahmūd trusted his abilities and enlisted him among the nobles of first rank. On state occasions he was offered golden chair to be seated. There are *qasīdahs* in 'Unsuri's *Diwān* indicating that the poet personally visited Hindustan during the seventeen raids of his master. The army operations were closely watched by him, and he shared the dangers and difficulties of camp life. His *qasīdahs* gave an insight into the situation Mahmūd and his soldiers had to face in Hindustan. The later scholars had acknowledged literary merits of the poet.

Farrukhi, came from Sistan and joined service as court poet of Sultān Mahmūd. Details of his early life and career have been described by the author of *Chahār Maqalah*. He marched with the army and witnessed the famous invasion of Somnath. The poet narrated the event in a lengthy *qasidah*. He gave a lucid account of the dense forests, the dreadful snakes, the gigantic labour exerted in clearing passage for the army, the unfavourable climate that added to the difficulties of the march, the building of tanks for water storage, and the successful occupation of every fortress that came along the way. Farrukhi had a keen observation to notice the manners of the opponents, who defended the invasion. They washed the idols with rosewater, milk and saffron before starting prayers. He praised the Sultan's generous treatment towards the vanquished and admired the discipline of the army.

Asjadi, was another literary man who participated in the invasion of Somnath. In a *qasidah* he narrated the details of the expedition. As noticed by him, the people of warrior clan, that is, the Rajputs under the command of their Rajas made determined attempt to check the progress of Mahmud at every stage. Asjadi estimated correctly that the superb generalship of Mahmud and the courage of his soldiers were responsible for smashing the powerful resistance of the Hindus at Somnath.

Zinati, was court poet and enjoyed the high status of counsellor of Sultan Mahmud. He made repeated visits to India in company of his master. In a *qasidah* he mentioned the hardships the Sultan and his army usually faced, for, both the people and the climate were utterly hostile. Once, when the Sultan returned to Ghaznah, he looked weary and exhausted. Zinati entreated for a change of mood and regaled the Sultan with wine and song. The *qasidah* was an excellent literary piece. "My Lord: call the singers and the cup-bearer: let us amuse ourselves; and let us wash our throat from the dust of the journey." Earlier writers of anthologies have preserved the *qasidah*.

PERMANENT SETTLERS

The next category among the pioneers of Indo-Persian culture comprised of those, who entered the Indian sub-continent and settled permanently at various places. Lahore proved its obvious advantage as Indian capital of the Ghaznawid kingdom. Between Lahore and Ghaznah, there was rapid movement of people belonging to all classes. At later stage, the whole court moved with its paraphernalia of dignitaries, soldiers, and those whom the king deemed inseparable from his company. With the expansion of political authority, the increase in the number of settlers was quite natural. Many of them stayed for running the civil institutions. Others found life under this part of Ghaznawid administration more peaceful as compared to the chronic conditions of war and turmoil in the whole area north of Ghaznah. Finally, Muslim society never lacked in active men, whose love of adventure always inspired them to wander across distant lands. Mixed with them and the caravans of merchants were the unique unworldly mendicants of extremely pious character. They were the real preachers of Islam in the subcontinent. These miscellaneous elements constituted the socio-cultural fabric of the Ghaznawid territory.

'Ali ibn 'Usmān Hujwiri, Dātā Ganj Bakhsh, arrived to settle in Lahore soon after the Ghaznawid rulers established their civil administration over the northern area of the sub-continent. His parents were from Hujwir, a suburban quarter of Ghaznah. Another locality adjacent to it was Jullāb. These were the places where the childhood of 'Ali ibn 'Usmān was passed. Thus, Hujwir and Jullāb became parts of his name. Later, Shaikh 'Usmān, his father, who commanded social prestige as a learned man, shifted residence to the main city. Young 'Ali found opportunity to acquire the best education in Ghaznah. It soon arose as the centre of scholarship and was only next to Baghdad and Cordova, thanks to the efforts made by Sultān Mahmud.

Shaikh 'Ali b. 'Usmān earned distinction as author of the first book written in Persian language on the subject of sufism. The frequent reference to autobiographical elements throughout the book was

natural. Curiously enough, one important fact is plainly missing, no mention has been made of the ruler or rulers whose reign the Shaikh witnessed during the days he passed in Ghaznah and Lahore. Indeed, it must be his intention to impress that in the quiet existence of an ideal sufi, men of worldly importance did not count at all. Neither of the dates of his birth and death could be properly ascertained. Researchers failed to reach consensus. According to prevailing opinion, he died ca. 465/1072. If we traverse back about seven more decades to a definite point, say, 395/1004, we obtain conclusive proof that his span of life coincided with the later days of Sultan Mahmud (d. 421/1030) down to the period of Sultan Ibrahim (d. 472/1079), Mahmud's seventh descendant. And that, he was the contemporary of Ibn Sina (d. 429/1037), al-Biruni (d. 443/1051), Abu Sa'id Abi'l-Khair (d. 441/1041), Imam Abu'l-Qasim Qushairi (d. 466/1073), and many other great men like himself, for, the age abounded in great men.

As Hujwiri reached adolescence, formal education came to be over, but in a sense it was not completed. His inquisitive soul desired to attain spiritual enlightenment. Soon, he decided to adopt the way of a sufi in the future. For, a young man inclined towards that discipline, the real charm of life began after he took a start to free wandering completely discarding all worldly belongings save a garment of coarse wool to cover the body. Physical comforts, even daily bread, accounted no more to be of any importance. Obviously, the world offered boundless attraction for improving mental and spiritual faculties. Roaming freely across the cities of Islamic world was familiar practice of a number of intelligent youths before they settled permanently at a definite place. By long journeys they developed power to control hunger and fatigue. More important were the occasions of meeting learned and pious men at different places. Hujwiri after much inner deliberation at last clad himself in the traditional *Khirqah*. The early saint, Hasan-i-Basri (d. 110/728), was his authority to assert the sacredness of the robe of coarse wool. Said Hasan-i-Basri: "I met seventy companions of the Prophet, who fought in the battle of Badr. All of them wore Khirqah" (*Kashf-ul-Mahjub*)

From Ghaznah, his hometown, the young pilgrim proceeded to Khatlân,

a town in Central Asia, and reached the *Khamrah* of Shaikh Abu'l-Fazl Muhammad b. Hasan *Khatib*. The latter took Hujwiri under his care and guided through the stages – *Maqamat*, of spiritual progress. Those were the days when Baghdad was intact and the Abbasid Caliph commanded universal respect as religious head of all orthodox Muslims. The golden period of the caliphate faded away after Ma'mun, none the less, as a political institution it continued to retain its significance for a long time.

A select band of pious men in Islam realised from the beginning how this world of ordinary human beings was capable of moral degeneration and depravity. They kept their attention fixed on the real spirit of religion instead of mere formalism. These people trained recruits who faithfully promoted sufi doctrines in the days to come. Love of God was the starting point of their preaching and practice. Their virtues of piety, unworldliness, sympathy towards all and readiness to inspire dejected souls with consolation, made them immensely popular. Initially, there were men amongst the companions of the Prophet, ever since he migrated from Mecca to Madinah, *Hijrah* 622, who adopted voluntary poverty and devoted themselves exclusively to prayers. They were called *Ashab-i-Saffah* = people of the platform. Thereafter, the generations following them produced sincere adherents emphasizing the same tradition and reminding their co-religionists of the evils inherent in extravagance and luxury. The two cities, Kufah and Basrah, were founded about the year, 17/638. Hasan-i-Basri, who originally belonged to Madinah, came to settle in Basrah after the battle of Siffin (37/657). In the same battle, Uways-i-Qarani lost his life fighting in support of 'Ali against Mu'awiyah. Hasan-i-Basri's two disciples were Habib-i-'Ajami and Malik b. Dinār. Rabi'ah was the female saint of Basrah. Similarly, in Kufah, Abu Hashim was the pioneer whom people first of all addressed as 'Sufi.' His disciple later on gaining prominence was Sufiyan-i-Sawri. Another man of simple and pious habits living there was Dawud-i-Ta'i. Sufiyan-i-Sawri's disciple was Fuzail b. 'Iyaz; his birth place was Samargand. Ibrahim b. Adham and Shaiq came out from the city of Balkh. All of them, mentioned above, belonged to the first and second centuries of Islam. For, Shaiq Balkhi, the last named, died in 194/810. Furthermore, it may be

pointed out that they were reckoned among the *Tabi'in* class, that is, followers of the *Sahābah* = companions. With the shifting of power from the Umayyids to the Abbasids and the foundation of Baghdad (145/762), the centre of intellectual and spiritual activities moved to that city.

During the succeeding century, sufism assumed the form of a full-fledged spiritual institution. There emerged great preachers in the concerned field, whose names made the entire period specially memorable in the history of Islam. Ma'ruf-I-Karkhi died when the second century of Hijrah closed, 200/815. Karkh was a quarter in Baghdad.

Mention must be made of a few most outstanding sufis having lived in the third Islamic century. They were: 1. Yahya b. Ma'az Rāzi d. 206/821. 2. Bishr Hāfi, d. 227/841. 3. Ahmad Khizrawayh, d. 240/854. 4. Haris Muhasibi d. 243/857. 5. Zun Nun Misri d. 245/855. 6. Sirri Saqati d. 253/867. 7. Bayazid (Abu Yazid) Bistami d. 261/892. 8. Abu Hafs Haddād (Nishapur) d. 265/879. 9. Ahmad Kharrāz d. 279/892. 10. Hakim Tirmizi d. 285/898. 11. Sahl b. Abd ullah Tastari (Ahwaz) d. 287/900. 12. Junaid Baghdadi (Baiza, Fars) d. 298/910. 13. Shah b. Shuja 'Kirmāni d. 304/916. 14. Husain b. Mansūr Hallāj d. 309/922. And 15. Abu Bakr Shibli d. 334/946.

As regards the common characteristics, found among the sufis of the period: 1. Most of them were Iranian by blood. Born in various cities and towns of Iran, as Junaid's birth place was Baiza in Fars, they flocked towards Baghdad and preferred to live in the city of the Caliph. 2. They were profound scholars and turned to sufi discipline, that is, poverty, renunciation, purity, prayers, after having fully accomplished themselves in various subjects of Islamic sciences. Invariably, all of them were authors and some of their works have survived for the benefit of posterity. Hujwiri, for example, left his evidence on record concerning Hallaj: "I have read fifty books of Husain b. Mansūr." (*Kashf*). 3. Their sincere conviction convinced others, that by adopting their peculiar ways they satisfied the ardent desire of the spirit, which formal worship failed to do. 4. Despite violent controversy raised by the learned leaders of orthodoxy against the sufis, they remained sincerely attached to the welfare of Muslim society; their attitude never betrayed alienation from

the community. In return, the common man upheld their dignity and acknowledged them worthy of correct guidance. 5. Their practice of compassion embraced both the men and the animals. They preached that all human beings were the family of God. If, during the early centuries of political expansion, the conquering armies of the Muslims restrained themselves from behaving in the manner, as for instance, the sea-faring adventurers of Portugal, Spain, and Britain behaved with the black people of Africa and the aboriginal races of South and North Americas, the credit must go to the influential teachings of Islam's humble mendicants.

None the less, these early sufis soon began to reveal the intrinsically contemplative nature possessed by the Persian mind. Muhammad, peace be on him (A. D. 570-633), brought the simple message: "No God but Allah; Muhammad is the messenger of Allah." But, they gave that plain concept of *tawhid* = unity of God, strikingly subtle interpretation. First: *That the one Supreme Being permeated in every particle of existence.* Second; *that the individual Self was capable of merging into Divine essence.* Obviously, these theories found entry from extraneous sources. Pantheism, as believed by the later Greeks (*Neo-Platonists*) and the Hindus of India (in the *Upanishad*), could not be adjusted as such with puritanical Islam. Once, Junaid pronounced about his friend Bayazid (Abu Yazid Taifur ibn 'Isa Bistami); "Bayazid among us was like *Jibra'il* among the angels." Oddly enough, Bayazid cried in ecstasy: *Subhani ma A 'zama Shani* = "Glory be to me. How great is My Majesty." The orthodox doctors excused him on the ground of lunacy. However, death penalty was passed against Husain b. Mansur Hallaj and he was hanged when he raised similar blasphemous slogan: "*Ana'l Haq*" "I am the Truth" that is, God. Notwithstanding the objectionable remarks noticed above, Bayazid must be a man of extra-ordinary qualities. For, his notions of *Hajj* = pilgrimage to Mecca, an obligatory duty, binding on every Muslim, were not without originality and interest: "Once, I went to Mecca. While saluting and performing circumambulation of the Ka'bah, I said to myself: It is an edifice of stones, and I have seen stones abundantly. So, God did not approve of my *Hajj*. The whole year passed in torment. On the next visit, both the Ka 'bah and the Master of Ka'bah were visible to me. As I went there a third time, the Ka'bah disappeared altogether from my eyes:

only the Master of Ka'bah was there" (*Kashf*, p. 134).

Undoubtedly, the intellectual progress of the Muslims, promoted by the Abbasid caliphs, especially, Harun al-Rashid (d. 194/809) and Ma'mun (d. 218/833), continued throughout the third century of *Hijrah*. The age was marked with a large number of sufis, and significantly, the most important of them took steps to launch their own distinct orders. In short, twelve orders emerged on the scene and gained popular recognition. They were remembered after the names of their founders. Ten of them faithfully accorded with the rules of religion and were deemed legitimate in the eyes of the law. The two were fraught with heretical tendencies and met with disapproval. For, they preached incarnation, which Islam forbade. Often, the doctrine of metempsychosis also mixed itself with incarnation like an under-current. Despite strict hostility adopted against them by the *Ulama* = guardians of religion, these two orders flourished surreptitiously and were sustained by means of clandestine propaganda. The legitimate orders and their founders were: 1. *Muhasibi*: Haris b. Asad Muhasibi. 2. *Qassari*: Hamdun b. Ahmad Qassar. 3. *Taifari*: Abu Yazid (Bayazid) Taifur Bistami. 4. *Junaidi*: Junaid Baghdadi. 5. *Nuri*: Ahmad Nuri. 6. *Sahl*: Sahl b. 'Abd ullah Tastari. 7. *Hakimi*: Hakim Tirmizi. 8. *Kharrazi*: Ahmad b. 'Isa Kharraz. 9. *Khafifi*: Abd ullah Muhammad b. Khafif of Shiraz. 10. *Sayyari*: Mehdi Sayyari. And, the two condemned ones were: 11. *Hishli*: Abu Hilaman Damishqi and 12. *Hallaji*: claimed their association with Husain b. Mansur Hallaj. However, Hujwiri defended Hallaj and praised him as a virtuous sufi. Hujwiri's own Shaikh, Abu'l Fazl Muhammad b. Hasan Khatli, was the disciple of 'Ali b. Ibrahim Hasri (d. 371/981), who, in turn was the disciple of Junaid Baghdadi. So, Hujwiri announced: "My Shaikh belonged to the order of Junaid; I am, therefore, *Junaidi*" (*Kashf*, p. 208).

In their free wanderings, the sufis often crossed remote areas situated on the frontiers of Islamic lands. It was their favourite habit. Hujwiri's activities as a wanderer continued after he completed the spiritual guidance under his teacher at Khatlan. Although not mentioned expressly, he seemed to have accompanied his Shaikh on pilgrimage to the holy cities of Mecca and Madinah. While returning, his mentor breathed his last at Bait ul-Jin, a place near Damascus, Syria (458/1065).

= *Kashf*, p. 300). Earlier, he had travelled with his Shaikh across the province of Azar bai'jan. The usual sufi practice was to visit almost every place, which gained prominence on account of a saint's name, deceased or living. Reaching there, they spent their time in prayers, fasting, and night vigils. Often, they undertook *Chillah* = forty days' course of devotion, thereby, attaining the purpose of spiritual improvement. So, Hujwiri employed himself in similar exercises. As recorded by him, once he stayed at the tomb of Bilal, the Prophet's companion, in Syria. Another time, he remained a few days in Mehnah, the resting place of Abu Sa'id Abi'l Khair, in Khurasan. To his credit, Hujwiri personally met about three hundred contemporary sufis, famous for their piety and learning (*Kashf*, p. 214). Some of them were gifted with wonderful qualities. For example: 1. "I saw a pious man, named Adib-i-Kumandi; Kumand being a village in Khurasan, where he stood motionless for twenty years. Only, in prayers, did he bend his legs to sitting posture = *tashahhud*. On being asked, he replied: "While witnessing the glory of God. His servant is not granted permission to sit down." (*Kashf*, p. 434). 2. "I had a chance meeting with Shaikh Ahmad Samarqandi in Bukhara. He had not slept for the past forty years. For, he said: 'Time allowed to sleep must be saved for prayers', (*Kashf*, p. 460) 3. As regards fasting and control of hunger: "I was present on the occasion when Abu Muhammad Banaghzi died. He had not taken food for eighty days; surprisingly, during those days, he looked quite healthy and did not miss a single collective prayer (*Kashf*, p. 417). Moreover, Hujwiri's own teachers, Abu'l Fazl Khatli, Abu'l Abbas Shaqani, and Abu'l Qasim Qushairi, were themselves men of remarkable self discipline.

In the discourse dealing with marriage (*Kashf*, p. 470). Hujwiri left an interesting information about his personal life: "I got married in young age. The step was taken after much hesitation. I deferred it for eleven years. As I feared, nothing came out save disappointment and bitterness. I divorced the woman after one year." (*Kashf*, p. 476). None of the couple expressed regrets on the eve of separation. For, in general, all women dislike poor husbands and Hujwiri could not break the vow of poverty. Not a single coin was ever earned by him as regular income. Admittedly, sufis are hardly

competent to please their wives or bear matrimonial burden.

Hujwiri's probable date of arrival in Lahore may be ca. 427/1035. It was the fifth year of Sultan Mas'ud's reign and the danger of mighty Seljuqs was looming large over the horizon; they soon snatched away the empire so assiduously built up by Sultan Mahmud. Hujwiri was young when his Shaikh commanded him to quit and make Lahore his permanent abode. Prior to his reaching the subcontinent, his predecessors were: 1. Shaikh Safi ud-Din Gazrani came to settle in Uchchah; and 2. Shaikh Husain Zinjani decided to reside in Lahore. Let us suppose, like all men of their class they were accomplished in the fields of learning but devotion to pious rituals and prayers was their primary object which left them no time to writing. Nothing from their pen has survived in the works of anthologies. Only Hujwiri was destined to leave his eternal memory as author. Hujwiri's project began in not very easy circumstances. For, he complained: "My books have been left in Ghaznah and I find myself a complete stranger here in the city of Lahore. In order to fulfil the long standing promise made with my friend, Abu Sa'id Hujwiri, I shall attempt the book." Indeed, the sincere friend's questionnaire gave him initiative to unfold the stupendous framework; and in a similar creative moment descended the title in his mind: 'Opening the Veiled' (*Kashful-Mahjub*).

The book has been accredited as an exquisite combination of the philosophy and the history of Sufism accomplished by a brilliant scholar. He knew the art of writing beautiful prose and his short sentences seemed to have emanated in style and grace from his diligent study of the Qur'an. Indeed, his senior contemporary, Abu'l Qasim Qushari, whom he recalled as *Ustad* = teacher, had left a work on the subject. It was a summary in Arabic of earlier sufi literature. Other existing sources had been available to him, but they were left in Ghaznah. Lahore had not developed till the time as a city of scholars and libraries. It was a mere camp of soldiers, merchants, and bureaucrats. His efforts, therefore, to carry on the project were very intense from the beginning. Surprisingly, in such an atmosphere, however not conducive, was written the first and the most important book in Persian language, which permanently influenced the

mind of the sufis down the centuries.

Besides the above, Hujwiri was the author of at least seven more books, which have not survived. During his time, plagiarization was a free practice. False authors often announced other's works as their own. Hujwiri could not protect himself from the loss. "A clever thief robbed me of my *Diwan* of verses." However, he adorned the existing work, with some of his Arabic verses, perhaps, from memory.

By way of introduction to the book, he wrote lengthy discourses covering far more space than the original chapters themselves. Instructive from beginning to the end, the discourses are neither tiresome nor dry. 1. *Bah fi isbatul-ilm* = topic ascertaining the knowledge, explained that God and His Prophet asked the believers to seek knowledge. Its limits being infinite, man may confine himself to acquire knowledge that will immediately serve him useful purpose in life. Some of the sufis, cited in that connection, defined knowledge in a very interesting manner. The understanding of Divine purpose in Universe, of which man was an important part, claimed our primary attention. 2. *Faqr* = Poverty, was the essential principle, which determined the sufi way of life. It promoted resignation from the world, attention towards God and concentration on prayers. None the less, many early sufis expressed strong disagreement on the question. They preferred *ghana* = sufficiency or wealth to *faqr* = poverty, due to a number of reasons. "*Ghana* was the attribute of God." Moreover, poverty on large scale led to social degeneration. Even individual poverty could breed meanness and greed. The debate was ultimately won by sufis like Junaid and Shibli, who supported poverty. 3. *Tasawwuf*. People have advanced so many explanations regarding its meaning and origin. For example, Imām Muhammad Bāqir defined: "Tasawwuf is the observance of good habits with human beings and with God." According to Junaid, it was based on eight practices observed by eight prophets, on whom be peace: munificence (Ibrāhim), acquiescence (Ishāq), patience (Aiyub), nodding (Zakariya), exile (Yahaya), journey ('Isa), woolen garb (Musa), and poverty (Muhammad). 4. *Muraqqah* or *Khirqah* = woolen garb, was the distinct dress of the sufis. Wearing it was a means of attaining nearness to God. 5. *Zikr-i-Sahabah wa Tabi 'in*.

carried valuable account concerning the lives of the companions and their followers. Also, two letters, one from Hasan Basri to Imām Hasan, grandson of the Prophet, and Imām Hasan's reply, have been preserved under this heading. The heading extended beyond proportion. For, the description of a large number of early sufis has been included in it. That portion revealed Hujwiri's vast knowledge about the history of sufism and the lives of all important sufis from the time of *Ashab-i-Saffah* down to the generation of his own contemporaries. 6. What the early sects or orders contributed in the realm of thought has been informed briefly under an independent *bāb* = topic. For example: (i) *Muhasibiyah*: explored the meanings of *Riza*, *Maqam*, *Hal* = Acquiescence, stage, and state. (ii) *Qassariyah*: preached *Malamat*, Reproach, (iii) *Taifuriyah*: introduced the concept of *Sukr* = Supra-sensual trials and *jazb* = unconsciousness or transcendental state, (iv) *Junaidiyah*: emphasized on *Sahv* = sense experience as against *sukr* or *Jazb*. Thus, Junaid did not lay down *Jazb* as pre-condition for proximity to Divine essence. But, he equated *Sahv* with *Mahabbat* = love, (v) *Nuriyah*: The founder Ahmad Nuri advised to avoid solitude: it was good to join human company. Secondly, the world was a home for service; the next world was the place for its reward. One moment's service to fellow men was better than long years spent in prayers. (vi) *Sahliyah*: expounded the idea of *Mujahidah* = action against *Nafs*, that is, carnal desire. Muhammad 'Aliyan Nasawi, a disciple of Junaid perceived his *Nafs* in the form of a new-born tender fox. (vii) *Hakimiyah*: elaborated the belief in *Walayat* = friendship with God, and the stages of a *Wali*, ascending towards Divine love. (viii) *Kharraziyah*: examined the theories of *Fana wa Baqa* = annihilation and everlastingness. (ix) *Khafifiyah*: applied their mind to *Ghaibat wa Huzur* = absence and presence. (x) *Sayyariya*: popularized the idea of *Jama' wa Tafriqah* = Collection and Distraction (of thought). According to Abu'l Abbas Sayyari, founder of the order, the best instance of "collection" was demonstrated by our Prophet in *mi'raj* = Ascension. For, he did not turn his eyes towards the right and the left (53 ; 17).

Like the above mentioned portion, comprising discourses or topics, the succeeding portion has been divided into eleven chapters : the title given to each one of them being *Kashful-Hijab* = Opening the Veil. "I shall now

deal with matters and realities of importance to the sufis."

In *Kashful Hijab*, he took up 1. *Ma'rifat* = gnosis or Divine insight. The view that finally unfolded itself after long discussion was that reason and logic could not lead to God's nearness. Hujwiri raised serious objections against the *Mu'tazilah*, whose sole reliance was on reason. What the early sufis thought about the problem has been diligently traced and arranged under this chapter. 2. *Tawhid* = Unity. Attempt has been made to sum up metaphysical views regarding Divine Unity. Such views were popular among the learned classes during the early centuries of Islam down to Hujwiri's time. It must be noted that puritanical Islam remained firm in monotheistic belief, although the sufis had irresistible attraction towards pantheism. 3. *Iman* = Belief. As dictated by the Prophet, "*Iman* constituted attestation to one Supreme God, His Angels, His Books, His Messengers, and the Day of Judgment." There is lengthy explanation of the subject in the language which was usually familiar among the scholastic theologians of those days. In the end, the definitions advanced by certain sufis make *ghaib* = unseen, the necessary condition of *Iman* = belief. Others emphasized on *Tawakkul* = Trust. 4. *Taharat* = Purity, is of two kinds: external and internal, or let us say, bodily purity and purity of the heart. In case of the one, we wash our body with water. As daily routine, we perform ablution before obligatory prayers. The purpose of the second, that is, purity of heart, is to attain Divine nearness. It begins with repentance. Needless to say, repentance is a difficult exercise for ordinary mortals. In explaining its complicated course, Hujwiri cited the tribulations of a number of sufis, who succeeded after long struggle. 5. *Salat* = Prayer, signifies the relationship between the believer and his Creator. Hâtim Asamm said: "When the time for prayer comes, I perform external and internal ablutions, that is, with water and repentance, and enter the mosque. There, I make the Ka'bah my witness, concentrate as if paradise and hell were on my right and left, *Sirat* = bridge across the hell, was below my feet, and the angle of death stood behind me. In this way, I begin my prayer. It is the result of two co-mingled feelings man entertains towards God: submission and love. The love factor rightly deserved to be integrated with the discussion on prayer. All other virtues of a sufi's character must give place to love. 6. *Zakat* = obligatory

tax, is poor man's share in every affluent Muslim's wealth and property. The giver must acknowledge the poor as rightful sharer in his income. The calculation is made on annual basis, and the rules about all items of property, for example, cash amount, crop, fruit, cattle, and merchandise are precisely fixed according to law. Simply, two decimal five per cent of cash earning comprised the required item. Hujwiri informed that some sufis accepted *zakat*, others declined it. Closely related to *zakat* are the subjects like *Jūd*, *Sakhāwat*, *isār* = Liberality, and also, *Qarz-i-hasanah*. But, let us remember that liberality is purely voluntary in nature. Needless to say, its practice is very much encouraged in Islamic code of morality. In that connection Hujwiri related many anecdotes. One may suffice : "Abd ullah ibn Ja 'far, son of the standard – bearer of the Prophet and nephew of 'Ali, was famous for the traditional liberality of the Hashimite clan. Once on a journey, he passed through a valley and noticed a slave, who was herding the cattle of his master. A dog appeared from somewhere. The slave treated the animal with three breads, all his day's ration. His explanation sent 'Abd ullah ibn Ja 'far into amazement: said he: 'The dog seems to have arrived from far off place. This is not a usual route for dogs; and I could afford to be hungry for the day.' Abd ullah purchased the valley, slave and cattle, set him free and gifted the whole property to him."

7. *Saum* = Fasting, means submission of personal will to God. Besides the control of thirst and hunger, of course primary conditions, there are others of equal importance. Guard your eyes from seeing the forbidden, your ears from hearing the slanderous talk, your tongue from evil utterances, your body from lust and cheap amusements. Thus, abstinence from food and water was not enough; complete control of five senses satisfied the condition of real fast. Indeed, the routine of some sufis was striking: "Sahl ibn 'Abd ullah usually took food once in a fortnight. When the moon of *Ramazan* was sighted, he ate nothing till the day of *Eid ul-Fitr*." 8. *Hajj*, = Pilgrimage, is an obligatory duty, and if one could afford, he must go to Mecca once in a lifetime. The ceremony begins on the seventh and ends on the tenth of *Zul Hijjah*, the last month of Islamic calendar. Formalities apart, Junaid Baghdadi has been made to explain the standpoint of the sufis and the significance of the sacred purpose (*Kashf*, P.422). "A man returned from *Hajj* and came to see Junaid. The sufi put him to detailed examination. 'My friend, when you left home, did you leave behind your

sins? 'No.' 'When you broke journey at night halts, did you feel that you traversed the path of truth?' 'No.' When you put on *Ahram* and discarded your ordinary dress at *Miqat*, did you discard all human failings? 'No.' When you made *Wuqūf* = halt, at *Arafāt*, did you witness the glory of God? 'No.' When you reached *Mūzdalfah* and attained your desire, did you renounce the worldly desires? 'No.' When you performed circumambulations of the Ka'bah, did you perceive God's splendour and grace emanating all around? 'No.' When you made *Sa'i* = seven-fold course between *Safa* and *Marwah*, did you attain the stage of purity? 'No.' When you threw stones at *Jamrat ul-Aqabah* on way to *Mina*, did you remove the hindrance of self and got rid of conceit? 'No.' When you entered *Mina* did you release yourself from all dark thoughts? 'No.' When you sacrificed the lamb, did you sacrifice your lust? 'No.' At last, Junaid exclaimed: 'My dear friend, in my humble opinion you did not perform the *Hajj*. Please try once again.'" 9. *Sahbat* = Human interaction. The sufis took great care to exhibit general courtesy. Isolation and loneliness were contrary to their principles. Every Shaikh encouraged his disciples to mix freely and impress the people by their humility, pious conduct, and disciplined life. Avowedly philanthropic, they paid attention to people's worries with deep sympathy. In fact, polite conversation supplied healing touch and their moral capacity was established simply by their social behaviour. A substantial portion of this chapter, therefore, deals with the rules of interaction. According to Hujwiri, command over the art of talking was one of the chief merits of early sufis. Its conditions, laid down by him, are difficult, indeed. For example, the sufi shall speak nothing save truth; and he shall always contradict boldly if he heard falsehood uttered by others in his presence. None the less, many sufis insisted on the virtues of silence and pleaded that a God-loving man must remember Him silently. Speak when others ask you. But, your speech must be extremely sweet and delightful. Hujwiri integrated into this chapter the discussion on marriage and celibacy as well. 10. Description of logic, limits of words and realities of their meanings. "As a general rule, masters of every subject employ peculiar usage for the communication of their concepts. Independent fields of knowledge invariably invent distinct terminologies to make them intelligible. Logicians, grammarians, jurists etc, all have their own stock of words. So is the case with the sufis." Then, Hujwiri proceeds

to explain the distinction between *hal* = state, and *waqt* = time. The topics of this chapter offered special attraction to the scholars of those days, particularly, those interested in pure philosophy. 11. *Sama* = Hearing/Sufi music. The best practice is to hear the Qur'an as it enlightens the heart. Next, the hearing of poetry is lawful as the Prophet and his companions often recited verses. There is wisdom in poetry, which is the inheritance of the believers. As regards music and its effect on human sentiments, the jurists questioned its legality from the beginning. They placed it in the category of unlawful items. On the other hand, the sufis came out in its open support. *Sama* became the common feature of their assemblies. Of the many interesting anecdotes and erudite arguments, in this last chapter, some are really quite fascinating. For example: "The facility of *Sama* will be available in paradise." In the end, Hujwiri abstained from giving his clear approval to dancing practice of the sufis.

Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmān was the earliest star to shine in the galaxy of Indo-Persian poets. Time conceded him a rare distinction. Initially belonging to Hamadan, West-Iran, his grandfather, Salmān, moved towards Ghaznah when the city rose to fame as the capital of Sultān Mahmūd's empire. The members of the family were educated and possessed considerable degree of culture. From Ghaznah they seemed to have moved towards Lahore, the Indian capital of the Ghaznawid rulers and the last refuge of the descendants of Mahmūd. Salmān acquired large property and was reckoned among the affluent families of the city. His son, Sa'd, gained additional prestige by securing an important office in the Ghaznawid establishment. When Sultān Mas'ūd, son of Mahmūd send his son, prince Majdūd, to Lahore as viceroy of the Indian territory, he appointed three influential dignitaries to advise the prince in matters of administration and government: Sa'd b. Salman was one of them. Formally he was responsible to assess the revenue of North-India. Needless to say, being a local nobleman, Sa'd possessed intimate knowledge of Indian conditions.

Mas'ūd b. Sa'd was born in Lahore; he liked the city and freely indulged in its amusements. The new settlers had started enriching the urban life of Lahore. Also, he admired its weather cycles, partially, the rainy season.

As established by researchers, his year of birth was ca. 438/1046, that is, he was born during the reign of Mau'dūd,¹ the third descendant of Sultān Mahmūd.

Mas'ūd's father, a rich aristocrat and fond of poetry, was careful enough to educate his son on proper lines and acquaint him with the best literary traditions of the age. His wish was well satisfied: Mas'ūd emerged as a brilliant poet from quite early age. Unluckily, the habits of a spoiled youth of upper class background also made their surreptitious entry into his character. His generosity towards the cup-bearer and other servants of the court could, hardly be viewed with indifference by other high personages. Treating the literary companions with contempt and passing indiscreet remarks against them was a fatal weakness which created strong ring of enemies. Flatterers had increased his over-confidence beyond proportion. In short, such a man was liable to become an easy victim of jealousy and intrigue.

Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd had crossed the age of thirty when the question of the viceroyalty of India arose before Sultān Ibrāhīm (469/1076). He appointed his eldest son, Saif ud-Dawlah Mahmūd to that post. The prince had a literary bent of mind and liked the company of poets. Of course, a good number of them were employed in his establishment. Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd had occupied conspicuous place among them. Naturally, he rose higher in popularity and influence after his patron assumed authority as Viceroy of North India.

According to Aūfī, the author of *Lūbah-ul Albāb*, Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd was a court poet of the prince as well as a dignitary enjoying high status in the government. Whereas all other poets meekly observed the rules of etiquette on state occasions, that is, they recited their poems and soon left the Viceroy's presence after the closing of the function. Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd, possessing a noble's privileges, had free access to his master. He commanded army contingents and accompanied the prince in the latter's conquering expeditions. It was not strange, therefore, that he incurred malice of his friends; all the poets felt envy of him. Unfortunately, the prince was also caught by them in the trap.

Soon after the new viceroy arrived in Lahore, his poet-companions were

puffed up by an indiscreet mood. In their poems they addressed prince Fakhr ud-Dawlah Mahmud as *Sahib-qiran* = Lord of happy conjunction, a title reserved for exceptionally fortunate rulers. Also, they forged evidence from old astrologers that a great monarch was about to emerge and gave it wide publicity in their verses. Not un-naturally, the mind of Sultan Ibrahim was disturbed by suspicions against his son: he could hardly subdue his chagrin. Furthermore, in a society where the law of primogeniture was not firmly established, Sultan Ibrahim's forty daughters and thirty six sons heard the reports, relayed from Lahore to Ghaznah, with deep consternation and worry. They could not remain impervious to their eldest brother's intentions. The poems sung in his court confirmed their fear. Ironically, the poets around the viceroy in Lahore had no idea at all what would be the fallout of their exaggerations. Mas'ud-i-Sa'd-i-Salman was ahead of all of them in exhibiting his literary imagination. The situation was ripe for intriguers to strike.

The tribe of conspirators, poets all of them with fertile imagination, invented a gossip. First, it was propagated by them that prince Fakhr ud-Dawlah Mahmud wanted to make himself independent of his father by marching straight into the realm of the Seljuq emperor. And, Mas'ud-i-Sa'd-i-Salman was branded as the most active culprit, who was instrumental in misguiding the prince. Next, they managed to whisper baseless news into the ears of Sultan Ibrahim at Ghaznah. The Sultan was deeply hurt. For he realized that the Ghaznawid Kingdom might disappear like smoke in the air. Prompt measures were necessary. The Sultan dismissed the prince from the post of Viceroy and made him a prisoner. Simultaneously, Mas'ud-i-Sa'd, supposed to be the chief accomplice, was also arrested and thrown away into the fortress of Dahak. From there, he was transferred in succession to Su and Nai, two other fortresses, with a view to inflict greater torture. Thus, poor Mas'ud-i-Sa'd tasted the hardships of imprisonment for ten long years. At last, some nobles, commanding highest influence in the Ghaznawid dominion, interceded to secure his release and the Sultan pardoned him. He was set free in 490/1096. Two years later Sulatn Ibrahim died, 492/1098.

Mas'ud-i-Sa'd-i-Salman's administrative efficiency and experience were well known despite his tarnished image and the stigma of long captivity.

Later on, Sultān Ibrāhīm's son and successor, Mas'ūd III, appointed his son, Sherzād, as Viceroy of the Ghaznawid kingdom in the sub-continent. Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmān's services were once again sought to extend help in safeguarding the interests of the realm. He was busy with the affairs of his ancestral estate. Seemingly, prince Sherzād was too young to exercise independent authority. His father, therefore, selected a trusted noble, Abu, Nasr Fārisi, to offer him proper guidance. Abu Nasr was famous for his integrity and scholarship. Both, he and Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd, had been old friends; the noble acknowledged the literary accomplishments of the poet. Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd secured rapid promotions in the court, thanks to the kindness of Abu Nasr Fārisi. Accidentally, during the tenure of Prince Sherzād, the Ghaznawid generals achieved notable progress in their programme of expansion and conquest. Qannauj and Agra had already fallen to their control. Reports reached Lahore that many local chieftains of Punjab, particularly around Jalandhar, disturbed law and order in the area. Rebellious by nature, they often stopped regular payment of revenue. Abu Nasr Fārisi led military expedition personally and suppressed them. Further, his recommendation was upheld and Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd was appointed governor of Jalandhar.

It seemed that he learned nothing from the calamities of ten years' imprisonment and soon forgot them in the new situation. The principle he adopted in early life was almost like a sacred vow. That is, he would never harmonize with mediocres. Nor would he guard his tongue from heaping contempt upon them. The rivals gave him chance to mend his ways and control his arrogance. They reminded him in plain words that he was primarily a writer and they were also writers like him. His idle boasts and pretensions of noble lineage were unacceptable to them. Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd returned that sensible reminder with harsher retorts. He ridiculed their pettiness in his verses. It did not occur to him that his wisdom rather genius would be utterly helpless before their power of mischief. Individually obscure they made awful party when joined together. Incited by envy they could mark their enemy with deadly aim. Suddenly, conditions became critical as the high functionaries around the viceroy developed confrontation against each other on matters of policy. In that overall confusion, power slipped from the hands of Abu Nasr Fārisi, he

was suspended from his office and was deprived of the authority he commanded. Mas'ûd-i-Sâ'd lost his only supporter close to Prince Sherzâd. It was favourable moment in the reckoning of his adversaries and they became active against him. Their malicious efforts succeeded in impressing upon Prince Sherzâd that Mas'ûd-i-Sâ'd was a worthless fellow; moreover, he was a perfect rogue who always conceived evil designs. These machinations continued till the enemies were sure that no tenderness had been left in the heart of the viceroy for Mas'ûd-i-Sâ'd. That was only half success. Next, they imparted the same message to Sultan Mas'ûd III, at Ghaznah. The plan moved secretly to their heart's desire. One day, everybody was surprised to hear that orders were issued for the arrest of Mas'ûd-i-Sâ'd. His property was confiscated and he was dismissed from the governorship of Jallandhar. Also, he was confined as a prisoner in the fortress of Maranj and implicated for high treason. This time the duration of imprisonment lasted for eight years. In the end, the Sultân relented with much difficulty after repeated implorations of the prime minister, Siqâtul Mulk 'Alî Tahir. He was set free in 500/1106. Afterwards, he remained alive till the year 515/1121, that is, till the days of Bahram Shah Ghaznawi, but the spark of life had cooled down when the prisoner came out of the fortress of Maranj.

From literary point of view, the most fruitful and memorable years of the life of Mas'ûd-i-Sâ'd were those which he passed as a prisoner in two successions. He poured forth brilliant *qasidahs* which have been acknowledge as first rate compositions of Persian poetry. As the sole contributor to *Habsiyah* = prison literature, Mas'ûd-i-Sâ'd gained a distinct place for himself. For, that category of writing has been viewed with unique interest in all the languages of the world. Literary critics feel that the presence of *Habsiyah* in a certain language raised its prestige in the history of human civilization.

Interestingly, Mas'ûd-i-Sâ'd revealed in a verse how he survived against odds: "The enormity of grief and pain, which hostile circumstances brought in their wake, would have certainly killed me; but I am alive due to the life-saving support of my poetry."^{*}

^{*} *Gardân badardu ranj mara kushta bûd agar, paywand-i-'umr-i-man na shudey nazm-i-jân fizâ'î.*

CHAPTER 2

THE CENTURY OF SLAVE SULTANS

588/1192 – 689-1290

A new epoch began when Sultān Muhammad b. Sām Ghori, the prince of Shansabani dynasty, entered Delhi and established his capital in that city (588/1192). Of the centres of power held by the descendants of Shansab, a noble of old Iranian stock, were Ghor and Nimrūz, the cities situated in northern Afghanistan. In turn, Muhammad b. Sām Ghori left a line of brilliant slaves, who ruled the empire founded by their master. Racially, they were all Turks.* Gradually, the century exhausted its momentum by the time of Sultān Balban's death. For, his grandson and successor, Kayqubād, an immature youth of seventeen years, proved utterly incompetent; he was dethroned and murdered within three years (689/1290). The entire century passed under the shadow of the slave Sultans; and that was its peculiar character.

* Qutb ud-Din Aibak (d.607/1210). 2. Iltutmish (d.633/1235). 3. Rukn ud-Din Firuz (d. 633/1235). 4. Raziyah (d.638/1240). 5. Mu'izz ud-Din Bahram (d. 639/1241). 6. 'Ala ud-Din Mas'ud (d. 644/1246). 7. Nāsir ud-Din Mahmūd (d. 664/1265). 8. Ghiyās ud-Din Balban (d. 686/1287). 9. Mu'izz ud-Din Kayqubād (689/1290). 10. Kayumars (d. 689/1290).

Curiously, Islamic history passed through its most devastating period during the days of the slave Sultans. Ilutmish had completed nine years on the throne of Delhi when Chingiz Khan destroyed Bukhara (616/1219). The horror perpetrated upon Trans-Oxiana and Khurasan, wiped out the entire human population out of existence. Ultimately, Baghdad, the city of peace = *Dar us-Salam*, and seat of the Abbasid Caliph, was sacked by Hulaku (656/1258); it was the thirteenth year of the reign of Sultan Nasir ud-Din Mahmud. With great determination and courage, the Sultans of Delhi and their army generals faced the Mongol crisis. Their strategy to check the enemy along the bank of river Sind (Indus) proved its wisdom, and North India was saved from the depredation of Mongol savages. What was more remarkable, by repulsing the invading hordes again and again, they dispelled the fear of the invincibility of the Mongols from the mind of their subjects. Valour and generosity were the two noble qualities possessed by the Sultans in equal proportion. The stream of refugees, who survived the general massacre, constantly poured into their domains. Next to safety, the distressed people desired means of subsistence. Delhi was the common destination of most of them. Luckily, the resources of the expanding empire enabled the Sultans to make their policy of liberal help a success. Modern scholars have pondered with deep seriousness over the nature of the century responsible for shaping the future pattern of Indian history. They endeavoured to seek answers to the problems, which confronted the contemporaneous generations, with remarkable soundness of thought. Particularly, the salient points of the researches pursued by a few of them deserve to be mentioned obliquely for the sake of instruction and enlightenment.* Although not directly concerned with the subject of literature, their reference would help in visualizing the picture of the times. 1. "Royal power was based on Persian tradition, not on Islamic law. The Sultans distinguished their public duties from their private faith". 2. An understanding seemed to have reached between the rulers and the ruled. The Sultans, pure power builders as they were, would not apply religious zeal against the social

* (a) Muhammad Habib, *Politics and Society during the Early Medieval Period*. (b) K. A. Nizami, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India during the 13th century*. (c) A. B. M. Habibullah, *Foundation of Muslim Rule in India*.

framework of the Hindus. Observing rigid segregation from their masters was another concession allowed to them. In turn, they would completely submit as most loyal subjects of the empire. The covenant, so to say, was fraught with drastic consequences. Till the last days of their rule, rather for all times, the Muslims suffered to live as a meagre minority in the land. 3. The Mongol invasion cut off the first generation of ruling classess from their roots in Trans-Oxiana and Khurasan. They had to Indianize themselves by force of circumstances. 4. The image of foreign rule, hence obnoxious, was soon effaced by the overwhelming number of local converts, estimated as between seventy five to ninety percent of the Muslims. And, that was a major reason for the survival of Muslim rule upto more than six hundred years. 5. The structure of ruling machine was simple and less cumbersome. Villages were free from the government's direct control, albeit tax collection. The duty of tax collection was performed, mildly or severely, by the Hindus themselves. Hence, the masses were seldom excited to revolt. 6. The Sultans did neither expect nor encourage their co-religionists to be haughty in behaviour. In fact, the real influence exercised on the majority of Muslims was that of the sufis, who were extremely God-fearing and emphatically pleaded for justice in matters of daily life. 7. As the Turkish governing class and higher bureaucracy were mostly slaves, and Islam authorized the inheritance of a slave to be transferable to his master and not to his son, amusingly escheat was accepted as a law, which remained in force till the Mughals exercised power in India. 8. The Muslims brought urban culture; their taste and manners remained confined to urban centres; village life was not influenced by their culture pattern. 9. Bukhara and Baghidad were no more; in their absence Delhi had to assume the position of the greatest centre of civilization in the eastern zone of Islamic world. It is perfectly evident from the attention paid towards the city by men of learning, the generous patronage offered to them by the Sultans and ruling classes, their high degree of intellectual calibre, and the quality of works produced by them in all the diverse fields of scholarship. Formally, some sufi scholars mentioned in this chapter, may not have contributed much from their pen; but they were great preachers of ideas. And, the role played by them in raising the standard of Indo-Islamic civilization has been unanimously acknowledged by the people of the entire sub-continent.

PROSE WRITERS

Râzi, Imâm Fakhr ud-Din (d. 606/1209) represented the rare category of scholars found in Muslim society before the fall of Baghdad. The cultural history of the Indian sub-continent has preserved a glimpse of Fakhr-i-Râzi. He briefly appears as a visitor in the company of Sultân Mu'izz ud-Din Muhammad b. Sâm Ghori. The Sultân treated him with great respect. During his short and stormy career, cut off abruptly at *Manzil-i-Damiyak*, Muhammad b. Sâm paid nine visits to India. Every royal visit except incursions used to be a big state occasion. He brought in his entourage all his military officers, nobles and the learned men of his realm to Delhi. On such occasions, the camp reverberated with Fakhr-i-Râzi's orations from the pulpit. Once, as reported by the historian, a verse promptly recited by the distinguished speaker filled the Sultân with deep emotion and tears welled up in his eyes.*

Born in the city of Ray (594/1149), close to modern Tehran, Râzi acquired the best education of his day. His father was a teacher himself. Soon after reaching adolescence he undertook the familiar routine of wandering across the cities of Islamic world and meeting with eminent personalities at every place. Finally, he settled in the city of Herat, although he liked the social atmosphere of Nishâpûr better. In old age, he was invited by Sultân Muhammad b. Sâm Ghori to live at his court, where he stayed till the Sultân's death.

A brilliant and quick-witted scholar, Râzi was fond of raising complex issues and involving himself in religious controversies. He had amazing powers of confounding his adversaries in polemical debates. Particularly, his invectives against the Ismâ'îlîs, the most powerful religious party of his time, gave rise to many interesting stories. A sub-sect of the Shi'ah, believers in twelve Imâms, hence called *Isna 'Ashari*, the Ismâ'îlîs confine their belief to the early seven Imâms. Râzi reviled the Ismâ'îlîs from the pulpit as a sect without any valid proof. One early morning as he came out of his house to offer prayers, a veiled man pressed the point of

* Minhaj-i-Siraj, *Tabaqât-i-Nasiri*.

his dagger against Rāzi's chest and whispered : "This is our proof." Naturally, it was the moment when the heart of any dauntless champion could sink. None the less, Rāzi continued his disparagement against Ismā'illi tenets and their policy of organized terror. Again, a man with covered face waylaid him in front of the gate of the mosque before the early hour of dawn. The man raised his two hands : One firmly grasping a dagger, and the other dangling a purse full of gold coins. Discreetly, Rāzi took away the purse from his enemy's hand. Thereafter, he completely shut his mouth and never spoke a word in public against the Ismā'ilis.

Polemical debates apart, scepticism was another dominating trend of Rāzi's character. He was aware that all philosophical thought unfolded itself through question and doubt. Moving from unbelief towards ultimate belief of one kind or the other was the familiar path traversed by every true philosopher. Infact, Rāzi shared that experience so profusely that he gained the title of *Imām ul-mushakkikīn* = Leader of the sceptics. He was a sincere follower of the early Mū'tazilite scholar, al-Nazzām (d. 845/A. D.), who said : "Doubt was the first absolute requirement of knowledge.*

Unlike philosophers, generally known for their simplicity and abstemious life, Rāzi had a fondness for luxurious style and possessed abundant wealth. He was generous by nature and lived like princes. An average of three hundred students were annually supported by him. In journeys, he employed about a thousand servants to look after his needs. Love of splendour was part of his nature and he did not care the least that it would make people jealous of him. However, in spite of all that, his contribution as a writer was equally tremendous.

From the beginning the tradition was established among the learned classes = *Ulama*, in the eastern zone of Islam that they would use Arabic as their medium of expression. Essentially a scholastic and a sceptic, Rāzi adhered to the rule. His Arabic works are : 1. *Nihāyat ul-'uqūl*, 2. *Kitāb ul-arba 'in*, 3. *Al-Mūlakhkhas*, 4. *Sharh al-Isharat*, 5. *Sharh 'Uyun ul-hikmat*, 6. *Mabahis ul-mashriqiyah*, 7. *Al-Nihayah*, 8. *Muhassil-i-Afkar*

* P. Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, p. 430

al-Mutaqaddimin wal Muta'akkhirin min al-hükama, was a compendium of thoughts expressed by major philosophers from classical times down to the author's own days. 9. A *Risalah* on *Mi'raj*, Prophet's ascension to heaven. Conscious of the difficulty involved due to the infinitude of space and time, Muslim philosophers tended to be shaky about the question. Some of them reconciled themselves with the view that the *Mi'raj* was just spiritual. Others asserted on its spiritual as well as physical character, and actually, the verses contained in the Divine book provided ample indication in support of that belief. Rāzi's *Risalah* explains many interesting aspects of the problem. 10. *Mafatih ul-ghayb*, a commentary on the Qur'an left incomplete. None the less, it was deemed as an important contribution.

Granting concession to the mental level of his patrons, the men of power, Rāzi wrote some of his works in Persian also. Muslim scholars prior to the fall of Bahhdad had strong links with the scientific legacy of classical Greek masters. It was an admitted fact from Alexandrian period (323 B. C.) that mathematics was the fundamental discipline which promoted other scientific studies like physics, astronomy, alchemy and music etc. The *Madarsah* syllabus allotted due place to these subjects and students generally acquired sufficient knowledge of the concerned studies. Rāzi possessed mastery over mathematics and above mentioned subjects. He wrote a tract on astronomy and dedicated it to Sultan 'Ala ud-Din Khwarizmshah. Being concise and popular, it was translated from its original version into Persian. Its double title was *Ikhtiyarat-i-Hayati Sirr ul-Maktūm fi Ikhtiyarat un-Nujūm*. At the request of Sultan Iltutmish, who employed a large number of learned men, its Persian translation was accomplished in Delhi. The name of the translator has not survived.

Of the most renowned works produced in Persian by Imam Rāzi was his encyclopaedia, *Hada'iq ul-Anwār fi Haqa'iq ul-Asar*. In view of its sixty chapters or subjects treated in the book, it is often called *Sittin ul-Asar*.

Saghāni, Imām Rāzi ud-Din (d. 650/1252) was born in Badā'un. As a young student he stayed for some time at Ghaznah, and then, moved to Baghdad for further studies. His reputation was soon established in

Baghdad for his erudition in the fields of lexicography and traditions. He repeatedly visited India during the reign of Ilutmish and his daughter. Saghani was a prolific writer and left many works mainly in Arabic on the subjects of jurisprudence, commentary, traditions, and lexicography. His chief book contains two thousand and two hundred forty six traditions of the Prophet, and is one of the most widely consulted sources. Instead of being voluminous, it is a concise handbook and that may be the reason for its popularity. The arrangement of the material is based on alphabetical order, that is, the traditions are recorded according to the first letter of the opening sentence. The title of the above mentioned work was *Mashariq ul-Anwar*.

Fakhr-i-Mudabbir, Muhammad b. Mansur Mubarak Shāh, was a man of scholarly training. All his ancestors attained distinguished positions as scholars; and some of them commanded high offices of government entrusted to them by the Ghaznawid princes. His great grandfather, Abu'l Faraj, was known as an influential man during the reign of Sultān Ibrāhīm b. Mas'ud, the later Ghaznawid ruler (d. 492/1098). The family strictly observed piety and were respected for noble descent from the first orthodox caliph, Abu Bakr. His great grandmother was a royal princess. For, Sultān Bahrām Shah married all his forty daughters to scholars, Shaikhs, and Saiyeds. Fakhr-i-Mudabbir's father possessed ancestral property in Ghaznah, but he preferred to live in Lahore which was safe, unlike Ghaznah, from the predatory invasions of the Ghuzz and other Turkish tribes. The shift in social background impelled Fakhr-i-Mudabbir to collect his lineage. Moreover, genealogical field was an inalienable part of Muslim historical scholarship. Having completed the book, *Shajarat ul-ansab / Tarikh-i-Fakhr ud-Din Mubarak Shah*, he planned to avail the honour of the audience of Sultān Mu'izz ud-Din Muhammad b. Sam Ghorī on the eve of the last visit paid by the sovereign (602/1206). The Sultān was very much pleased and expressed eagerness to see the book. Unluckily, the programme failed to materialize as the minister whom he went to meet on the appointed evening was not in good humour. Next day, the Sultān's departure took place in haste. A few days later, the book was presented to Sultān Qutb ud-Din Aibak, who treated the author with kindness and asked his Secretary to collect the book in his personal library. Fakhr-i-Mudabbir

seemed to have died after witnessing the early years of the reign of Sultan Iltutmish (ca. 626/1229). He was the author of two works: the one is named above; and the other, *Adabul-harb wash-Shuja'ah*, is a remarkable achievement of his genius.

As regards *Shajarat ul-ansab*, it was the product of a scholar's tireless effort and patience. There was no patron to encourage its compilation. The work consumed great energy of mind and reached completion in twelve years. The author consulted one thousand books for research and reference. His father, a man of profound learning, felt very much satisfied and declared the work as of unique importance. Fakhr-i-Mudabbir did not plan the whole framework beforehand. In fact he had no idea of the limit to which it was going to expand. Initially, he desired to prepare a table of his own descent beginning from Abu Bakr the first orthodox caliph. Next his mind was overtaken by the desire to add the genealogy of the Prophet, peace be on him, and of the ten Blessed companions - 'Ashrah-i-Mubashshirah. Step by step, the work unfolded its merits and became a labour of love. In its final shape, the *Shajarah* covered the genealogies of all the prominent companions of the Prophet, the tribal kings of pre-Islamic Arabia, the Persian legendary heroes, the Umayyid and Abbasid caliphs, the doctors of religious law, the dynasties of Persian renaissance, the noble and pious families who lived in Ghaznah, and the rulers of Ghaur whose patronage he and his father enjoyed.

On the *Shajarah* Fakhr-i-Mudabbir wrote a very interesting and detailed introduction.* He had witnessed many memorable events till the time of completing the work. The invasion of the Ghuzz Turks and the destruction of Ghaznah was a painful tragedy. He gave credit to Sultan Muhammad, b. Sam for restoring peace and stability in the region. Thanks to the Sultan's endeavour the deserted town of Ghaznah thrived once again with its inhabitants.

According to the tradition of Muslim writers, the account opens with praise of God, the Prophet, his companions, and then, the learned scholars and theologians, the class to which the author himself belonged.

* E. Denison Ross published it under the title, *Tarikh-i-Fakhr ul-Din Mubarak Shah* (London 1927)

In order to emphasize the legitimacy of kingship, he cited the famous verse from the Qur'an (4:59). It made obedience to the monarch inseparable from obedience to God and the Prophet. Actually, Muslims added their own ideas to the political theory, which they had borrowed from the Persians. Fakhr-i-Mudabbir's remark is noteworthy. The Sultān has seven functions to perform: 1. He must deliver address from the pulpit on the occasion of Friday prayers and the prayers of the two holy festivals. 2. He must establish *Hudud* = "Limits", that is, execute punishment prescribed by the *Shari'ah* against unlawful acts. 3. He must realize *Kharaj* (land revenue) and *Sadaqat* (alms). 4. He shall be ready to wage holy war (*ghazw*). 5. He shall maintain justice and decide cases between disputing parties. That included crushing of heresy also. 6. He must maintain standing army for safeguarding the frontiers; and 7. He must keep the *Bait ul-Mal* special treasury, from which the money shall be distributed to deserving Muslims, in fact, the seventh obligation was merely theoretical and time had made it almost redundant. Interestingly, the author did not discuss the importance of *Jizya* = poll tax on non-Muslims. His discreetness preferred, perhaps, not to mention the subject altogether.

In his estimate the outstanding man of the age was Qutb ud-Din Aibak who was the harbinger of events in northern India. While the Turkish slave boys acquired mastery in horsemanship, archery and use of sword, Qutb ud-Din had the additional advantage of receiving education in the house of Qāzi Fakhr ud Din, a learned man of Nishāpur, who treated the slave child as his own son. The knowledge imparted by the kind-hearted Qāzi moulded Qutb ud-Din's character for the whole life.

Fakhr-i-Mudabbir preserved all necessary details about the fourteen years of Qutb ud-Din's career since he was appointed governor of Kohram in the year of Tarain (1192 A. D.) till his assumption of sovereignty after the tragedy of Damyā (1206 A.D.).

As recorded by the author, Aibak introduced many administrative reforms. For example, prior to his reign the rate of land revenue collection was one fifth of the produce. Following the Islamic principle of *'ushr* he reduced it to one tenth, thus earning the gratitude of peasantry.

Oddly enough, Fakhr-i-Mudabbir made himself ridiculous in the matter of his pedigree despite so much arduous researches undertaken by him. He mentioned twice in his other work, *Adab ul-harb*, that Abu Muslim Khurasani, the supporter of Abbasid cause, was his ancestor. This is a contradiction, for, Abu Muslim was of Persian blood and had no link with the orthodox caliph, Abu Bakr.

Adab ul-harb Wash-Shuja'h * This remarkable book, dealing with the subject of warfare, appeared in 626/1228, that is, twenty years after the earlier work: *Shajarah*, and was dedicated to Sultan Ilutmish, who very much praised the author.

Fakhr-i-Mudabbir clearly realized that the chief lever of Turkish administration was army. In scholarly fashion he studied the working of the mighty instrument which man's evil genius has created for his own destruction. His studious research crystallized itself into thirty four chapters.

The object of warfare being political authority, he examined all matters concerning an ordered government. The King was personification of State. And, war originated from his ambitions. The early six chapters, therefore, have been devoted to sort out the King's conduct. On the authority of Whab-i-Munabbah, a learned Arab of the first century of Islam, he warned the Muslim ruling classes not to behave as tyrants. For "all ancient nations were ruined due to one folly: polytheism. And, on Muslims the wrath of God descended whenever they indulged in tyranny."

In chapter 7, the author explained the character of war itself(ch.7). Honestly, it was a crime and its results were unpredictable. On the day of Judgement, the first question to be settled will be the blood of victims that tyrants have shed on earth. Next to infidelity bloodshed was the most obnoxious act of man. Its punishment was hell. These condemnations of the author were by implication directed against the Turks who treated battles as sports, and moreover, for whom every new accession was a family tragedy.

* Ahmad Suhaili Khwansari, Tehran 1962.

The discussion on horse covered three chapters. A Turkish soldier's special technique was to shoot three arrows in quick succession from horseback speeding at full gallop. His wheeling operations put the Crusaders in helpless plight. Rightly, the people of Central Asia inaugurated the cavalry age in military history.

An independent chapter discussed the utility and significance of various weapons. Curiously, he recalled Sultan Maudud of Ghaznah among brilliant archers. As if to expiate the fault of his grandfather famous for gold lust, Sultan Maudud ordered his arrow head to be made of solid gold. In case the victim was wounded, he will spend well on the treatment of his injury. Suppose he died, the funeral expenses must be met by the killer.

There are twenty one chapters (12-32), the core of the work, dealing with all activities, the combination of which is called war. Of them let us take ambush, for example. Night ambush was a highly favoured activity in Turkish and Persian system. It struck terror and caused least bloodshed as compared to full-scale battle. Ruse and bravado have their due place for gaining advantage. The attacking soldiers must call out the names of enemy commanders and shout that they had arrested and killed so and so. Similarly, ambush in daylight has its own plus points. The dashing courage of soldiers added by speed of their horses was a sure way of outwitting the enemy. The Muslims in their encounter with the Crusaders did not secure clear victories in open field battles. It was due to their unfailing technique of ambush organized by small bands of mobile troops that Europe suffered "depopulation."

The battle formation as planned by the Romans, Turks and Persians, and the Hindus are explained with the help of diagrams. Dealing with siege, (ch.27), he cited two instances, both belonging to the time of the Prophet: The battle of "Khandaq" fought in order to save Madinah was defensive siege. And, for breaking the siege the first experience of the Muslims was the battle of Khaibar, Jewish stronghold at a distance from Madinah.

Conclusively, the whole book was a judgement on the spirit of battle and

bravery the author witnessed among the people of his contemporary generation.

Mu'aiyid-i-Jajarmi, Abu'l Ma'ali, arrived from Jajarm, North Iran, and settled in Delhi during the reign of Iltutmish, who recognized Mu'aiyid's scholarship and treated him with kindness. He translated Imām Ghazzali's *Ihya ul-Ulūm* from Arabic into Persian and dedicated it to Sultān Iltutmish.

The *Ihya ul-ulum* occupies a significant position in the corpus of Islamic literature. It represents the basic standpoint of orthodox Islam. By consolidating the entire religious thought Ghazzali permanently endorsed orthodoxy.

At the time Abu Hāmid Ghazzali (d.55/1111) attained the age of maturity and was made professor of the Nizamiyah at Baghdad, political disintegration had set in; and there were three centres of power: Baghdad (Abbasids), Cairo (Fatimids) and Cordova (Umayyids). More agonizing than political disintegration, in Ghazzali's view, was the intellectual disruption of the Islamic world. It was clearly in sight. Ghazzali resigned the prestigious and lucrative professorship, devoted a few years to self-discipline: Solitude, prayers, fasting, free-wandering. And, once the arduous spiritual training was complete, he emerged as the organizer of orthodox theology against multiple and heterogenous movements of the age, which were creating utter confusion.

First, the orthodox Muslims followed four doctors of jurisprudence = Imāms, and often indulged in bloody violence. Once a riot erupted at Nishāpūr during the lifetime of Ghazzali himself. Nizām ul-Mulk Tusi, the most powerful administrator of Islamic history after Yahya Barmaki, could not restrain his fourteen thousand rowdy brethren from cutting each others' throats. That was the score of killing in order to settle the question who, that is, Shafi'is or others, should offer their prayers to God, the Merciful in the mosque of Nishapur. Next, there were the Shi'ahs, the staunch supporters of 'Ali from the beginning, and their sub-sect, the Ismā'ilis, who assumed greater importance during Ghazzali's days. Unable to face state persecution, they went underground and perpetrated

such a wide-spread terror that nobody from the king to the common man felt safe from their dagger. Among the famous contemporaries of Ghazzali was Hasan ibn Sabbah, the leader of Assassins and Grand Master of Alamūt. Hasan ibn Sabbah was a man of many parts which the propaganda of hate has succeeded to suppress.

There had been a number of groups or sects, so to speak, further splitting the social bonds. They occupied purely philosophical grounds, namely, Mūtazilah, the Ikhwān us-Safa, the Murjiyah, the Qādiriyyah, the Jabriyyah and so on. Their influences seemed to be on the decline. Yet some of them were still quite active. Mutually, they had ample potentialities for sowing discord, and those which declined left influences behind them to infuse mental divergences against the avowed aim of orthodox majority = *sawadi-a'zam*. Nor was the unanimity of faith and practice immune from their damaging polemics. Most of the groups being highly accomplished, their literature was always in circulation and had eager readers everywhere. They disseminated their ideas with such a staggering force that permitting them the least freedom could have made orthodoxy difficult to stay intact and maintain its hold over the mind of the Muslims. Indeed, there was one exceptional and rare virtue possessed by these sects. They preserved the ancient Greek tradition of liberal thought. Belonging to their circle were men who applied their mind to the study of natural phenomena. Spain was the pipeline of ideas; and they were responsible to cause the infiltration of Greco-Arab Sciences to the Latin West.

The author of *Ihya ul-ulum* deserved credit for surmounting all the heavy odds mentioned above. His dialectic compelled most of the groups to dilute their differences and return to the orthodox fold. Thanks to the genius of Ghazzali the broad base of orthodoxy was saved from erosion. But, in the endeavour, he stalled the process of free inquiry and recommended deep spiritualization in its place. The price paid for safeguarding orthodoxy was heavy as Ibn Rushd (d.595/1190) complained later on. Consequently, the Greco-Islamic legacy was taken over by the Latin West and Islamic civilization suffered to drag behind on the track of progress.

None the less, Abul Mu'ayyid-i-Jājarmi performed a valuable service. By rendering the *Ihya ul-ulum* into Persian version he made it accessible to wider circle of readers. His Indian contemporaries were enabled to visualize the mental picture of a dynmic age of Islamic history before the fall of Baghdad.

Jalāl ud-Din Abu Bakr b. Ali, emigrated from Kāsān, a town in Transoxiana, and found welcome refuge in the court of Sultān Ilutmish. Inspired by the scholarly circles of Delhi, where the Sultān himself had a scholarly bent of mind, Jalāl ud-Din Abu Bakr focussed attention on al-Birūnī's book of pharmacy, *al-Saidnah*, and prepared its Persian rendition.

Kitāb al-Saidnah fī Tib, is a book of unique importance in scientific literature produced by the Muslims. In the enrichment of human knowledge concerning animal and plant drugs, the work gained a permanent place among major contributions of its class. For, it has been acknowledged as reliable guide to promote medicinal researches where they were left by earlier Greek masters.* It is a *materia medica* of immense dimension. In it the author has collected information precisely about 1197 elements = *mufradat*, in alphabetical order = from the first letter *alif* to the last letter *ya*. He has taken care to mention the synonyms, of each drug in Greek, Syriac and Persian, and also, in major dialects, that is, Sūghdi, Zabūli, old Spanish, Berber, Sindhi and Hindi. Evidently, his vast knowledge was the result of extensive travels and studious researches. From the wealth of synonyms it is established that al-Birūnī had in mind to leave for posterity an etymological treasury besides a medical dictionary. Before giving the description of a plant, its roots or flowers, and similarly, of an animal with medicinal properties, he placed together as many synonyms as his memory could pour forth. In the descriptions he did not ignore earlier authorities. Particular, their versions were invariably borrowed where he did not rely upon his own knowledge concerning the drug. One advantage of mentioning the name of a single herb in many languages was that its correct identity and region of growth were easily determined. If one name created confusion in identification,

* Besides Aristotle and Galen, two more Greek physicians, namely, Dioscorides and Paulus Aegineta, were known to the Muslims as authors of *Materia Medica*.

the other dispelled it. This device proved its benefit to the apothecary—the 'attār, engaged in the trade of dispensing drugs.

Initially, it seems, the author planned to divide the work into two sections. The first section was to be informative in nature, but passed on very useful data. This part was written for the researchers directly concerned with the advancement of medical therapy. The space of the second section has been wholly occupied by drugs in their alphabetical arrangement. Many entries carry valuable details. Together with herbacious plants, the Dictionary includes animals, minerals and mushrooms also, having medicinal uses. It may be noted with interest that the descriptions of certain animals and stones are mingled with legends of non-scientific nature. Due to frequent references of aquatic animals occurring in the book, credit has often been given to its author as initiator of marine biology.

In fact, *al-Saidnah* was attempted by al-Birūnī (A.D. 1051) when he was at the fag end of life. Perhaps, poor eyesight or other disabilities accompanying old age did not allow him to write the draft himself. He dictated the material to a scholar friend, Shaikh Abu Hāmid Nahshā'i Ghaznawī, whose name he mentions with great respect. However, at many places the arrangement seems to be lacking in coherence and balance. Repetition must be an additional drawback. It was all due to dictation. Moreover, al-Birūnī could not review the draft himself.

The Arabic original of *al-Saidnah* survived intact and has been published recently with its English translation.* From the scholarship of Jalāl ud-Dīn Abu Bakr, we may fairly assume that he should have made complete translation into Persian. Unfortunately, there are all incomplete manuscripts of Persian version preserved in various libraries of the world today. The published edition of Tehran appeared with only 207 entries covering first four letters of the alphabet.**

'Ali b. Hāmid Kūfi, an Arab, arrived from his hometown, Kūfah, and

* ed. Hamdard Foundation, Karachi, 1973

** ed. M. Satoodeh and Iraj Afshār. Tehran, 1972.

settled in Uchchah, Sind, during the time of Nāsir ud-Din Qabāchah, whom Sultān Mūizz ud-Din b. Sām Ghori had assigned the governorship of Sind. The city of Uchchah, situated a few miles from Multan, served as provincial capital during those days. Qabāchah was an ardent promoter of scholarship, and therefore, learned men in large number turned towards him from all parts of the Islamic world, particularly, from places where the Mongols created havoc. His court became a centre of culture and its fame reached far off lands. Thanks to the hospitality offered by Qabāchah, the memory of a few learned men has survived in history, namely, Auḡi, Minhāj-i-Sirāj, and also, 'Alī b. Ḥamid Kūfi.

Originally, Nāsir ud-Din Qabachah was one of the favourite slaves of Sultān Mū'izz ud-Din b. Sām Ghori and his contemporaries often called him Qabāchah-Mūizzi. Qutb ud-Din Aibak, the other trusted slave of "Sultān-i-Ghazi," had strong matrimonial ties with Qabachah. For, two of Aibak's daughters were married in succession to Qabachah. The third, was given to Iltutmish. The "Sultān-i-Ghazi's" band of slaves possessed remarkable administrative competence as their collective virtue. Qutb ud-Din Aibak was unanimously chosen by them as their master's successor (602/1205). Unfortunately, death allowed him only four years and a few months to rule (607/1210). After Aibak, the empire relapsed into chronic disorder, a familiar scene among Muslims, of provincial governors defying the centre and asserting their independence. The division of "Hindustan," as observed by Minhāj-i-Sirāj, took place into four segments: 1. The region of Sind was controlled by Qabachah; 2. Delhi, the seat of central authority and soul of the empire was bestowed by the Ulama upon Iltutmish; 3. The segment of Lakhnauti, Bengal, remained under the sway of the Khalji nobles; and 4. Lahore became the bone of contention between all of them, mainly Qabachah, Iltutmish, and Taj ud-Din Yalduz, the governor of Ghaznah. In the occasional round of skirmishes for occupation of Lahore, Qabachah proved himself the most turbulent contender. Iltutmish personally led military action against him. It was the year when the historian, Minhāj-i-Sirāj, arrived in Uchchah (624/1226). Unable to repulse the thrust of Iltutmish, and unwilling to suffer the humiliation of surrender, the haughty rival took a desperate leap from the window of his palace and drowned himself in river Sind. The

brilliant chapter of Uchchah's cultural activities closed for ever. None the less, 'Ali b. Hāmid Kūfi had completed his project about a decade before Qabachah's death and downfall.

A desire had overtaken 'Ali b. Hāmid since he settled in Uchchah. That is, he should collect information about the men of his race, the Arabs, who came under the leadership of Muhammad b. Qāsim and conquered Sind. Indeed, that was a glorious age. For Qutaibah b. Muslim and Muhammad b. Qāsim occupied Central Asia and Sind respectively during the same time. Luckily, the desire was remarkably satisfied.

The book which won for 'Ali b. Hāmid a dignified place among historians was the work of an unknown Arab scholar preserved in the library of a noble family living in Bhakkar, Sind. Shaikh Ismā'il was a jurist of that city and held the office of *Qāzi*, which being hereditary in character carried many social privileges. He was an Arab and the descendant of the adventurers who shared in the achievement of victory and settled there. Shaikh Ismā'il's house was visited by men of learning and distinction. One day, 'Ali b. Hāmid enjoyed the hospitality of the Shaikh, who opened his library for his guest. The precious collection was the heritage of many generations. 'Ali b. Hāmid caught sight of a book which filled his mind with great pleasure. It dealt with the military expedition of Muhammad b. Qāsim and revealed the dynastic account of his adversary, Rāja Dhār.

A scholar by taste, 'Ali b. Hāmid at once translated the work from original Arabic into Persian, the official medium adopted by the new rulers of the sub-continent, 613/1216. He dedicated it to Qabachah's minister, 'Ain ul-Mulk.

The arbitrary title of the translation is *Chach Namah*. For, Chach was the founder of the dynasty which faced the challenge of the Arabs. And, the description of Chach and his descendants covered much portion of the book. Oddly enough, the original book despite its picturesque style attained no fame in the Arabic speaking world. Seemingly, its copies did not exist outside India when Ibn Nadim Baghdādi compiled his great catalogue, 377/987.

After 'Ali b. Hāmid completed his translation, the solitary Arabic copy preserved in the library of Shaikh Ismā'il also perished. Only the Persian version has survived.*

The unknown Arab writer must be gifted with historical insight and mature understanding. About half the book has been devoted to a faithful record of Indian side, Rājah Chach and Dahar, who ruled the vast region between the Arabian Sea and the mountains of Kashmir. It demonstrated the typical liberal attitude of the Arab historians as narrators of events. Secondly, his magnified view of one side by contrast enhanced the measure of achievement made by the other, that is, the men of his own race.

In translating the book 'Ali b. Hāmid betrayed his own notions of history also. The political change that occurred in India during the life-time of his own generation had its origins five centuries back in the emergence of the Arabs. They started the process of which the Turks were the inevitable culmination. His eagerness to discover the record of his countrymen and place it in its proper setting was not based on mere racial sentiments. Its study was full of lessons with which his contemporaries must be acquainted.

The progress of Muhammad b. Qāsim's expedition culminating in his victory has been depicted in detailed manner. A trivial matter, the attack of Indian pirates on the ships carrying Muslim pilgrims from Ceylon and nearby islands unfolded the whole series of events. Rājah Dahar's evasive reply to the protest of Hajjaj b. Yūsuf against that guilty conduct of Rājah's subjects was responsible to spark out the provocation.

In describing the battle scenes, the author of *Chach-Namah* proved his mastery and charm as a story-teller. Between Debal and Multan, Muhammad b. Qāsim fought about fourteen battles. With great imagination the historian composed an integrated picture of each encounter. The Indians had to endure the baffling disadvantage of two weapons used against them for the first time: burning balls of naphtha and the mangonel = *manjanīq*, which hurled volleys of stones with deadly force. Further, the astrologer and the unmanageable elephant also

* ed. 'Umar b. Muhammad Dawūdpoṭa. Hyderabad, 1939.

subscribed to damage their cause.

The day of major engagement, in which Rājah Dahar himself took part and was killed, proved equally hard to Muhammad b. Qāsim, the general of unusually tender age. As Hajjaj b. Yūsuf received report of victory from the emissary, the honest camel rider's reply about the role of the general was very disappointing: "Your cousin fainted in the heat of battle and cried for water."

In short, the expedition lasted precisely eight months and ten days, that was, from Friday 1st. Muharram to Thursday 10th of Ramazan 93/711.

Rukn ud-Din Samarqandi, witnessed the days of Sultān Qutb ud-Din, Aibak and Iltutmish. His hometown, Samarqand, which he left as free wanderer in sufi garb, always enjoyed world fame for being the centre of culture and romantic legends. Whereas Bukhara was the city of jurists and learned men accomplished in the domain of religion, Samarqand thronged with scholars of diverse disciplines. Particularly, mathematical and astronomical studies were keenly pursued by the inhabitants of that city. Rukn ud-Din brought with him the intellectual traditions of his birth place and added to the prestige of Aibak's Delhi.

From Delhi Rukn ud-Din's wander-lust took him towards Bihar and Bengal. Muhammed Bakhtyār Khalji, who had conquered the entire region and exercised his jurisdiction from Lakhnauti, was impressed by the scholar's intelligence. The governor offered Rukn ud-Din the post of Qāzi over his territory. Those were the days when every new emigrant subscribed to the making of history.

Qāzi Rukn ud-Din developed interest in the science of *yoga*. A scholar by training and habits, he soon made himself proficient in Sanskrit. His achievement was the translation of *Amrit Kūnd*, the Sanskrit classic on *yoga*, in order to acquaint the Muslims with a field of knowledge hitherto unknown to them. As Arabic was the language of learning and science in Islamic society, Rukn ud-Din preferably translated *Amrit kund* into Arabic version under the title: *Mir'at ul'Ma'ani fi Idrak al-'Alam al-Insani*. In consideration to Persian, adopted as official language of the empire, he

made a fresh effort to bring out one more rendition into Persian. Its title was comparatively direct and literal, namely, *Hauz ul-Hayat*. Time did not allow the Persian version to last; but the Arabic *Mirāt ul-Ma'ani* has survived.

Nowadays, *yoga* in its popular understanding, is associated with breathing exercises and sitting postures. By regular practice, this typical method is supposed to cause physical improvement, and also, may bring out spiritual benefits. Furthermore, it could cure many diseases and prevent the occurrence of possible disorders in human body. That is why, *yoga* is gaining wide-spread attention in modern society of the West.

From philosophical point of view, it was a comprehensive system whereby man could be able to merge his individual soul into universal soul. Ultimately, the system offered deliverance from the painful cycle of rebirth. For, metempsychosis has ever been an intractable dilemma in Hindu thought. By gradual purification, individual self could attain communion with Divine Being. So, *yoga* is an unfailing method of purifying human character from inherent vices, namely, falsehood, lust, malice, arrogance, cruelty etc. Consequently, man will find himself rising to the transcendental plane of everlasting bliss.

Historically, Patanjali (ca. 200 B.C.) was the founder of the system. It is one of the six fundamental systems evolved by the Indian saints. The poet, Iqbal respectfully called them: "gods of the Himalayas". *Yoga* visualized eight stages of spiritual progress. Special emphasis was laid on the rhythm of breathing. For, according to the master of *yoga*, respiratory relaxation enabled man to withdraw attention from outward objects. It was conditional before self-realization.

As regards the sufis of the Indian sub-continent, *Habs-i-dam* ~ breath control, was quite familiar to them. Interestingly, they attributed its origin to Khwajah Abdul-khāliq Ghujdwāni (d.575/1179), a sufi whose residence, Ghujdwan, was a village near Bukhara. And, the Khwajah had learned the process from Khizr, the prophet blessed with liberation from the bondage of time. Qāzi Rukn ud-Din (d.615/1218) lived about half a century after the Khwajah of Ghujdwan. The Qāzi obtained help in

learning *yoga* and in his translation project from a local friend, Bhoj Brahman, who, responding to the call of the Qāzi, later on embraced Islam. To his great credit the Qāzi introduced the earliest work on *yoga*, into Islamic literature. And, it was the first scholarly exercise by a talented Muslim on the soil of Bengal.

Muhammad Mu'min, lived in Lukhnauti, Bengal, during the days of Iltutmish (d.633/1235). He was a friend of Qāzi Rukn ud-Din Samarqandī, the translator of Sanskrit classic on *yoga*, *Amrit Kund* = *Hanz ul-Hayat*. At the instance of Qāzi Rukn ud-Din, his friend, Muhammad Mu'min, translated from Sanskrit a book on the philosophy of *Vedānta*, written by the Qāzi's literary associate, Bhoj Brahman. It was a bilingual attempt, that is, the translation appeared in Arabic and thereafter in Persian. The title of the Persian version was *Risalah-i-Irfan*.

The early generation of Muslims, who entered India, possessed a high degree of intellectual refinement. They were quick to appreciate the corpus of sublime ideas conceived by the Indian sages during the course of many centuries. Making them available to their co-religionists in simple Persian version was an arduous duty. As if what Bakhtyār Khalji achieved was not enough, they desired to pierce deep into the mental environment of the people, particularly, of the learned classes. The attempt in that direction was made, next to Qāzi Rukn ud-Din Samarqandī, by Muhammad Mu'min, a humble and care-free wanderer; and, happily, it was a success.

Since the rise of sufistic movement in Islam, and decidedly many years earlier than Ibn Arabi, the great Shaikh = *Shaikh ul-Akbar*, of Andalusia (d.638/1240), the concept of *Wahdat ul-Wujūd* = Unity of Existence, made its firm hold over the mind of Muslim sufis. It defined that the source of all existence was God, and the rest was nothingness. Next, in order of importance came the mystical equation between God and man. Husain b. Mansūr Hallāj (d.309/922) offered the peculiar instance. And, there are elements in the doctrine of *Vedānta*, that is, the end of the teachings contained in the Vedās, which make the one closely resemble the other. Primarily, the two systems aimed at determining the relationship between universal soul and individual soul. The pointed question: whether the latter was capable of merging itself into the former? In final analysis, both

repose their belief in the well-known ocean and drop metaphor.

However, all sufis, Rūmi for example, emphasized that by means of *'ishq*=love, submergence of the individual could be experienced in temporary ecstasy. On the other hand, rejecting that view the orthodox religion, chiefly based on reason, took irreconcilable stand; and that has ever remained a major point of difference between the Sufis and the representatives of orthodoxy, the *'Ulama*. So, in borrowing contents from the original *Vedānta* and presenting a comprehensible translation to his people, Muhammad Mu'min had to walk on tight rope.

'Aufi, Sadid ud-Din Muhammad, was born in Bukhara, the city famous for its scholars, colleges and libraries, before Changiz Khan and his Mongol hordes burned and destroyed it in 616/1219. He claimed his descent from Abd ur-Rahmān b. 'Auf, the Prophet's companion. Luckily, Muhammad 'Aufi was saved from Mongol catastrophe, for, he had left his home town some time earlier on a wandering career. It was part of every young man's education to visit important Islamic cities after completing the formal studies. As the dark shadow of Mongol invasion fell over the entire region of Trans-oxiana and Iran, 'Aufi fled to seek shelter in Uchchah, Sind, which was the seat of the provincial governor appointed by Sultān Mu'izz ud-Din Muhammad b. Sam Ghori. The governor Nāsir ud-Din Qabāchah and his minister, 'Ain ul-Mulk Ash 'ari, ardent promoters of knowledge, treated 'Aufi with kindness; and he soon established his reputation in the learned circles of Uchchah and Multan.

In Uchchah, the time of Muhammad 'Aufi passed in busy and fruitful engagements. The leisurely atmosphere of court life was favourable for study and writing. He completed the anthology, of poets, *Lubāb ul-albāb* famous as the first surviving *tazkirah*, and dedicated it to Qabāchah's minister, 'Ain ul-Mulk Asha'ari.

'Aufi went to reside at Cambay (Khambayat) situated near the sea coast after receiving appointment as Qāzi of Gujarat. There he attempted translation of a book of entertaining stories, *al-Faraj ba'd ash-Shiddah*, by Tanukhi (d.384/994). Arabic literature has many works suggesting

"Happiness After Distress" theme. Tanukhi's work gained unmatched popularity. Another scholar, Husain Dahistāni, also brought out its Persian version during the same time, more or less. The question of precedence between 'Auḡi and Husain Dahistāni was left unsettled by Mirza Muhammad Qazwini and Ethe. However, Md. Nizām ud-Din of Hyderabad established that 'Auḡi's translation preceded that of Husain Dahistāni by about thirty years. It was completed in 621/1224 and dedicated to the governor, Nāsir-ud-Din Qabachah.

Aibak's death led to quick dismemberment of the empire into four segments; Qabachah's loyalty to Delhi became dubious; Iltutmish personally marched with a powerful army and removed Qabachah out of scene. All the scholars and pious men living in the court of Uchchah were invited by Iltutmish to proceed in his company. Moreover, he gave them assurance of better and brighter prospects in Delhi, the newly founded imperial capital. 'Auḡi was one of those who accepted the invitation of the Sultān.

Having arrived in Delhi (625/1227), 'Auḡi kept himself busy over his monumental work, *Jawāmi 'ul-Hikayāt wa Lawāmi 'ur-Riwayāt*, for which he was strenuously collecting material in Uchchah, or perhaps, before his arrival in India. For, the book is, so to speak, history in pieces, that is, *Jawāmi* = gatherings, of many thousand historical anecdotes bearing practical experiences in order to enlighten the mind. After completion, the author dedicated it to the learned *Wazīr* of Sultān Iltutmish, Nizām ul-Mulk Muhammad Junaidi.

Evidently, 'Auḡi was living and active around 630/1232. He passed all his remaining life in Delhi. His date of death is unknown.

Precedence is rightly enjoyed by *Lubāb ul-albab* over the anthologies of poets produced in Persian language. For, it is next in order to the lost *tazkirah*, namely, Abu Tāhir Khatuni's *Manaqib ush-Shu'ara*. Written in India, 'Auḡi's work remained safe from the Mongol holocaust. One distinct feature of the book is that it set a pattern which later *tazkirah* writers followed without daring to introduce drastic innovation. In fact, deviation was not conceivable without depriving the whole anthological

literature of its natural charm. 'Aufr proved himself an effective literary guide. As regards the arrangement of the book, there are two uneven sections or parts containing eight and four chapters respectively. The chapter-wise account proceeds with the samples of verses composed by kings, ministers, and learned men. For, they were the key-figures in promoting the cause of literature and various fields of culture. Later on (ch.8-ch.12), we are introduced to men of letters and their select verses. Mostly they lived in the court of the ruling dynasties and enjoyed the support of their contemporary rulers. The author reserved the last chapter to five learned men of his day, including himself, and finished the book on his own *qasidah*, the traditional laudatory poem. All in all, he accommodated one hundred sixty nine poets in part two of the book, who lived prior to Shaikh S'adi of Shiraz.

In completing *Jawami 'ul-Hikayat*, a book of encyclopaedic range, 'Aufr must have taken extra-ordinary labour, patience and time. Interestingly, the work reveals the author's deep involvement in historical problems.* He was not concerned with history as an ever-moving process of cause and effect. For him it was a diary imprinted with detached instances to justify or condemn, as the case may be, the actions and ambitions of man.

There are four major parts of the book. Every part has been sub-divided into twenty five chapters. All the one hundred chapters swell with instructive anecdotes picked up from actual happenings. Around forty or fifty anecdotes must be comprising each chapter. Invariably, complex historical situations are presented through them. And, in his style the author is gifted with unfailing magic. Indeed, his narrative power makes his large-scale plan a great success.

The stories revolving in the author's imagination were flickers that enlightened the dark and abysmal track of time. They convinced him of the Divine principle insisting on the reward of virtue and punishment for vice. Every anecdote is a mild appeal to human beings for holding careful watch over their conduct. It seems, most of the utterances are addressed not so much to the common creatures as to the kings and men of power

* Md. Nizam ud-Din, *Introduction to Jawami ul-Hikayat*. London, Luzac, 1929.

displaying their arrogance on God's earth.

Curiously, Persian history shows a tendency to relapse into fiction and legend. This attitude is apparent in *Jawami 'ul-Hikayat*, where the author freely utilizes historical material for the purpose of imparting moral instruction.

Khwajah Mu 'in ud-Din Chishti (d.633/1235) hailed from Chist, a town in the neighbourhood of Herat, modern Afghanistan. According to his genealogy, the Khwajah was a Rizawi Saiyed, that is, descendant of Imām 'Ali Reza', eighth ordained successor in line of 'Ali, the Prophet's cousin and son-in-law. His father, Ghiyas ud-Din Hasan, was famous for learning and piety. Before turning towards India as his final destination, he had wandered through all the cultural centres of the Islamic world from east to west, a regular sufi practice, and had met a large number of pious and learned men at every important place.

Islamic sufism has abiding relevance so long as conflict, violence and crime are inherent in human nature. Admittedly, all religious systems strive at improving the beastly character of man. An ancient belief confirmed that the fierce strife between good and evil was actually taking place within our own existence, and its further manifestation in the wide world was a known reality. Semitic religions, on the one hand admitted man's Divine origin and on the other, conceded Satan's more than due privilege as sole agent for the transaction of evil. Comparatively recent in history of thought, stands Sigmund Freud pronouncing authoritatively that we, the advanced members of biological series, are inextricably linked with the phylum carnivora, and by using weapons of mass destruction we have substantially proved our ability to surpass all ferocious animals. That is the chronic and confusing situation the world is facing at present. Exactly, the same dilemma tends to make sufism a lasting necessity. It is not merely a thing of good old days. Human beings of today, more than their ancestors of the past, find themselves in utter despondency and dejection. Naturally, the search for safety and survival has assumed serious proportions and what the future has in store, who can say? In given circumstances, Sufism offers a comprehensive programme for moral uplift and has capability to invite universal attention. Its

teachings carry sure guarantee for transforming the character; and also, they could guard the temptations which ruin our tranquility. The central point of Sufism is love of God and deep emotional good will towards all human beings.

At this juncture India experienced the third round of Islam's military advance. The first and second time it occurred earlier under Muhammad b. Qāsim and Mahmūd of Ghaznah respectively. Now, the leader was Mu'izz ud-Din Muhammad b. Sām Ghori. The Khwajah, by his arrival, added a new dimension to the event. From the more clear of so many confusing accounts, it comes out that the Khwajah appeared on the scene around 582/1186, that is, about six years prior to the fateful battle of Tarā'in. Suppose, he arrived in the same year when Mu'izz ud-Din b. Sām seized Delhi, he withdrew to Ajmer in order to lead a life of seclusion" (*Ain-i-Akbari*). Other reporters, mentioning his arrival after Tarā'in deserve no credence (*Tarikh-i-Ferishtah, Kalimat us-Sadiqin*). The fact of real significance was the Khwajah's presence; the stage was crucial. He attested before the world, and the evidence has lasted. Had there been no Turkish invasion, Islam was bound to find its way into the Indian sub-continent. Parallel to the marching armies there had been in progress the process of peaceful mobility. The Khwajah and the band of pious people following him thereafter had an entirely different aim. Clad in coarse woolen garb and maintaining careful distance with military adventurers, warriors, and empire-builders, they moved as ambassadors of Islam. Friendly, cheerful, and poor, they had awareness that their footprints will shine on the track of history. In their profound wisdom they were quite right to determine that the land of the Vedas offered rich prospects for Islam to bloom and prosper; the soil was bounteous and fertile.

In appearance, the Khwajah looked a humble personage, rather poverty and submissiveness incarnate. For, possessing worldly belongings was forbidden in his discipline. Highly educated, accepting the office of worldly dignity was equally unimaginable. All sufis were uncompromising on this point; they faithfully honoured the vows of renunciation and resignation. Reserved with men of noble station, the Khwajah displayed himself to be extremely warm-hearted towards the

common folk. His sympathy and sincerity were freely enjoyed by them. In return, they gratefully called him *Gharib-nawaz* = patron of the poor, and the title fairly reflected his character. Living a quiet life away from the seat of power and taking no interest in the affairs of ruling classes, he was a model of the well-known sufi dictum: "to possess nothing and to be possessed by nothing." His initial place of halt after crossing the mountainous chain of North-West was Lahore. Many years earlier, the same route had been trod by the lone traveller, Shaikh 'Ali b. 'Usmān Hujwiri. When Muhammad b. Sām Ghori extended control over the city of Lahore, the Khwajah left for Delhi. And, when Delhi became the capital of empire, he shifted to Ajmer, the frontier-post of Turkish jurisdiction. In life, he scrupulously avoided fame. Nor did the simple routine of prayers and religious rituals during larger part of the day and all night allow its resonance to reach far and wide. After death, it gradually spread with the passage of time. Belief in the omnipresence of the Almighty God and the strong feeling of attachment with mankind at large, brought the Khwajah to distant and alien surroundings, and those surroundings may rightly be called hostile. The Khwajah was endowed with an astonishing will. Far more overwhelming was the sacredness of the object: the desire to spread the message of Islam. No obstacle was formidable enough to deter him; nor could hardships disturb his serenity of temperament. Such was the founder of the *Chisti Silsilah*.

Interestingly, fantastic legends have gathered around the Khwajah's personality in the course of centuries. Popular adoration tended to increase their number; and writers of anthologies collected them avidly.* Imaginary portraits different from the original cast a spell on the unlettered masses. For example: 1. In the neighbourhood of Balkh, the Khwajah miraculously converted a philosopher Maulana Zia-ud-Din, who was initially a staunch opponent of the Sufis and branded them as lunatics. The Khwajah entertained the Maulana by offering a piece of roasted chicken, eating the other piece himself. Maulana Zia ud-Din instantly experienced deep spiritual ecstasy. He threw away his books of

* Hamid Qalandar : *Khair ul-Majālis*, Amir Khwurd: *Siyar ul-Auliya*, Jamāli Dihlawi: *Siyar ul-Arifin*, Shaikh Abd ul-Haq: *Akhbar ul-Akhyar*, Ghausi Shattari: *Gulzar-i-Abrar*, Muhammad Sadiq: *Kalimat us-Sadiqin*, Abd ur-Rahmān Chishti: *Mir'at ul-Asrar*, Ali Asghar Chishti: *Jawahir-i-Faridi*, and others.

philosophy into the river, distributed his property among the poor, and proclaimed his adherence to the sufi way of life. In fact, the sufis faced consistent hostility from two quarters: the '*Ulama*' = jurists, and the '*Hakama*' = philosophers. None the less, they avoided polemical confrontations and were essentially pacifists. Also, their social philosophy, '*Sulh-i-kul*' = universal peace, made the exercise of Supernatural powers an unnecessary botheration. 2. Once, the Khwajah happened to stay in Sabzwar, a stronghold of the Shi'ahs, situated near Nishapur. The governor of Sabzwar, obviously a Shi'ah, came to see him. One fixed gaze of the Khwajah sent the governor into such a restless mood that he repented from his faith and at once became a Sunni. 3. The mother of Rai Pithora, ruler of Ajmer, was known for her mastery of magic and astronomy. Her prophecy of the Khwajah's arrival terrified Rai Pithora and his nobles. Pictures of the Khwajah drawn by Pithora's mother were circulated to all officials of the kingdom and they were alerted to prevent his entry. Their efforts failed and the Khwajah reached Ajmer. 4. At the Khwajah's command the idol of Anasagar Lake temple began to talk and recited *Kalima* = the Islamic profession of Faith. Later, he lived like a human being. 5. Pithora's prime minister, Jaipal, was equally a great magician. Sitting on deer skin, he flew above clouds and disappeared in the blue sky. The Khwajah ordered his sleepers to pursue Jaipal and bring him back to earth. In the end, Jaipal felt helpless and embraced Islam. 6. Pithora's haughty attitude and refusal to enter the fold of Muslim faith incurred the Khwajah's displeasure and was the real cause of his doom, etc. These legends in their unending chain, "apocryphal" as the scholars call them, are not without special significance. Time has not been able to diminish their popularity. They enlighten one important point: apart from his real self, there moves a shadow of the common man's Khwajah of Ajmer.

The Khwajah, like most of the sufis, passed his active life in celibacy. In old age, it occurred to him that, hitherto, he had ignored the performance of one important *Sumat* = practice of the Prophet, of course, amounting to law; and that was marriage. So, he married the daughter of Saiyed Ghiyas ud-Din, a native of Mashhad and brother of Saiyed Hasan "Khang Sawar". The latter was appointed governor of the area by Muhammad b. Sam Ghorî to safeguard the turbulent frontier. The

marriage, contracted ca. 606/1209, was a success. They passed life together for twenty seven years. Next, he solemnized *Nikah* = wedding, with another lady, the daughter of a Rajput chieftain, who came as a prisoner of war. In consideration of her noble birth, the soldiers presented her to the Khwajah. According to another version, the chieftain, having become the Khwajah's devotee, offered the daughter's hand and the Khwajah accepted his request. Both wives bore him children.

At Ajmer the Khwajah died, aged ninety seven, on 6 Rajab, the year 633 of the Hijrah. (A.D. 1235) He possessed excellent taste as a poet and one of his surviving quatrains, besides confirming his genius, may be treated as manifesto of his faith: *Haqqa ki bina -i-La ilā hast Husain* By God, Husain is the foundation of *No God but Allah*. An unknown sufi scholar claimed that after much wandering across the world, he discovered the Khwajah's letters addressed to Qutb ud-Din Bakhtiyār and other disciples: *Asrār ul-Wasilin*. However, according to modern researchers, some other Mu'in and not the Khwajah was the real author, of the existing *Diwan-i-Mu'in*.

The Khwajah left two spiritual successors: Qutb ud-Din Bakhtiyār and Shaikh Hamid ud-Din Nāguari (Suwali). Both of them played vital role in promoting the mission of their teacher.

Qutb ud Din Bakhtiyār was the spiritual successor = *Khalifah*, of Khwajah Mu'in ud-Din Chishtī. There were peculiarities in his character which made him a very interesting man. In obedience to his master's wish, he lived in Delhi and enjoyed most influential position in the social life of the capital. Iltutmish often visited his *Khanqah* when the worries of government tormented his mind. Bakhtiyār did not go to his court. Nor did the Sultān ever send message to summon him. On the other hand, he strictly adhered to the prescribed code of humble living. Scanty diet after the day's fast, coarse dress which afforded little comfort to the feeble body in any season of the year, and brief rest from prayers and recollection during the hours of day and night, characterized him as a model of the teachings imparted by the founder of Chishti order, his mentor, the Khwajah of Ajmer.

Bakhtyār's birth place was Ush, a town situated in the province of Jaxartes, Central Asia. His father, Kamāl ud-Dīn Ahmad Mūsā, died leaving him an infant of eighteen months, and the burden of his upbringing fell on his mother, who, without doubt, seemed to be a lady of exceptional qualities. From the beginning, Bakhtyār was inclined to religious studies and proved his intelligence in acquiring early education. His quest for knowledge made him a wanderer and he reached Baghdad where he found considerable solace. There was a galaxy of scholars and pious men in the city of peace, *Dār us-Salam*, as Baghdad was called. It must be a rare occurrence that an unknown stranger, staying temporarily in Baghdad, made a permanent impression on the mind of young Bakhtyār. Mu'in ud-Dīn Chisti initiated him as his disciple. However, the question of Bakhtyār's discipleship has been made confusing by writers of anthologies and their later borrowers, particularly, Jamālī Dehlawī has produced contradictory reports. Shaikh Abul Fazl and the historian, Ferishta, exercised their own discretion in picking up information from Jamālī. Thus, the first meeting between the master and disciple should have taken place at Ush, Baghdad, Isfahan, or somewhere in India. That they passed some time together in Baghdad, may be a more trustworthy proposition.

As Bakhtyār arrived in India, his teacher advised him to settle in Delhi. The reason was obvious: Delhi was crowded with scholars hailing from their Central Asian and Iranian homelands; and Bakhtyār possessed a brilliant personality. His vast knowledge fully justified him for meaningful inter-action with them as a representative of Chishti mission.

The critical attitude of the *Ulama* against the sufis had a long history; often, it culminated in ruthless hostility. Husain b. Mansūr Hallaj afforded an outstanding example (d.309/922). Narrowness on the one hand and all-embracing tolerance on the other, divided the two groups into irreconcilable camps. Invariably the sufis tended to warm every frozen heart with belief in the boundless mercy of God. Popularity among the masses was the obvious reward of their preachings; but the wrath of the orthodox also descended as simultaneous compliment. Bakhtyār, soon after his arrival in Delhi, had to undergo the same sort of bitter experience. Naturally, popularity led to jealousy like the rule of equal and opposite

reaction. Moreover Bakhtyār's highly developed aesthetic sensibility, of which the easiest outlet was *Samā'ī* = music, aroused strong hatred. He employed regular singers=*Qawwāl*, in the *Khanqāh*. The stream of devotees and seekers of blessing, men and women, with whom he was always kind and cordial, contributed as fresh source of chagrin. In short, the organized clamour of the *Ulama* made life hell for him in Delhi. Utterly disgusted, Bakhtyār despatched a letter to Ajmer and informed the Khwajah the miserable situation faced by him. It was a challenge for his master, who came to the capital in order to make personal inquiry of the matter. His findings, that Bakhtyār's victimization was a malicious conspiracy, thoroughly stirred the Khwajah's displeasure; he therefore, decided to remove his disciple and representative back to Ajmer. The news spread in the city and the whole populace expressed anguish as if Delhi will be left soulless if Bakhtyār departed. Iltutmish personally requested the Khwajah to defer his resolve; and the Sultan's wish was honoured. Bakhtyār's tormentors received signals to be cautious in future and not to make vain attacks.

Sublime communion with God and spiritual bliss notwithstanding, the sufi after all happened to be an earthly being. Buddha, the man, on the one hand attained enlightenment and on the other, fainted due to starvation. So was the case with Bakhtyār. Starvation stalked freely in his house; and Bakhtyār often borrowed from his neighbour, a grocer to meet the family needs. The grocer's wife made mock of her neighbour's perennial improverishment. Stung by insult, the pious wife of the saint wept in presence of her husband. From that day, a piece of bread would appear under Bakhtyār's prayer carpet which his wife and children shared to allay their hunger. The meaning of *Kak* being dry-bread or biscuit, people added "*Kaki*" with Bakhtyār's name in allusion to his supernatural quality.

Indeed, he belonged to those remarkable men of history, who are remembered as great benefactors of humanity. His genius was responsible for transferring the noble values of Islamic civilization from Bukhara and Baghdad before their ruin to the Delhi of Iltutmish. His death occurred on 14 Rabi I. 633/27 Nov. 1235.

Bakhtyār is credited with the dubious authorship of *Dalil ul-'Arifin*. Modern critical scholarship has discarded the work under "*Fabricated*

Malfuzat".* Non the less, he eagerly trained a disciple: Farid ud-Din Mas'ud Ganj-i-Shakar. Just as he was the worthy successor of his teacher, in the same way, Farid ud-Din Mas'ud was his "best book."

Shaikh Hamid ud-din Nagauri (Suwali) belonged to the first generation of Muslims born in India after the conquest of Mu'izz ud-Din Muhammad b. Sam Ghorī. Hamid ud-Din's parents, like many others, came to Delhi via Lahore and made that city their home. Muslim society of those days being essentially mobile, free movement was a regular practice; and in the reckoning of reporters, Hamid ud-Din's father, Ahmad, was an emigrant from the area of Khurasan, Iran. Shaikh Hamid ud-Din felt a special pleasure in relating to his friends and devotees that he was the first child whose birth was a joyous news for the Muslim families settled of late in Delhi. In fact, he intended to convey a message to his co-religionists. The first-born Muslim in the capital of the empire was a man whose noble character would inspire them and they would cherish his memory with pride.

Muhammad was his name; although known to posterity by his title, Hamid ud-Din. Ahmad, his father, was a scholar and initially he guided the child in studies. It was a period of great tragedy in Islamic history. Delhi offered safety and security of life: so, it was full of refugees. Men of talents among them opened bright prospects for seekers of knowledge. Indeed, they raised the prestige of the city as a centre of Islamic scholarship. Young Hamid ud-Din took full advantage and succeeded in gaining excellent education.

By the fall of Baghdad, Muslims had developed the philosophy of education which solely based its purpose on the attainment of spiritual values. Many thinkers, like Rumi for instance, pronounced emphatically that "Knowledge attained through heart becomes friend, and knowledge attained through body becomes snake." They outright disapproved the educational system which turned out successful men of the world no matter villains. Fortunately, Shaikh Hamid ud-Din found in India a teacher perfectly competent to improve his character, regulate his mind and enlighten his spirit. He was initiated into the Sufi discipline by Khwajah

* Muhammad Habib: *Politics and Society during the early medieval period*, Vol. 1.

Mu'in ud-Din Chishti, who, by now had left Delhi and settled at Ajmer. It seemed that the course of guidance did not prolong much; nor were the pains taken to unusual limit. For, both the preceptor and the pupil shared the rare quality called genius. Apprenticeship being over, the Khwajah decided to place Hamid ud-Din at Nāgaur, an early settlement of the Muslims.

To be the spiritual successor of Khwaja Mu'in ud-Din Chishti was a great distinction. None the less, sufistic discipline was fraught with real difficulties. First of all, aristocratic temperament bred by high education was of necessity to be suppressed as the sufi way of life demanded complete renouncement of worldly comforts. Similarly, instead of petty self-interest, the usual incumbent of poverty, a sufi's heart would be full of larger sympathies, which he was to demonstrate from his personal conduct. Private property was prohibited; so, there remained no option but to be generous. Humble himself, he was above the anxieties of humble classes. In short, enjoying solace in the boundless mercy of God, he could transfer the same mood to those who sought his nearness.

For his maintenance, Shaikh Hamid ud-Din made an interesting calculation, and his peculiar economics was not going to disappoint him in life. That the yield of a single *bighah* of land, equal to about three thousand square yards at the most, could very well protect a small family against starvation and want of clothing. The Shaikh's wife had a daily routine of spending some of her time on spinning wheel. Repeatedly, the provincial governors desired to enhance the landgrant; and often the initiative came from the centre as the Shaikh was a celebrity; but he firmly declined the offer. The one *bighah* he owned and cultivated lay in village Suwali in the neighbourhood of Nagaur. Many writers, therefore, have added "Suwali" together with Nāgauri as suffix to his title.

Of all the traditions of the Prophet, the most liked and most popular one among the sufis is: "Poverty is my pride." Shaikh Hamid ud-Din went to the utmost length in observing it, that is, both in letter and spirit. The tradition has potentiality to protect man from the chief source of evil and direct him towards perfection. Wealth, besides the usual accompaniment

of degeneration which is a minor problem, carries inherent dangers of far greater proportion sufficiently undoing its benefits. To enumerate ^{for} example: its lust is insatiable; next, during the course of its accumulation, whether by religious or temporal authority, moral transgression shall of necessity be employed; and finally, like a volcano bursting out after regular succession of time, it follows history's cyclic law, that is, freebooters or war-lords would recurrently fall upon it and thereby the world would be plunged into grief, hardship and loss.

Shaikh Hamid ud-Din arrived at the conclusion that in order to make the avoidance of wealth a reality, one must exercise absolute control over his desires. An interesting story narrated by the author of *Akhhbar ul-Akhyar* explains his position: "Once Khwajah Mu'in ud-Din Chishti in his joyous mood allowed his devotees to spell out a wish; and he would pray; God the Merciful may grant their supplication. Each of them uttered what they could instantly recollect. Only, Shaikh Hamid ud-Din abstained, saying: "There is no wish left in my heart. For, I have surrendered my will to the will of God." Immensely pleased, the Khwajah honoured his disciple with the title of 'King in the realm of renunciation' - *Sultan ut-Tarikin*."

On the same issue the Shaikh took a principled stand against Baha ud-Din Zakariya; and the two illustrious contemporaries exchanged letters explaining their divergent opinions. When the two met at Delhi in connection with the *Mahzar* of Jalal ud-Din Tabrizi, they made lengthy sittings together in order to understand each others' point of view. Whether the one was convinced by the other has not been ascertained. Perhaps, the matter remained unresolved. Baha ud-Din Zakariya was known to have made savings of cash received as *fatah* - offerings, from the merchants. Also, there were large godowns of foodgrain under his control. Naturally, the practice was a source of argumentation and rift with the rest of the sufi fraternity. In Delhi, the assembly of the learned elected Baha ud-Din Zakariya to preside over the deliberations of the *mahzar*; but Shaikh Hamid ud-Din was treated with special honour for his bold statements on the question of self-imposed poverty. He tenaciously held that learned men in general and sufis in particular, should not be tempted by property and wealth. His witty and sarcastic remark splashed

like a stone in the pond creating wide ripples; "The greatest Shaikh of our time is jital."*

In simple and forthright manner, the Shaikh presented his outlook on the importance of knowledge by saying: "Ignorance is a curse." Indeed, the idea originated from Plato, who, by dextrous use of irony, gave double-edged sharpness to his maxim: "Ignorance is bliss." Again, the Shaikh's faith in the virtue of cultivating human mind, and the value he attached to the sincere pursuit of ideas, may be judged from his frank utterance: "Men without knowledge are fossils." Of course, the Shaikh did not expect intuitive knowledge from ordinary human beings.

On the ethical plane, the Shaikh pleaded that no harm should be done to any form of life. This high and noble philosophy was known to the Hindus since ancient times. From his teachings the scope of Chishti order was very much enhanced; it gained greater popularity and became readily acceptable to the common people of India. Obviously, acceptable to all the Sufi orders, the Chishti Saints attracted large number of Indians, particularly, the lower caste Hindus to their fold; they attained much success in spreading the message of Islam. Later Chishti Saints adopted more flexible attitude on the issue of formal religion. They accepted Hindus as their disciples without imposing the necessary condition of renouncing their old faith. Really, that was the way of inviting towards Islam by stages; and in most cases it worked. As a logical consequence of his avowed ethical code, Shaikh Hamid ud-Din was completely vegetarian in his food habits. Also, he induced others to drop meat from their regular diet routine.

As author, Shaikh Hamid ud-Din left one book: *Sūrūr us-Sūdūr*. It is an outstanding work in the field of Islamic Sufism. His wide knowledge of Islamic law, besides other subjects, and his range of study, reveals itself from the frequent references to so many earlier authorities. In short, the *Sūrūr us-Sūdūr* set the standard of scholarship for the following generations of Indian sufis, particularly, of the Chishti *Silsilah*.

The death of the Shaikh occurred on 29 Rabi II 673/ 1 November 1274.

* Jital was a copper coin current in those days.

Qāzi Hamid ud-Din Nāgauri (d 641/1243), the spiritual successor = *Khalifah*, of Shaikh Shihab ud-Din Suhrawardi of Baghdad (d-632/1234) passed most of his mature age in Delhi where he dwelt as an early representative of Suhrawardi order. His father, Ata ullah Mahmud, emigrated from Bukhara after Sultan Muhammad b. Sam Ghorī decided to make Delhi the capital of his empire. It is curious to note that other than people of useful callings, artists and artisans for example, a sizable number of scholars also responded to the Sultan's call; and the capital became the pivot of attraction for men of eminence in the realm of letters. *Ata ullah Mahmud belonged to the same gentlemanly category. His son, Hamid ud-Din Muhammad, opened his eyes in Delhi; although the distinction of being the first-born Muslim child in the capital was earned by his name-sake. Brought up in learned environment, Hamid ud-Din retained the family traditions and soon demonstrated mastery in different fields of knowledge. A judicial post was the appropriate reward of his qualifications and he was duly appointed Qāzi of Nagaur, an early settlement of the Muslims, near Ajmer.

Three years in judicial profession enriched his mind with interesting experiences concerning human nature and the young Qāzi displayed rare intelligence in deciding the legal cases when the even course of his life changed unexpectedly. Razi ud-Din Saghani arrived in Nagaur to deliver a series of lectures on the traditions of the Prophet. He was respected among his contemporaries as a scholar of *Hadith*. Saghani's lectures made comprehensive sweep of all important problems which philosophy and religion commonly strive to grapple. It was a lucky occasion and indeed a rare privilege. For the first time, the reality dawned upon Hamid ud-Din that mere knowledge of facts does not enable man to achieve nobleness of character. Nor can it raise his spirit to the high station of purity. Hamid ud-Din resigned from the prestigious post and gave up the luxurious living which the Qāzi's salary easily guaranteed. However the two appellations, Qāzi and Nāgauri, became inalienable prefix and suffix of his name for the rest of life.

Imām Razi ud-Din Saghani's discourses revolutionized Hamid ud-Din's existence. He turned attention from worldly career and proceeded to Baghdad. It was the first step on the road to sufism. Spiritual attainment

was the all powerful idea which determined his future. In Baghdad he entered the circle of Shaikh Shihab ud-Din Suhrawardi, who was impressed by that novitiate from India, and formally guided him in sufi discipline. Here in Baghdad, Hamid ud-Din moved in the company of some students, who became his life-long friends: They were: Jalal ud-Din Tabrizi, Qutb ud-Din Bakhtyar and Baha ud-Din Zakariya. Later on, all of them were to pass their lives in the Indian Subcontinent. Surprisingly, no one mentioned Shaikh Sa'di, who was also a disciple of Shihab ud-Din Suhrawardi. Perhaps, the Shaikh of Shiraz was well ahead of them and had completed his education prior to their arrival in Baghdad.

Hamid ud-Din spent four years in the holy cities, one in Madinah and three in Mecca; meantime he visited important places of great sanctity in Islam. These were his real formative years devoted to intense prayers and deep contemplation; simultaneously, the wanderings offered opportunity to develop keen observation. Meetings with religious scholars and holy men made permanent impressions on his personality.

From the holy cities via Baghdad, Hamid ud-Din returned to Delhi, the capital of the newly established empire. Perhaps, it was the indication of his spiritual mentor, Shaikh Shihab ud-Din Suhrawardi. Before his arrival Khwajah Qutb ud-Din Bakhtyar had already reached and settled there. The city was rapidly expanding and, as the Mongols launched their terrible invasion over the eastern region of Islamic lands, it swelled day by day with refugees; a large number of them were men of parts.

Initially, Indo-Islamic society introduced a practice that in controversies of religious nature the state would remain neutral; and the *Ulama* themselves would decide their disputes by holding an assembly. It was called *Mahzar*. later on (A.D. 15th century onwards), *Mahzar* assumed the meaning of a document signed by the *Ulama*; its compliance being obligatory on the state. Once, Qazi Hamid ud-Din Nagauri had to appear before an angry *Mahzar* on the charge of excessive indulgence in *Sama* = Sufi music. For, Islam deemed all music as unlawful. He silenced the opposing jurists by his learned and witty arguments. The Sultan ratified his defence.

A more solemn assembly, which agitated the feelings of almost all the learned community and divided people into two debating camps, met against Jalāl ud-Dīn Tabrizi, who lived in Delhi during those days. Sulān Iltutmish himself showed keen interest in the matter. Prominent *ʿUlama* from outside the capital, particularly, Shaikh Hamid ud-Dīn from Nāgaur and Shaikh Baha ud-Dīn Zakariya from Multan, were also invited to participate in the deliberations. Baha ud-Dīn Zakariya presided over the *Mahzar*. It happened that unable to suppress his jealousy against the popularity enjoyed by Jalāl ud-Dīn Tabrizi, the Chief Jurist, Najm ud-Dīn Saghra, *Shaikh ul-Islam* of Delhi, levelled most scandalous charges against the care-free Sufi. Of course, he employed a handsome slave-boy as his personal servant. As if the episode of Turkish slave-boy was not enough to damage his character, the *Shaikh ul-Islam's* party hired a woman of easy virtue, who came forward with the accusation of being seduced by Jalāl ud-Dīn. Gauhar was her name. All idle people of the city interested in gossip and loose talk found spicy topic for spreading the absurd rumour. Gauhar's affair became known to every resident of Delhi. The plight of the innocent Sufi may be imagined. He was faced with a difficult situation. The lengthy arguments of juristic nature from both sides made the *Mahzar* a protracted business. At last, Gauhar confessed herself in cross examination that she was paid to make the conspiracy a success. The learned members of the *Mahzar* dismissed the case and Jalāl ud-Dīn Tabrizi was exonerated. Although his honour was saved, the Sufi felt that Delhi was not a hospitable place for him. He soon shifted to Bada'un, an early Muslim colony, from where his wanderings continued to North Bihar and Bengal. Despite profound scholarship, Jalāl ud-Dīn did not write any book; but as a missionary of Islam his success in the North-Eastern region was great. Metaphorically speaking, all Muslims of Bengal are his children and he is their spiritual father.

Qāzi Hamid ud-Dīn Nāgauri occupied a unique position among the members of Suhrawardi order for his contribution to learning. He was the author of 1. *Lawa'ih*, now lost. It was deemed as an advanced text book. Farid ud-Dīn Mas'ūd Ganj-Shakar arduously explained its points to his students and recommended them to study the *Lawa'ih* carefully. 2. *Ishqiyah / Ma'rifat ul-qulub*, a tract containing ideas close to

pantheism, and 3. *Tawali'ush Shamas*, discussed in detail with various names of Allah and their attributes. The work has always remained famous and popular among the sufi scholars of the Indian sub-continent.

Baha ud-Din Zakariya of Multan, was the descendant of early Arabs who arrived as soldiers in the army of Muhammad b. Qasim and settled in Sind. Baha ud-Din Zakariya acquired the best education available during his time. In early life, he wandered for about seventeen years as a seeker of knowledge in different cities of the Islamic world from Bukhara to Mecca and Medinah.

Education among the Muslims, since the establishment of their institutions of learning included knowledge of classical Greek sciences from mathematics to alchemy, astronomy, and medicine formed important area of interest. Next, the religious studies covered a vast range. Three major disciplines: Commentary of the Quran, traditions of the Prophet, and jurisprudence evolved by various schools, demanded serious attention. Down in the reckoning, came belles letters: history, poetry and other like-wise branches of learning had popular appeal. Generally, the time schedule of teaching session was not strictly maintained, and perhaps, the early generations of Muslim educationists had awareness of the drawback imminent in time-bound arrangement. Their emphasis was on completeness and solidity. Suppose, a bright student finished his prescribed course in one year, let his lazy friend spend two or more years for winding up the same syllabus. Ultimately, hard work determined the student's career. Baha ud-Din Zakariya had studied disciplines to win the title of scholar = *'alim*. But, he soon realized that purification of spirit was the real aim of genuine education. And that, a gulf separated the profound scholar from the spiritualized and unworldly man = *'arif*.

The existence of the class of spiritualized man, popularly called *sufi* due to his garb of coarse wool, was traceable since the days of the Prophet. Some of his companions, the *Ashab-i-Saffah* = People of the platform, had been intensely pious and devoted to prayers, fasting, and voluntary poverty. The same type of people wandered to distant lands for spreading the message of Islam. With the passage of time they succeeded in multiplying their popularity. Their basic principle, love of God,

transformed into love of mankind, made them venerable wherever they reached. Naturally, their practices and teachings exercised immense influence. The way adopted by them was identified as *tariqat*; and the formal religion was *Shari'at*.

It was from A.D. eleventh century onwards that the learned classes began to be impressed by the ideas of the humble-looking Sufis; and their teachings, with too much emphasis on moral improvement, were acknowledged with favour by the aristocracy of learning. Imam Abu Hamid Ghazzali (d. 1111 A.D.) was one of the leading figures, who, by his personal example, created wide-spread awareness that the '*ilm-i-Safinah*' = knowledge of the book, was of little usefulness to man without the acquisition of '*ilm-i-Sinah*' = knowledge of the breast, that is, inner enlightenment. The living and active heart would be able to check the beast lurking in man. Consequently, a new human type emerged in Islamic society, who invariably combined traditional education gained in many years with arduous spiritual training and piety of character.

Shaikh Shihab-ud-Din Suhrawardi (d. 632/1234) belonged to the same category mentioned above. His spiritual centre at Baghdad was famous throughout the Islamic world. Particularly, young disciples from Trans-Oxiana and various provinces of Iran flocked in considerable number for instruction around the Shaikh. Luckily, three of his disciples besides others of minor position developed their permanent association with the Indian sub-continent. They were: 1. Baha ud-Din Zakariya, 2. Jalal ud-Din Tabrizi and 3. Qazi Hamid ud-Din Nagauri, who obtained letter of succession = *Khilafat-Namah*, and robe = *Khirqa*, direct from the founder of the order. One of the most eminent disciples of Shaikh Shihab ud-Din Suhrawardi was the literary genius, Shaikh Sa'di of Shiraz.

Baha ud-Din Zakariya, having returned to Multan, established a *Khanqah* there in obedience to the wish of his Shaikh. The city of Multan formed an early base of Muslims since the days of Muhammad b. Qasim. It was situated along the main trade route between the outside world and North-India. A place like that offered many attractions. It was a clearing house of foreign merchandise. The bazars were stuffed with goods of

luxury. There were eating shops selling delicious food. In place of modern tea house, canteen, or coffee shop, the shops of *fuqa'* attracted the attention of the passers by at every street corner. It was the popular beverage which Ferdowsi liked very much. And, following that great man's example, all poets and carefree people drank *fuqa'*. It made their sittings pleasant. In short, for less religious folk joys of life were abundant in the Mulatn of those days. On the other hand, those who were sublime and noble in spirit, mutually agreed that Shaikh Baha ud-Din Zakariya was the most respectable man of the city and his *Khonqah* the most fascinating place.

Although, before securing the desired prestige and fame, Baha ud-Din Zakariya had to wait with patience for sometime. The legend of "The cup of Milk and Rose," that is, how he was greeted, indicated that at the initial stage the Shaikh faced competition and rivalry in his own hometown. Possessing strong will power, bright talents, and extensive knowledge, he succeeded at last in winning the popular acclaim.

The Suhrawardi order, thanks to the orientation given to it by Baha ud-Din Zakariya, made itself noticeable for certain peculiar and distinct features: 1. It emphasized that a sufi must behave as a normal man rather infused with extra potentialities of spirit. He must strictly adhere to the dictates of religion. Particularly, obligatory prayers of the day and fasting in the month of Ramazan were the real test of his character. To be sure, *Shari'at* = religious law, was the unavoidable stepping stone, and only next to that shall be the higher goal, *Tariqat* = Sufi path. Under no circumstances, the awkward manners, which made Sufism a bundle of ridiculous absurdities, were to be approved. For instance, the life of a *majzûb* = withdrawn from sensory connection, living naked, slack in the performance of daily prayers and fasting, and quite often amusing himself with intoxicants, did not subscribe to the dignity of a true sufi. 2. If voluntary poverty placed constraints on the cause of service to mankind, let the sufi fortify his will as a trustee by holding wealth and worldly belongings in his possession. Chiefly, he may store sufficient foodgrain in his *Khânqah* to help the poor. Baha ud-Din Zakariya made the risky experiment and achieved remarkable success. Storing large quantities of

foodgrain and distributing it to the destitute during the days of scarcity became his regular practice. Sometime, the provincial governor also borrowed from his stock to feed the garrison stationed under his command. Perhaps, Baha ud-Din Zakariya wanted to make it a hallmark of his order. Not unsurprisingly, the practice offended the susceptibilities of his sufi brethren and he found himself in the midst of controversy. Shakh Hamid ud-Din Nagauri, the spiritual successor of the Khwajah of Ajmer and leader of Chishti fraternity, opened the debate. The objection was simple. Sufism, from its early stage has insisted on avoidance of worldly possession. Condescending to accept large amount of cash or foodgrain from wealthy merchants as *futuḥ* = offerings, had always been a point of serious dispute. For, it violated the accepted principle of voluntary poverty. It posed the risk of creating mental distraction from pious routines: prayers, rituals, night vigils and other spiritual exercises necessary for the attainment of inner light. Baha ud-Din Zakariya firmly replied that a genuine sufi was capable of living side by side with worldly possessions. For, he shall always remain faithful to the idea of humility and that nothing belonged to him. Moreover, the situation will offer him additional opportunity to demonstrate his moral stamina. Obviously the stand taken by the Suhrawardi Saint did not satisfy his critics. Extracts of correspondence, particularly, between him and Shakh Hamid ud-Din Nagauri, have been preserved by many *tazkirah* writers.³ To be a useful member of society, the sufi, instead of passing life as a quiet ascetic, must take active interest in matters of government. That is, the best men free from personal ambition shall subscribe to the guidance of state policy. They were to undertake the cleansing of state from its age old follies, chiefly, scheming for power and recourse to violence. It was the supreme act of piety to protect innocent mankind from misfortune and misery. Baha ud-Din Zakariya translated these ideal into reality. Once at least, he came face to face with great danger. Nor the less, his sincerity was unshakable. As the controversy between Qabachah and Ilutunish was raging, he dauntlessly sided with the *Udmani* of Delhi, who laid down the principle, that Delhi being the centre of political power, one who controlled that city, would be given recognition as Sultan of the empire. Though, Baha ud-Din Zakariya lived under the territorial jurisdiction of Qabachah but he sent his consent in favour of Ilutunish. Promptly the

despatch was intercepted by Qabachah's spies. On being questioned by the rebel governor pretending sovereignty, the Shaikh frankly admitted that supporting the *Ulama* of Delhi was his moral obligation, and, that he would not take the blame of creating rift in the community of *Ulama*. Although in his furious rage Qabachah had hanged the *Qāzi* of his realm over the same issue, he did not harm the Saint fearing the latter's immense influence on public opinion.

Bahā ud-Din Zakariya left a line of illustrious disciples. Famous among them were his own son, Sadr ud-Din 'Arif and Mir Saiyid 'Usmān Marandi. The latter came from the village of Marand near Tabriz, completed his spiritual education at Multan and established his *Khānqah* at Siwistan, Sind. During his free wanderings, he gained the popular title, L'al Shahbaz Qalandar.

A collection of Shaikh Zakariya's *mafuẓat* = discourses, has survived under the title, *Khulāsat ul-Arifin*. His death occurred in 661/1262.

Qasim-i-Dāw'ūd Khatib (d. unknown) lived in Uchchah, Sind, where he delivered sermons in congregation mosque of the city. The title of honour, *khatib* = speaker, was indicative of the position enjoyed by him as religious scholar. Also, he acquired spiritual education under the guidance of Shaikh Bahā ud-Din Zakariya of Multan and was a disciple of the Suhrawardi saint. During his lifetime, Qasim-i-Dāwūd Khatib experienced many political upheavals to which his area was subjected. A few years after Qabachah's tragic end (626/1228), the territory ruled by him once again slipped out of centre's grasp. The accession of Raziyah (634/1236) led to create dissensions among the nobles and considerable turmoil continued in Delhi till Balban formally ascended the throne as Sultān (664/1265). Emboldened by circumstances, the Turkish adventurer Kabir ud-Din Ayāz, whom Raziyah initially appointed governor of Multan, established his independent position in Sind, followed by his son, Taj ud-Din Abū Bakr. Notwithstanding military rashness and defiance of established order, the universal nature of their race, both the father and the son liked to promote learning and maintained friendly relations with men of letters. Qasim-i-Dāwūd Khatib wrote in the introduction to the project undertaken by him at the instance of Sultān

Tāj ud-Din Abū Bakr: "One day, the Sultān, may his kingdom last forever, expressed his desire to me that the book of the great Shaikh, Shihab ud-Din Suhrawardi of Baghdād, was of immense value. It abundantly contained traditions of the Prophet and sayings of the companions and their followers. To be sure, its wider reading would morally and spiritually reform the people. As Arabic was not common in India, the work should be translated into Persian. I, therefore, turned to seek permission of my guide and mentor, Shaikh Baha ud-Din Zakariya. The Shaikh was extremely pleased by the idea, and moreover, rendered his kind help to me in explaining difficult portions of the book at every stage till I accomplished the project." Thus, appeared the Persian version of *Awārif ul-Ma'arif*, 642/1244. His own knowledge of Islamic sciences, and the discussion with the Shaikh, enabled him to clarify many obscure points mentioned in the original. The translation into Persian appeared within less than a decade. Later on, when Sultān Ghiyās ud-Din Balban reasserted his authority over Sind, Qāsim-i-Dāwūd Khatib dedicated his Arabic work on jurisprudence to the Sultān, naming it *Fatāwa-i-Ghiyāsiyah*.

La'l Shabbāz Qalandar, Mir Saiyed 'Usmān b. Ibrāhīm Marandī (d. 673/1274) came from Marand, a village in the neighbourhood of Tabriz, Iran, and accomplished his spiritual training under the guidance of Shaikh Baha ud-Din Zakariya of Multan, who honoured him by giving a *Khilafat-nāmah* = letter of succession. After having finished the sufi routine of long wanderings across the lands of Islam, Mir 'Usmān chose Siwistan, Sind, as the centre of his mission to the service of mankind. During his lifetime, he maintained close association with the free-wandering order of the sufis and the common people remembered him by the title mentioned above. His reputation has survived undiminished as the popular saint of Sind. One of his faithful devotees, Khizar 'Alī b. Muhammad Fazil, collected his *malfūzat* = discourses, under the title: *Malfūzat-i-Lal Shabbāz Qalandar*. Also, his *Diwan* of verses has survived.

Hasan Nizami Nishapuri, the author of *Tāj-ul-Ma'asir*, was one of the early settlers of Delhi who transferred themselves from the various towns of Khurasan and Trans-oxiana within a decade or two after the

occupation of that city. His origin was from Nishpur. The Turks were busy and active men trying to establish their control in alien surroundings and wrecking their nerves over military and administrative matters. Naturally, they were not inclined to appreciate the indolence of literary habits. A society of limited number which had been recently formed and owed its existence to the "men of sword" could not assign a fairly high position to the "men of pen". Obviously, superiority of intellect was to be recognized at a developed stage. The religious divines being the interpreters of law had a value, so were the civil functionaries whose practical importance could not be ignored, but a purely literary man was treated as worthless. Hasan-i-Nizami belonged to the latter category, who, in spite of his deep knowledge of poetry and command of writing lucid prose, found himself out of place in the India of the first three Turkish Sultans. He was a self-conscious type of man having a high consideration of his literary talents and could not be reconciled to the reality of circumstances. After leaving his home in young age he had a severe attack of illness which lingered over years. These two factors - ill health and frustration in winning literary esteem - permanently injured his sensitive personality, and he found a morbid satisfaction in artificial style. Otherwise, as confessed by him, in ordinary course he desired to write a straightforward and easily intelligible chronicle. He had roamed freely in cities like Ghaznah and Lahore and enjoyed the pious company of sufis, as well as men of other description, before his arrival at Delhi around d. 602/1205.

Persuaded by friends to write an account of the recent expansion of Muslim power in India, he laid his hand on that task and was occupied for about twenty four years (A.H. 602-626). Although he was completely lacking in the natural gifts as well as the training of an historian. His main charactersitic was the unnecessary show of pedantry which ultimately deformed his normal tone. In order to assert his austensible claim as an original writer he deviated from the path of major Persian historians who preferred to describe events in plain and manly style. On the other hand, he adopted as his model the writers of extremely florid and rhetorical prose whose compositions, known as *maqamat*, had lately gained currency first in Arabic and then in Persian language. The innovator of

this affected and forced style was an Arabic writer of Persian origin: Badi ud-Zaman al-Hamdani (d. 398/1008) commanded great prestige among his contemporaries for his *Maqamat-i-Badi'i*. He was followed by Abul Qasim al-Hariri (d. 516/1122) who passed his life in Basra. Among the more celebrated imitators in Persian was Hamid ud-Din, (559/1163) the Qazi of Balkh and friend of the poet, Anwari. There were seemingly two reasons for the great popularity of these writers. Their method of writing was in conformity with the national temperament of the Persians. Nothing could be more satisfying to them than the endless repetition of sweet words. In a society where external formalities are all-important, it was easily accepted as a congenial style. Secondly, its functional value was promptly realized by obsequious secretaries and royal servants, who wanted to please their superiors by mere words. The Persian official class borrowed recondite and vain expressions, and in turn, subscribed to pervert the taste of their countrymen.

Generally, the writer of a *maqamat* gave free rein to his imagination in the effort of composing a short essay in which form dominated over meaning. Its theme usually was a pleasing fiction. The high-flown language, full of metaphorical and other ingenious devices, ended in rhymed constructions. Invariably, verses were abundantly mixed with prose. Being closer to poetry it naturally allowed all sorts of exaggeration. In fact, some of the widely known books of Persian, like the *Kalila* of Nasrullah bin Hamid (d. 539/1144) and the *Gulistan* of Sa'di (d. 690/1291) were based on the model of *maqamat*. The latter, however, is supposed to be mostly free from the deformities of its category. Taking into account the typical character of *maqamat* literature, it must be accepted that no genuine historian would have preferred it for narrative purpose. Yet Hasan-i-Nizami was snared by its charm.

Leaving to secondary position the collection of important details from contemporary authorities who had actually participated in the events, he turned attention to the elaborate survey of great Arabic and Persian poets. Fantastically, it is from their literary masterpieces that he derived the bulk of material. There are more than five thousand verses occurring as anonymous quotations, whereas the prose portion covers about one third of the book. And this prose is so much glossed over by ornate

phrases that without considerable patience one could not glean out the substance of historical information.

Surely, he had to exercise great labour in consulting the literary works of past masters for the choice of verses compatible with the various situations that were described. And again, the construction of prose sentences with uniform design of floridness and polish was not possible without much thinking. That is why he spent more than two decades over the book. The subjective treatment of countless topics, like scribe, pen, spring-season, cup-bearer etc., abundantly demonstrate his subtle and flamboyant expressions. Most probably, these fragments were essayed to be read before the admiring audience. A loud reading of *maqamat* had been a pleasant fashion in educated circles; and the Indian environment afforded greater opportunities for such joyous pastimes. That pieces of the composition from here and there were read in company of friends and received their applause, must be proved by the self-complacency displayed in the end of the book. But, in his enthusiastic effort to please the contemporaries he lost sight of posterity and ignored to leave behind a more profitable and exhaustive record.

In order to infuse the spirit of an epic, of which the substitute in Persian historical literature was *Fath Nama*, he began the narrative with the second battle of Tara'in when Muhammad Ghori emerged as victor and subsequently the master of Northern India. If he had intended to present an impartial record, he would have frankly mentioned his master's defeat of a year earlier. None the less, the book contains all the information though sketchy but correct - of the stages of military conquest and administrative control gained by Ghori and his lieutenants. Evidently, there were two points in the author's mind which determined his scheme of treatment. His first object was to confine the main attention on the period when Ghori himself was on the scene (H. 587-602). Secondly, it was the career and achievement of Qutb ud-Din Aibak, simply addressed as Khusraw that has been projected while Muhammad bin Sam Ghori, in spite of his more magnificent title of Khūda-i-jān-i 'alam (lord of the world), moves like a shadow in the background. Perhaps, the latter had a justification, for, Ghori after his initial conquest of Ajmer and Delhi,

marched back to Ghaznah and then returned casually for brief periods. First, he was present on the eve of the expedition to Benaras (590/1193), again in 592/1195, and last time, after his defeat at the battle of Andkhud, was perforce obliged to undertake the Indian tour as a matter of policy. That last visit, as shown by the historian, brought his tragic end. Oddly enough, the period from 602/1205 onwards that passed before his eyes, and of which he was in a better position to furnish clear details - for that was the year when he arrived in India - has been summarily dismissed. Thus, he has exposed himself to the charge that his powers of observation and judgement were limited.

The book opens with a lengthy discussion of dogmatic nature that Divine law as well as human reason both make it obligatory to wage war against infidels, and that in their relationship, religion and state are twins. This argument, if not a distortion of history, must be accounted as an instance of serious contradiction between theory and practice. The Turks were too plain - speaking and soldierly people to have any pretensions. Their political and social conduct did not conform to the hypothesis presented by the historian. It was not in their racial character to gratify themselves with false illusions or to practise, some kind of intellectual fraud to conceal their expansionist greed. There was no claim on their part of spreading 'Superior Civilization', nor were they interested to acquaint their new subjects with anything like 'Progress and Welfare' in this world or in the world beyond. Moreover, religion was the least of all the matters for which they showed any real concern. The systematic programme of mass-conversion, which formerly the Arabs combined with their military adventure, did not feature at any stage in the official policy of the Turks. On the other hand, they took care to maintain the social status quo in return for general loyalty and consent in favour of their rule. The expediencies of empire always prevailed over the idea of promoting the message of Islam. In that respect Hasan-i-Nizami must be treated as responsible for giving an unreal picture of his age. His high sounding claims have misled many recent scholars to conclude that the Turkish State in India was theocratic in outlines, or at least, it was guided by religious precepts.

Many of his reports, judged by their words, have little value and deserve to be discarded, mainly, due to his flair for sonorous style of writing. He repeats almost the same phrases in describing the unconquerable situation of the forts taken by the Turkish army. Another questionable remark that frequently occurs must be noted regarding the entry of the Muslims in a conquered city : "The worshiping-places of the Brahmans were replaced by mosques and the practice of idolatry disappeared". Superficially, this may create the impression that all Hindus willingly renounced their religion or forcibly made to do so.

Despite these shortcomings, Hasan-i Nizami occupies an estimable position. He was the forerunner of the long line of historians who paid exclusive attention to India. His views on the 'Customs of government'- especially his emphasis on justice and fair administration - merit careful examination, as they reflect the political conduct of the rulers of his time. We are informed that the Turks, in most of the cases, allowed the local chiefs or their successors, after being subjugated, to hold their fortresses, and as a matter of policy the offer of submission was always welcome. Thus, They sought the co-operation of the Hindu ruling class in the performance of civil and military duties. Other considerations apart, his work is the indispensable source for the study of the period that decided India's destiny for centuries.

Minhāj-i Sirāj of Juzjān, was incidentally inspired to write a history on elaborate scale, although he was trained as a jurist and occupied the position of chief Qāzi in the reign of the successors of Sultān Iluttmish. In his family he combined the learned and aristocratic background. His great grandfather, Imām 'Abdul Khaliq, was rewarded for his piety and scholarship with the hand of a princess of Ghaznawid house. Sultān Ibrahim, who had thirty six sons and forty daughters, married all his female progeny to learned men. The descendants of Imām Abd ul Khaliq were treated with great reverence for their pious and philanthropic personalities; they often exercised their influence in persuading the local princes to avoid bloodshed. Minhāj-i Sirāj also, before moving to India, repeatedly served as envoy of peace and assisted in the formation of treaties between the rulers of Ghaur and Khurasān.

From his boyhood he had intimate contact with the royal family of Ghaur who ruled at four different centres, namely, Firūzkūh, Nimrūz, Bāmiyān, and Ghaznah. He owed his early education to the care of the princess, Mah Malik, daughter of Sultān Ghiyās ud-Dīn of Firūzkūh. Her motherly treatment was fresh in his memory when he wrote his book at the age of sixty nine and repaid his indebtedness by depicting a sincere account of the amazing qualities possessed by the lady. Born about a decade before the end of the sixth century Hijra, Minhaj was destined to be the observer of tremendous events, and his social position enabled him to observe them at a higher level. During the years that followed till his adolescence, the political environment of Iran and Central Asia was overshadowed by a number of forces; their violent interaction sharpened his curious mind to grasp the issues which he later on placed on record. The powers shaping the history of his time were the Khwarizm Shahi dynasty, the Ismā'īlis, the Ghorid princes and last of all, the Mongol hordes of Chingiz khan and his successor Hulakū. Being distressed by the political tumult and its inevitable strain on society Minhaj-i-Siraj left his home land; but his sense of involvement with the contemporary conditions before long provided the necessary insight needed to be an authentic narrator of facts.

His *Tabaqāt-i Nāsiri* appeared in 658/1259 and was at once recognised as a work of absorbing interest.* Since then, it has enjoyed an undiminished reputation among scholars of history. Seemingly, the desire for its writing was the result of chance, as he described: "This humble fellow, the well-wisher of Muslims, Minhaj, son of Siraj once studied the *Tarikh-i Majadwal* of 'Imādi,** and made up my mind to write a similar book down to the time of Iluttmish". In fact he was surrounded by official duties as a dispenser of law and justice, and had little time to undertake the work of this nature. An examination of his life and character might lead to the conclusion that his motives were far more deeper than what he modestly pronounced. In view of the high honours attached to his family, he offered voluntary services as a religious preacher. Ever since his arrival in India, he proved his talents and won the esteem of Sultān Iluttmish

* Prof. Abdul Hai Habibi (ed) Kabul

** it is a lost work of Ghaznawid era.

himself before whom he delivered address from the pulpit thrice a week after evening prayers. With the passing of years he acquired greater fame as a speaker on religious and moral problems. Princes and nobles in their eagerness to attend his assemblies were obliged to mix themselves with the common throng; and among the more notable audience there were men of power as well as men of piety. Prompted by these successes in oration, he attempted to reveal the scenes of the past with his attention fixed on the monarch of his day whom he prays before the close of every chapter. Invariably there is a repetition of the words: "May God save our king Nāsir ud-Din Mahmūd and secure his kingdom for ever". This was not a mere demonstration of personal loyalty: Surely there was warning also concealed in softer tones of blessing.

He was not entrusted by the monarch to write the history; it was a self-chosen task. He had an idea of course to present it to his master, partly for reward, but mainly for enlightenment.

In following the *Tabaqāt* scheme Minhaj tried minor innovations. While other writers maintained some sort of balance or equality of time between each *Tabaqa* (section or layer), no such effort was made in this book. The first *Tabaqa* deals at length with the history of the Prophets from Adam down to Muhammad, followed by three more *Tabaqāt*, covering the Caliphs to the author's time. And again, there are sections to describe the legendary antiquity of Iran and the kings of pre-islamic Yaman. His religious sense demanded that Prophets and Caliphs should occupy a prior position than the kings of the world. Although he knew that his theological bias was in conflict with his position as a historian; and confessed that, as regards remoteness, the account of Persian and Yamanite kings should have preceded the earlier chapters. However, he soon diverted his attention from the wider universal view and confined himself more particularly to the eastern dynasties of Persian renaissance. It seems that the portion of the book, which brought the record to the Ghaznawid dynasty, was addressed to the contemporaries. But, the last ten out of the entire twenty three *Tabaqāt* constitute the main bulk of the work and were composed to have everlasting value for posterity.

These latter chapters are almost like picture galleries of great figures

about whom the historian possessed familiar knowledge. In conformity with the chief tendency of *Tabaqat* system, which as a rule tends to be biographical, he gives a frank account of the host of small and big rulers belonging to various dynasties. Of the family of Ghaur alone there are forty princes brought to light in four separate chapters. And much that has been related was based on first hand information. The ruling branch of *Nimruz*, according to him, had two characteristics for their merit. First, their line succeeded to live in peace in spite of the stormy conditions around them due to the nuisance of the Ghuzz and then the Mongols. Second, all these princes had intellectual craving and extended liberal patronage to men of letters. Still more interesting is the description of the other three branches. In their account his mind quite often turned to personal memories, for, he and his family enjoyed especial favours from them and shared their pleasures and hardships.

Minhaj carried the conviction that among the Ghorid princes the one who was comparatively more docile received the favour of destiny to outshine them in greatness. The career of Mu'izz ud-Din Muhammad bin Sam was a subject of especial interest and has been treated at length in one of the chapters. In balanced and objective manner he narrated the defeats as well as the triumphs of this prince. Time had removed the inhibition which earlier writers, like Hasan-i-Nizami, felt in recording his military reverses.

He estimated in his mind the impact of the Indian campaign of Mu'izz ud-Din Muhammad and compared his character and achievement to that of Salah ud-Din, the victor of the Third Crusade. As a unique instance of intelligence and merit, which no Persian historian earlier than Minhaj displayed, he allotted a chapter to the Kurdish dynasty of West Asia. Another new feature which he took precedence to introduce in his book was an account of the Seljuqs of Rûm (Anatolia) who had not yet attracted the notice of writers in the eastern zone.

Of the few chapters, which were devoted to contemporary events, the two, regarding the family of Ilutmish and their nobles, are very illuminating. These chapters constitute a record of full fifty years from the accession of Ilutmish (607/1210) to the year when the historian laid

down his pen and finished writing (658/1259) Evidently, his knowledge of political developments was most accurate, for, he had been an eye-witness for more than thirty years, and besides himself, collected reports from highly responsible persons. There are interesting sketches of twenty five nobles who, between themselves, governed the state and gave shape to its affairs. Their characters and motives, and the positions enjoyed by them, aroused curiosity that was not unjust to some extent. Altogether, they were men who had undergone the most varied experiences of life and possessed exceptional qualities of adventure. Their careers invariably started from the slave-market; and none of them, not even Ilutmish himself, felt ashamed to disclose this fact. Not one among their stock was born a freeman. Thus, without offering his comment of interpretation Minhāj adopts the simple and safer device of disclosing bare facts about their lives, and leaves the reader to reflect on the situation bound to create by the existence of such a class of people.

Giving especial treatment to the reign of his patron, Nāsir ud-Din Mahmūd, he related the events of fifteen years in annalistic form. But the details are neither exceptionally impressive nor interesting. He confined his attention to the court and evaded to cast glances towards the more colourful social panorama. In his choice he allowed only such facts as were concerned with military expeditions, transfers of high dignitaries, royal tours, and palace intrigues in which the nobles were incessantly active.

In the last *Tabaqa* there is an independent chronology of the Mongols covering the events of devastation and death carried by them for about fifty years. This chapter is a curious mixture of accurate as well as absurd reports heard by him from travellers and immigrants whom he met in later period of his life. The evidence of Saiyed Baha ud-Din Rāzi, who saw piles of bones and walked over layers of earth smeared with blood around the city of Tamghāj while passing from there as ambassador of Khwarizm Shah to the Mongol court, has been reproduced by him in a sober style. It shows his ability in the description of facts. More interesting was the information gained from Wahid ud-Din of Qūshanj, a learned man living in the city of Qāiyan, which throws a revealing light on the character of

Chingiz Khan. Similarly, there are valuable accounts that were passed to him by traders who personally observed the manners and customs of the Mongols especially the operation of the laws (*yasa*) of Chingiz. On the other hand the news reaching him after the fall of Baghdad were mostly dubious in character. That the Mongols were once repulsed and fled away from Baghdad, that Hulakū treacherously proclaimed his motive of coming to Baghdad as embracing Islam at the hand of the Caliph, that some of the Mongol princes were secretly Muslims, that the stones hurled by the Mongols through *Manjaniq* miraculously struck back at their heads, and at the height of all, that the Caliph's minister, Ibn 'Alqami "the heretic", was in secret league with the Mongols and instigated the tragedy. These are the episodes which Minhaj thoughtlessly registered without putting them to dispassionate scrutiny. In later centuries, many of such anecdotes were rejected by serious researchers; but the last one has survived to satisfy the malicious taste of bigotry.

At no point Minhaj so deplorably displays his poverty of critical thinking as when he deals with the Ismā'īlis. He is not above his age in pouring blind contempt against them and would not mention their account without using the phrase of "malāhida" (heretics). That they had created a schismatic division in the social body of Islam by insisting on the principle of divinely inspired Imām (spiritual successor to the Prophet) and repudiated the theory of Caliphate - exposing the role of orthodox caliphs, and then, of the Umayyads and Abbasids - was a patent fact. But their violent persecution was beyond the limits of reason and justice. Majorities may dictate political policies but they have failed to dictate conscience. The Ismā'īli practice of secret assassination, notwithstanding all sorts of social injustices including physical torture meted out to them, cannot be justified. Yet, the allegation of moral abominations was a bogus propaganda meant to spread popular hatred against them. Nor were the legends of female charm and use of narcotic drugs free from exaggeration. Even today, ignominious charges of sexual perversion in connection with *Eid-i Ghadir* are calumniated against Shi'ahs to which the vulgar element of human nature is easily inclined to give credence. So Minhaj could not take an impartial and detached position in his judgement regarding the Ismā'īlis; although they were so powerful and conspicuous section of

society in his time. He had personal experience of having visited their cities and forts as ambassador and negotiated treaties with them for the safe conduct of caravans on behalf of the Ghorid princes. He went to the extent of inserting favourable remarks about an Isma'ili governor, Shihab ud-Din entitled as Muhtashim, who extended liberal patronage to many orthodox scholars in his court. Nevertheless, he based his estimate on pre-conceived and narrow prejudices.

In conclusion, it must be said that he passed a busy life, for, litigation is a favourite human occupation in civilized societies and does not allow leisure for those who exercise judicial authority. His profession, far from creating impartial habits of judgement came otherwise in his way as a historian. He could not exercise the much desired personal imagination in his narrative of historical dynasties. Most of his material about them seems to have been copied from other sources. Nor could he spare much attention to check blunders which crept in as a result of insufficient leisure for reading. The notable example is the confusion about Rudaki's *Qasidah* attributed to Mu'izzi while describing the history of Sanjar. The authorities whom he consulted for the earlier record, for example, Maqdisi, Ibn Haysam Nābi, and 'Imadi, stand with few exceptions in the second rank, whereas the highly respectable historians have been less frequently utilized. His *Tabaqat* system at times put him in a disadvantage of making unnecessary repetitions; the account of the sack of Baghdad, on which he already touched in chapter four dealing with Abbasids, appears again in the last chapter discussing the Mongols.

Farid ud-Din Mas'ūd Ganj-i-Shakar, completed his spiritual training under the guidance of Qutb-ud-Din Bakhtyar at Delhi and finally moved towards Punjab in order to represent the Chishti mission. As Khwaja Mu'in ud-Din, the founder of the order, had been content to appoint his two disciples at Nagaur and Delhi only, Farid ud-Din Mas'ud deemed it proper to settle at Ajodhan, a place situated in the heart of large area along the bank of river Sutlaj. The main trade route connecting Multan, Lahore, and Delhi passed from the town of Ajodhan.

Consequent to the establishment of the empire, many situations arose in quick succession as they were naturally bound to arise during the early

period. Of them, the one presented an awkward contrast to the sight. On the one hand, the benefits of power were enjoyed by a particular class of people; of course, they trickled downwards. On the other, those who strived for preaching Islam invariably tasted starvation. Their exemplary piety of character did not fail to invite attention, also respect, from all categories of the people. But, they were utterly heedless in planning for their maintenance; at least, for keeping the link of body and soul together; and furthermore, for smooth running of their mission, its tangible shape being *Jama'at Khana*. Precisely, that was the position of early Chishti saints. Farid ud-Din Mas'ud may be taken as a case in point. He passed most of his life without adequate means of livelihood, and similar was the condition faced by his teacher, Bakhtyar, at Delhi. Initially, when Farid ud-Din was undergoing spiritual exercises, sometime the pinch of hunger became unbearable, and perforce he would put pebbles into his mouth. Instantly, the pebbles turned into delicious lumps of sugar and the vitality of Farid's exhausted body was restored. Disturbed by doubt, that it might be the mischief played upon him by *Satan*, he disclosed the unusual experience to his spiritual mentor. Hearing this, Bakhtyar assured his pupil that it must be the grace of God; and that he could thankfully continue the practice whenever he felt hungry. Soon, the matter became a common news; and the Saint's spiritual quality won for him the title of *Ganj-i-Shakar*. This is the legend which has survived in the anthologies of the sufis. Analysed calmly, its inference may be found lurking close by. Needless to say, our ancestors had been great inventors of parables, allegories, and metaphors. In a subtle manner, they conceived the metaphor alluding to the fire that burned in an empty stomach. Really, Farid ud-Din Mas'ud, master of forbearance and sweet temper was "Storehouse of sweets" *Ganj-i-shakar*.

Gaining popularity and fame during the lifetime of one's own Shaikh offered scanty instances in sufi history; nor were such cases encouraged by them. Of course, the Ganj-i-Shakar episode had its direct fallout. The continuous stream of devotees, curious observers to witness the pebble-eater's supernatural merit – *Karamat*, and common seekers of blessing, created obvious distraction in prayers, recitation of the Holy Qur'an, and performance of other necessary rituals. Besides that, the feeling of

embarrassment pressed upon Farid ud-Din. He, therefore, humbly requested his teacher to be allowed to move out of Delhi. Bakhtyar, who was watching his disciple's progress, granted permission; and initially, Farid ud-Din left for Hansi, whence he shifted onward to Ajodhan, his final destination. By the way, he was still in Hansi when news arrived of the passing away of Bakhtyar (633/1235); and he hastened back to Delhi in order to collect the belongings his teacher had been pleased in his will to be handed over to him as "precious" inheritance: *khurqa*, turban, sandals of wood, and walking staff.

From the beginning, life on the bank of Sutlaj was not easy despite the valuable qualities possessed by him as a scholar, pious man, and preacher of Divine love, which crystallized ultimately into compassion for all the creatures of God. There were more than one adverse factors: 1. The Hindus of the area; sturdy and adventurous by nature, they lived in semi-barbarous condition, most of the time indulging in violence and banditry, the callings in consonance with their tribal ways. Having settled among those fierce and rude inhabitants, what else could a man of humble appearance, issuing silent warning from his personal code of conduct, expect in return than utter contempt. But, their rustic shrewdness promptly realized that the unfamiliar visitor was an agent of change; and that his impact may soon become irresistible. The ordinary men and women gradually succumbed to Farid's pleasing manners. And, the saint had an eye to detect that inside their hardy frame they had a mind weakened by superstitions. What happened may be summed up briefly: a feeling spurred the common folk that Farid belonged to the venerable type of men who could heal the sick, dispel the ghosts, bestow hope on distressed families, and above all, he could be trusted as a counsellor in private anxieties, whose prayers may extricate them from tormenting situations. All the day, there was a rush of amulet seekers and the Shaikh had to appoint one of his disciples, Badr ud-Din Ishaq, on the special duty of writing amulets. His fame ran in all directions; now he was Baba Farid. It was opportune time to cast the net wide and he was immensely pleased by his good catch. The major portion of the belt of southern Punjab embraced Islam; Baba Farid's musical songs, composed in local dialect, for he was an excellent multi-lingual poet, rang with lasting

enchantment. 2. Political disturbances: the empire passed through a long spell of instability since Raziyah ascended the throne and turmoils continued unabated during the reign of her weak successor. Intrigue was the real field where the Turkish nobles could display the inventiveness of their little minds. Farid's influence on public opinion being a known fact, ambitious rivals turned towards him for seeking sympathy and support. They were greatly disappointed as aloofness from ruling classes was the inflexible rule maintained in Chishti *Silsilah*. So, the local governor, a cousin and jealous opponent of Ulugh Khan, the future Balban, became overtly hostile to Baba Farid. Fearing the governor's displeasure, merchants and other well-wishers stopped sending *fatah*, all residents of the *Jama'at Khanah* including the family members of the Shaikh were deprived of their livelihood; and some of his minor children, unable to bear the agony of starvation, died during those days of distress and hardship. 3. Local Qazi: emboldened by the attitude of the establishment, the Qazi of the area opened a pernicious front and traded charges of juristic nature to create trouble against the Shaikh. Indeed, the sufis had great attraction for dance and music; whereas both practices were vehemently rejected by the orthodox. In the state of ecstasy, a true sufi was capable of dancing, irrespective of his age or health, with the gusto and rhythm of a smart young boy. Customarily, many spiritual systems, chiefly those having unbroken link with primitive civilizations, admit dance in their regular schedule of worship. A number of Hindu temples employ female dancers of exquisite grace in order to please the deity. As regards music, it has been accepted since the time of Pythagoras (ca 530 B.C.) as an easy and accurate device for the elevation of spirit towards transcendental region. Its use has acquired universal sanctity. None the less, Islam strictly prohibited both dance and music. The sufis were an exception. For, their genius advanced learned and subtle discourses in defence of their practices. Particularly, the fashion of *Sama'*=sufi music, has largely persisted despite clear injunction from the authority of law. Every Chishti *Jama'at Khanah* had regular arrangements of *Qawwals*. Generally, in the controversy between the 'Ulama and the sufis, the custodians of power or state, so to say, assumed neutral posture. But, as a singular misfortune, Shaikh Farid ud-Din Mas'ud and the inmates of his *Jama'at Khanah* had to face rough weather due to unusual circumstances

resulting from official aversion and the Qāzi's mischief. Thankfully, the 'Ulama restrained him from issuing *fatwa*; although they secretly shared his feelings. Popularity of the one and jealousy of the other were the two points of an invisible pendulum. 4. *Qalandars*: Simultaneous with the movement of the sufis in Muslim Society, there emerged a queer tribe of men, whose manners made them objects of general curiosity. Their claim for kinship with the sufis was chiefly one : They completely renounced the world and the only private property held by them was the tattered garment of coarse wool on their body. Looking for charity from the rich was not permissible in their etiquette. Appearances notwithstanding, they scrupulously avoided mixing with common beggars. Nature gave them amazing vitality. So, food and water, as also, inclemency of weather, were the things they cared the least. If no shelter was available, the blue sky served as equally comfortable tent. Usually, a night was sufficient duration of time which they preferred to pass at one place. For, they said, the world was an old harlot and could seduce them by her charms. Generally moving in group they were great wanderers; the whole Islamic world being their home. Interaction with them revealed that they possessed sound intellectual level and were not devoid of education. As regards the observance of obligatory prayers and other rituals so much in vogue among the sufis for spiritual purification, the *qalandars* did not seem to be much careful. Also, concoction of hemp could be enjoyed to stimulate the spirit. Indifferent to urban delicacies, their entry into cities and towns was accompanied by noisy scenes. Although not fully lacking in discipline, they hardly carried favourable impression. The outright reluctance of the people made it difficult for them to stay in the mosques. However, they received welcome treatment in the *Khanqah* and the *Jamā'at Khanah* of the sufis. Frequently, the *Jamā'at Khanah* of Shaikh Farid Ganj-i-Shakar resounded with commotion as the arrival of the *qalandars* was almost a daily affair. Food was their immediate demand; and it was so pressing that the courtesies of the Shaikh were replied by threats of blows. With utmost patience the Shaikh bore their insults; the inmates of the *Jamā'at Khānah* watching the whole unruly drama with embarrassment and dismay. Bāba Farid was not the sole beneficiary of the honour. Often, Baha ud-Din Zakariya also experienced similar indignities, not excepting violent attacks, although there was abundance

of food stuff in his *Khanqah*. However, unable himself to provide food for the whole party, Shaikh Farid indicated one of his devotees to carry the *Zanbil* = wallet or basket, and circulate it around the town. Generous supporters, men and women, filled the *zanbil* with whatever food was readily available in their homes. The *qalandars*, feasted to their heart's delight and next morning departed hastily leaving the news that another party may be reaching any time of the day. No doubt, their songs left refreshing atmosphere behind them. That was the peculiar way of making their existence felt. None the less, they assisted the sufis in their mission. Maybe, a carbon copy of the original Islam was passed into many remote and wild areas by that vagabond species of human beings. In the vast desert of Sind for instance, gusts of wind may bring musical notes, saturated with extreme ardour from any distant direction: *Damadam mast qalandar*.

From the picture of those times, an amusing fact came to light. Sharpers and charlatans freely roamed around the sufis with the motive of stealing away the prestige of their piety. Pretending association with a famous sufi guaranteed popular respect, which the common folk readily offered. Ambition and lust invented queer devices to admit unending flow of gifts and offerings. The simplest one was to fabricate a *khilafat Namah*. Pretence of being a certain sufi's *Khalifah*, in case the pious fraud hit the mark, secured permanent scope for happy life. Another vicious practice was to circulate manuscripts of fictitious authorship in the book market, chiefly, discourses = *Malfuzat*, letters and moral reflections = *Maktubat*, Liturgical Manuals = *Anrad*, and *Divan* of verses. Interested readers avidly demanded such stuff; and thereby, unscrupulous rogues thrived and filled their pockets with easy spoils. As regards Shaikh Farid Ganj-i-Shakar, like all honest Sufis, he also faced the menace of cheating and had to be circumspect in the conferment of *Khilafat Namah*. Sometime, a crazy fellow would humbly request for such a favour. On being refused, he would reveal threat to prepare a forged document himself. In order, therefore, to check that no bogus *Khilafat Namah*, shall be issued the Shaikh took extra precautions. Badr ud-Din Ishaq, the steward of his Jamā'at Khanah, was entrusted with the duty of writing the document. Then, it was further endorsed by the Shaikh's seniour disciple, Jamāl ud-

Din Hanswi. That was the regular procedure without which the *Khilafat Namah* was not treated as genuine.

All sufis were accomplished scholars and laid emphasis on attaining high degree of education before embarking on the sufi path. According to Qutb ud-Din Bakhtiyār, "an illiterate sufi was an easy prey to *Satan*." They essentially spared some time of the day and night for reading and writing. That is why, we have excellent master pieces left by them in the field of both prose or poetry. Prayers, fasts, rituals, vigils comprised familiar routines; add to them the attendance of devotees and visitors. As regards Shaikh Farid, he may not be reckoned as a formal author. For, the *Malfūzat* ascribed to him are declared as apocryphal. However, he composed poetry in Arabic, Persian, and local dialect. Later writers have taken care to preserve, their specimens. Precisely, one hundred and twelve verses, incorporated in the *Gurū Garanth*, the book of Sikh religion, demonstrated his command over the local dialect. Moreover, he was a charming conversationalist and could deeply impress his listeners. Amir Khwurd reported that a disciple of the Shaikh collected his five hundred sayings in a personal diary. Of them, Amir Khwurd picked up about fifty or sixty. So, let us recount half a dozen by way of blessing = *tabarrūk*. 1. Do not utter a truth which resembles lie. 2. Do not hanker after worldly glory and wealth. 3. Consider good health a divine gift. 4. Greatness and honour consist in doing justice. 5. If you want to make the whole world your enemy, be arrogant. 6. Do not regard the ignorant amongst the living.

Shaikh Farid was about ninety at the time of death, 5 Muharram 664/15 October 1265. He trained many disciples; a few were conferred the honour of *khilafat Namah*; most illustrious among them, chosen by the Shaikh to be his successor, was Nizām ud-Din Auliya.

Badr ud-Din Ishāq (d. unknown) belonged to Delhi, where he had his early education. He proceeded to Bukhara for higher studies and stayed in company of the scholars of that city for some time. His thirst for spiritual knowledge brought him back to the *Khānqah* of Shaikh Farid ud-Din Mas'ūd Ganj-i-Shakar, the sufi of Ajodhan, Punjab (d. 664/1265). The

Shaikh, impressed by his merits, gave him his daughter in marriage and the robe of succession = *Khirqah-i- Khilafat*. Badr ud-Din Ishāq collected the sayings of his Shaikh: *Asrār ul-Auliya*.

Ibrāhīm b. Idris (d.unknown) was a sufi disciple of Khwajah Qutb-ud-Din Bakhtyar Kākī (d.632/1234), the saint who came to live in Delhi during the time of Ilutmish. His guide-book concerning spiritual improvement through esoteric knowledge was studied with interest among various *derwish* orders in the sub-continent. Its title was *Dastūr ul-Anām*.

Ismā'il Kūfi (d.unknown) came from his birth-place, Kufa, and settled in Multan during the days of the *Suhrawardi* saint, Baha ud-Din Zakariya (d.661/1262). The latter nominated him as one of his spiritual successors. Ismā'il passed many years in experimenting with alchemy and studied the works of earlier Muslim scientists, particularly, Jābir b. Hayyān (ca. 160/776) and Ibn Zakariya Rāzi (d. 313/925). Ismā'il Kūfi's work on the subject dealing with alchemy in ten elaborate chapters has survived under the title *Makhzan-i-Hikmat*, completed in 699/1299.

Initially, belief in "transmutation", that is, baser metals were capable of being transformed into nobler ones, and that the rare substance needed for achieving the purpose was elixir = *iksir*, originated among the Egyptians at the dawn of civilization. The error, gross as it was, passed on to the early Greeks of Ionia and Magna Grecia (ca. 600 B. C.). It lingered when the centre of Greek civilization shifted in turn to Athens, and later on, to Alexandria (ca. 400 B.C.-200 A.D.). The decline of Alexandria and the establishment of the academy of Jund-i-Shapur by Naushirawan, the Sasanian King of kings, was a remarkable precedent of the migration of scholarship (ca 570 A.D.). Henceforth, from Jund-i-Shapur to Baghdad (founded in 154/762) the caravan travelled on easier path; both space and time subscribed favourably.

For the Muslims, *al-Kīmya* became a subject of absorbing interest. All great and distinguished scholars shared actively in its promotion. Jābir ibn Hayyān was acknowledged as "the father of alchemy." He had a well-equipped laboratory at Kūfa. The heir to Jābir's legacy, who followed his sophisticated methods, was Ibn Zakariya Rāzi. Although a clear divide

between philosophy and science had taken place during the last phase of Greek ascendancy in Alexandria, the Muslims again seem to have eliminated the demarcation. Al-kindī (d.260/873), the foremost philosopher, who introduced Muslims with the tradition of systematic thinking, possessed complete background of scientific ideas and keenly examined the properties of natural substances. And similarly, Ibn Rushd (d.595/1198) the last great Hispano-Arab in the line of philosophers, treated alchemy as an essential discipline. It was Ibn Sina (d.429/1037), whose researches posed serious doubt in regard to the idea of transmutation. He revealed the fact that what the alchemist could ultimately obtain in his laboratory after patient endeavour was, so to speak, "alloy," and not the noble metal itself.

None the less, the search for elixir and the efforts to transmute a baser metal into gold, inspite of their failure, led to noteworthy progress in the field of chemistry, as such. Their chief advantage was to develop the practice of experimentation and the application of laboratory methods. The large number of instruments developed by the Muslim alchemist: scales, flasks, filters, phials, crucibles, stills, retorts, tongs, alembec, etc. established his position as a genuine precursor of a modern chemical scientist. To mention the work of Ismā'il Kufī briefly: After introduction, he wrote nine chapters in the following order: 1. *'Aqāqir-i-ma'dani* = mineral aromatic roots, thereby, meaning precious stones, and information about them. 2. Alchemical instruments. 3. *Bayān-i-arwah* = description of spirits, that is, quick silver, camphor, Sal amoniac, and sulphur. 4. *Taklis-i-ajsad wa ahjar* = calcination of metals and pulverizable substances. 5. *Tashmi'-i-arwah* = waxing of spirits. 6. *Hall-i-Chahar nav* = dissolving the four varieties. 7. *'Aqd-i-mahsul* = congelation of solution. 8. *Tas'id-i-Ruh be Ajsad* = sublimation of spirits with metals. 9. *Anva'-i-Abha* = Varieties of liquids (waters) used in alchemy.

Muhammad b. 'Umar, emigrated (ca. 644/1246) during the time of Sultān Nāsir ud-Din Mahmūd, son of Iluttmish. He prepared astronomical tables and dedicated his researches to the Sultan. The title of the compilation was *Zij-i-Nasiri*.

It may be interesting to recall that the pagan Arabs followed lunar dates and no regular calendar was used by them. A momentous event was taken up as the measuring scale of time. Another happening signified the introduction, so to say, of a fresh calendar. When the Prophet, peace be on him, was born, the year of Elephant – ‘*Am ul-fil*, had its sway. They adopted it in remembrance of Abraha’s defeat and destruction of his elephants on the eve of his attack on Mecca with the intention of demolishing the sacred Ka’bah. At the time, the Prophet’s grandfather, ‘Abd ul-Muttalib, was the steward of the House of God. Only after Baghdad emerged as intellectual centre, the science of astronomy received its due share of attention. The star catalogue prepared earlier by the Greeks, became known to the Muslims. Muhammad ibn Ibrahim Fazari (ca. 180/796) was their first teacher. He translated *Siddhanta*, the Sanskrit classic on astronomy. Next, Abu Ma’shar Balkhi (ca. 273/886), prepared detailed tables utilizing the Indian sources. Both, Fazari and Abu Ma’shar, lived in Baghdad; and both possessed mastery over Indian astronomical system. Khwarizmi, Muhammad ibn Musa (d. 236/850), attained greater prominence than the above two pioneers. For, he applied his genius to “syncretize the Indian and Greek systems; and thus, made the two easily intelligible. An equivalent for calendar being absent in Arabic, Khwarizmi borrowed the word “Zij” from Pahlawi. Once the subject found entry into the curriculum of Muslim education, it was improved by many great scholars, particularly, those who used it for astrological purpose: 1. Al-Biruni, the all-round genius (d. 442/1050) lived as royal astrologer in the court of Sultan Mahmud of Ghaznah. In the list of his works, we notice a treatise of thirteen chapters; its convenient title being : *Taflim un-Najam*. Also, we may mention the work dedicated to Sultan Mas’ud: *Qanun-i-Mas’udi fi Hay’at w-al-Najam*. 2. ‘Umar Khayyam (d.517/1123) served in the observatory at Ray established by the Seljuq monarch, Jalal ud-Din Malik Shah, and produced the calendar, *Zij-i-Jalali*. 3. The last great exponent of classical tradition, for he was born and brought up before the fall of Baghdad, was Nasir ud-Din Tusi (d. 673/1274). He was author of *Zij-i-Ilkhami*.

It was not many years before Nasir ud-Din Tusi started work in his obser-

vatory at Maraghah, that Muhammad b. 'Umar left his homeland and arrived in Delhi. He had inherited all the up-to-date stock of knowledge in the field of astronomical science and rightly earned credit for being the first Muslim author concerning that subject in the Indian sub-continent.

Fazl ibn Abu'l Ma'ali, was the chief architect of structures which Sultan Muhammad b. Sam Ghorī and his immediate successors commanded to be built in Delhi, their new capital. Architecture is prose written in stones; and like words, stones have their own eloquence and message. What Ferdowsi said about himself may justly be applied to every celebrated artist of the world: "I am great and my work is great." And, in the mind of every genius there is a uniform consciousness of "my so potent art." So, Fazl ibn Abu'l Ma'ali*, under whose supervision the *Masjid-i Quwat ul-Islam*, the *Qutub Minar* and other buildings, now familiar as Qutub complex, raised their head towards the sky, deserves to be accommodated in a work dealing with Indo-Islamic literature. Islamic architecture was introduced into the Indian sub-continent, thanks to his fine mental faculties.

Initially, an army officer, Fazl ibn Abu'l Ma'ali was gifted with innovative disposition. Architecture seemed to have absorbed his exclusive attention; and as a young man, he acquired fair understanding of its technicalities. His friends were aware of the rare taste possessed by him. In Delhi, the soldiers and the civilians accompanying them, were faced with an emergency situation; they wanted certain edifices of essential need; Fazl was therefore assigned the responsibility to design and execute their construction. Undoubtedly, Fazl lacked the training of a professional expert; his innate intelligence notwithstanding. For, he ignored the well-known principles employed by his own people in order to make the real arch and the dome; nor could he present splendid gateways by introducing the fashion of either pointed or semi-circular arches. A simple-minded soldier, Fazl surrendered to the suggestions made by the Indian master builders. From the beginning, it seemed, he was enchanted by their superb performance as stone-cutters. Invariably,

* Fazl ibn Abu'l Ma'ali's name occurs on a tablet fixed near the left arch of the *Masjid* closer to Qutub-Minar. (See Professor M. Mujib, (ed). Shihab ud-Din Ansari etc. p. 387).

they placed much reliance on their powerful chisel instead of trying the easier and delicate art of masonry and brick-work. The method of providing security to the dome and solving the question of support to the arches was inherited by the Muslims from the original inhabitants of Babylonia. It remained unknown to the Indians. However, they prevailed upon Fazl to discard his own old devices and allow them free hand for applying their indigenous method, that is, placing blocks of stones upon stones in ashlar fashion and cutting them so as to give the shape of a false arch. Needless to say, the drawback made itself clearly manifest in the screen of arches covering the front view of *Masjid-i-Quwat ul-Islam*. As regards the dome on the mausoleum of Iltutmish, the true scheme of roofing was grossly neglected in its construction. It is far from certain whether the squinches, whereby the square is usually transformed into the circle, were provided in reliable manner beneath the dome. There could be no chance of the high piece sustaining itself for a longer time against the force of gravity.

Except the only fantastic experiment mentioned above, Fazl took all necessary precautions to make his project a success. He made intimate contact with Indian craftsmen and keenly observed their technique. Once satisfied by their skill, he began the arduous course of training. His discussions inspired them with a confidence and zeal to try new type of buildings different in shape and design from the familiar structures they had built hitherto in their own country. The primary difficulty was there: the Indian masons had not travelled in the Islamic lands and the edifices found there had not been examined by them. Fazl drew elaborate plans on the ground in order to convey the idea of what a minaret, a dome, an arch and vault, and other related structures looked like. His eloquent expression supplemented the obscure points, which the ground plan could not make out, Fazl's lecturing sessions continued till his Indian employees were fully prepared to take up their task.

A slab on the northern gate of *Masjid-i-Quwat ul-Islam* bears the inscription of Sultan Muhammad b. Sam Ghori and the year of the beginning of work on the mosque: 592/1195. Thus, three years were spent in making the necessary preparations: collection of materials, assignment of duties to the builders, and familiarizing them with the fundamental

features of Islamic architecture. The time of three Years was quite enough to summon master-builders from the cities of Islamic lands. It seemed that Fazl and his Indian employees had reached a mutual understanding which neither of them wanted to annul. The workers had impressed Fazl of their perfection in workmanship. And, Fazl, in turn had enlightened their mind with all the relevant ideas concerning the Islamic practice of building.

At the time Fazl started his project of Qutub complex in Delhi (592/1195), the Islamic world was at its height of progress and prosperity. Comforts of life were easily available to all sections of people; cities were lined up with beautiful bazars to attract the rich; and so there were public baths, mosques, colleges to please the lovers of piety and learning. Particularly, the libraries of the city of Bukhara enjoyed universal fame. The destruction of that city, the burning of its libraries, and the total massacre of human population around the area by Chingiz Khan and his Mongols (616/1219), was twenty four years ahead, and the final tragedy of Baghded (656/1258) sixty three years far off.

There is reason to suppose that Fazl found opportunity in young age to visit the famous cities of larger Khurasan. The fame of the magnificent palaces built in Ghaznah by Sultan Mahmud still lived in people's memory; although they were completely demolished by Sultan 'Ala ud-Din Jahan Saz (556/1160). Thus, he acquired adequate knowledge of the nature of buildings which gave definite style to urban life. Being familiar with the structural peculiarities of various functional buildings, Fazl proved himself an asset to the early emigrants who needed, so to say, a town-planner in order to give their habitations a coherent appearance. Today, save the two enormous monuments, time has left nothing.

Of cardinal importance was the *Masjid-i-Qiwat ul-Islam* meant for congregation of the faithful. The historian, Hasan Nizami of Niasapur, saw it just after completion and was impressed by the scenery of Qur'anic verses carved in rich and perfect relief. It looked as if the Holy Qur'an ascended heavenward and again came down inspiring the observer with the message of Divine mercy. And, Muhammad Aufi admired the milky white slabs of marble covering the floor. An additional, although incongruous, item was the pillar of Ashok brought from its original place

and fixed in the courtyard. The purpose was obvious: a solid piece of purest iron, it would subscribe to the grandeur of the mosque. Furthermore, information has survived that the material of twenty seven temples was used for its construction.

Fazl turned to the *Qutub Minar* after the Mosque. Usually, minaret is an integral part of the mosque; it is a graceful piece rising into the sky. The *mu'azzin* would ascend on it and chant the *Azan*, that is, prayer call. The early Christians of Syria placed light on the minaret to guide the distant travellers. Gradually, man's vanity conceived one more purpose: it was constructed in memory of an important event, chiefly, victory in war. Sultan Mu'izz ud-Din's elder brother, Sultan Ghiyas ud-Din (d. 599/1202) commanded to build a minaret in the city of Jam, Northern Afghanistan, which has existed intact. Perhaps, the example of *Minar-i-jam* inspired Sultan Qutb ud-Din Aibak to have a grand and marvellous piece also in his capital. Its first storey was completed (596-1199) within that Sultan's lifetime. The remaining three storeys reached completion during the reign of Ilutunish.

POETS

The dominant form of poetry during the entire century was *qasidah*. Unlike Arabic *qasidah*, which was born in desert, the Persian *qasidah* developed its own and altogether different traditions. Its chief centre of demand was the court of the kings. Appealing exclusively to the taste of nobles and the upper classes, who were artificial and pedant by nature, it could hardly acquire the gift of natural charm. In course of time, the *qasidah*-writers and the ruling classes discovered their inter-dependent interest. The poet would sing the praises of the king and his grantees. In turn, they would guarantee the poet's livelihood. Exaggeration and flattery became the hallmark of the *qasidah*. Needless to say, the poets let themselves degenerate as a class. For, they designed their material from utter falsehoods. Professionally, the poet presented his poems on state occasions or to celebrate important and noteworthy events. Naturally,

they came out in florid tones. Some of the major savants of *qasidah*, like Anwari, felt deeply ashamed of their obsequiousness and admitted that they were mere beggars despite possessing scholarship. However, the art of *qasidah* was not without obvious plus points. It embellished the language and made it exquisite, dignified and worthy of learned expression. Next, the art of *qasidah* subscribed to bring poetry closer to serious subjects. The range of the language as a whole was vastly increased. *Qasidah* admitted large stock of words and was responsible for giving them currency and familiarity. In its composition, spontaneous outpourings gave their place to well thought out rhetorical constructions. Its peculiarities are known. According to classical tradition, the real test of a poet as an artist possessing command over language was demanded through *qasidah*, because it afforded unlimited scope for proper utilization of vocabulary, easy as well as difficult.

Rukn ud-Din Hamza (d. unknown) was the poet-laureate of Sultan Muhammad b. Sâm Ghori; and poetic talents apart, he controlled the administration of the empire in his capacity as secretary to the Sultan. The famous letter addressed on behalf of Muhammad Gharue to Rai Pathora of Ajmer before the battle of Tara'in (588/1192), was drafted by Rukn ud-Din Hamza. He possessed exuberant imagination and composed *qasidahs* on every state occasion. Only fragments of his poems have survived in early anthologies.

Rashid-i-Shihâb (d. unknown) passed his career as a poet at the court of Sultan Muhammad Ghori. He was born at Ghaznah but having engaged himself in the business of administration he stayed in India. His writings do not exist save the brief notices given in his anthology of poets by Muhammad Awfi, the author of *Lubâb ul-Albab*.

Nâzuki of Maraghah was employed as a poet by Sultan Mu'izz ud-Din b. Sâm Ghori. Nâzuki possessed rare skill in the field of *qasidah* and obtained reward from his patron on every state occasion, particularly, military conquests. Badâ'uni has procured five verses of Nâzuki in praise of the Sultan.

Qâzi Hamid Balkhi lived as a poet in the court of Sultan Mu'izz ud-

Din Muhammad b. Sam Ghuri. Badā'uni, the historian of Akbar's reign, has cited two verses of Qāzi Hamid in praise of the Sultān.

Baha ud-Din Awshi (d. unknown) came from Awsh, a place in Central Asia, and found employment at the court of Sultān Qutb ud-Din Aibak. He was equally good at prose and poetry. Afi, the earliest *tazkirah*-writer, has preserved extracts from his *qasidahs* in praise of Aibak and estimated him as a scholar of versatile talents.

Jamāl ud-Din Muhammad (d. unknown) was a scholar living under the patronage of Sultān Qutb ud-Din Aibak. Afi, recorded extracts from his *qasidahs*.

Fazli Multāni was an emigrant from Bukhara and found refuge in the court of Nāsir ud-Din Qabachah (d. 625/1227), governor of Sind under Sultān Qutb ud-Din Aibak. Both he and Muhammad 'Afi had been school-fellows in the city of Bukhara and read Imām Fakhr ud-Din's book on Hanafi law. *Jami'-i-Saḡhir*, from the same teacher. He composed most of his *qasidahs* in praise of Qabachah, whereas the scholars of Qabacha's court accepted the invitation of Ilutmish and moved to Delhi after the tragic turn of events (625/1227). Fazli preferred to stay back and made Multan his permanent home. His friend, 'Afi, has preserved extracts from Fazli's poems.

Zia ud-Din Sistāni (d. ca.625/1227) lived as a poet in the literary circle of Nāsir ud-Din Qabachah, governor of Sind under Qutb ud-Din Aibak. Qabachah maintained his rival claim against Ilutmish after Aibak's death. The confrontation cost Qabachah his life. None the less, he was an ardent patron of learning. Ziya ud-Din enjoyed the favours of Qabachah's minister, 'Ain ul-Mulk, who was himself a mature scholar. Extracts from his poems have been preserved by the poet's friend, 'Afi, in his: *Lubab ul-Albab*.

Túrkú Sistāni alias Badi'i, Badi'ud-Din was an emigrant poet from Sistan, South of Kabul, and lived at the court of Sultān Tāj ud-Din Abu'l Makārim (ca. 607/1210), the independent king of Makran, whose territory covered part of Sind and the whole north-west of that province.

Türkū was a friend of Sirāji, a fellow-poet, also living at the same court before moving over to Iltutmish at Delhi. Perhaps, Türkū stayed in Makran, unlike Sirāji, till the end of his career and was satisfied by the kindness of the above-named ruler. Ironically, no contemporary historian gave details about Taj ud-Din Abu'l Makārim and his dynasty; it was Türkū and his friend Sirāji who preserved their patron's account in their poems and subscribed to fill up the lacuna in our knowledge of history. A casual reference by Minhāj-i-Sirāj, the author of *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, indicated that Taj ud-Din Abu'l Makārim was a contemporary of Sultan Muizz ud-Din Muhammad b. Sam Ghorī, which Sirāji and Türkū affirmed in their *qasidahs*.

Sirāji Khurāsani (d.652/1254) arrived in Delhi in the reign of Sultan Iltutmish and attained reputation as a poet. Before coming over to Delhi, he stayed for some time in Makran and addressed poems to the members of the ruling dynasty of that region. Thus, Sirāji's *qasidahs* cast light over a political scene which has received no historical treatment elsewhere. Sirāji enjoyed happy life in Makran and the rulers of that place were generous patrons of literary men. Having settled in Delhi, the poet went on pilgrimage to Mecca. The poems composed on the way express his deep religious feelings. His Diwan of poetry, now published, contains valuable pieces of historical information which add to the material supplied by the historians, chiefly, Hasan-i-Nizāmi and Minhāj-i-Sirāj.

Rizah, Taj ud-Din (d.ca.648/1250), better known as Taj-i-Rizah, was an outstanding poet at the court of Sultan Iltutmish and retained his literary fame for a long time. According to the evidence of reliable anthologists, he was born in Delhi. He performed important functions as State official and rose to the position of secretary = *dabir-i-mamlakat*. In that capacity he commanded much influence and enjoyed the confidence of Iltutmish. As court-poet, it was his duty to recite laudatory poems on every State occasion. The caliph of Baghdad sent a robe of honour and his decree to Iltutmish. It had a political significance, for, it raised the status of the Sultan of Delhi and he was recognized as a sovereign in his own right. The capital beamed with jubilation and the population of Delhi enjoyed the day as a festival. Taj-i-Rizah recited an eloquent *qasidah*, which was widely appreciated. He seems to have lived till the time of

Balban, but the peak-period of his artistic achievement was the time of Ilutmish and his daughter, Raziyah. His *Diwan* of poetry did not exist.

Tāj ud-Din Bukhari (d. unknown) was a poet at the court of Sultān Ilutmish and enjoyed the privilege of sitting in the Sultān's private assemblies as his boon-companion. The historian, Ziya-i-Barani, reckoned Bukhari as one of his teachers. A *qasidah* of the poet addressed to Nizām ul-Mulk Junaidi, the scholar-minister of Ilutmish, has survived in earlier anthologies.

Nāsiri, came from Trans-Oxiana in the reign of Sultān Shams ud-Din Ilutmish and was employed among the poets of his court. Minhāj-i-Siraj and other writers have preserved an interesting story of his initial success. A day before reciting his first *qasidah* at the court of the Sultān, Nāsiri approached Khwajah Qutb ud-Din Bakhtiyār Kākī to seek his blessings. The saint prayed for attainment of Nāsiri's desires. Sultān Ilutmish was pleased and bestowed the reward of fifty-three thousand silver coins, one thousand for every verse. Overjoyed, the poet ran straight to Khwajah Bakhtiyār and placed the money at his feet. In spite of his entreaties to share half at least, the Khwajah did not yield and permitted him to spend the whole, of course, adding a polite advice: only the legitimate needs were to be met with. Extracts from Nāsiri's *qasidahs* have survived in the *tazkirahs* of poets.

Bazzāz, Maulana Burhān ud-Din lived as a poet at the court of Sultān Shams ud-Din Ilutmish and survived many years during Balban's reign. The caliph of Baghdad sent his customary and formal *Manshur*—decree of approval, together with robe of honour to Sultān Ilutmish, and it was an event of great jubilation in Delhi. Bazzāz presented a *qasidah* greeting his master; and besides cash reward, received much praise for the use of wonderful rhetorical devices in the poem. It has been preserved by 'Auḍī in his *tazkirah*.

Hakim Tartari was a poet during the reign of Sultān Ilutmish. His successful use of rhetoric and ornamental devices made him popular among the literary men of his age. A few *qasidahs* from his pen in praise of the Sultān and his son and earlier successor, Rukn ud-Din Firuz Shah,

have survived in old anthologies.

Shihāb-i-Mehmara (d.660/1261) emerged as a poet under the young Sultān, Rūkn ud-Din Firāz, son of Iltutmish, whom the nobles raised to the throne for a short time. The poet's birthplace was Bada'un, a city in Uttar Pradesh, where his father, Jamāl ud-Din, lived as permanent settler. Amir Khusraw in the introduction to his *Ghurrat ul-Kamal* praised Shihāb as a great scholar. In young age, Khusraw showed his verses for improvement to Shihāb. The latter was indeed a master of style in the art of *qasidah*. He composed *qasidahs* in praise of God and the Prophet, and that was a happy diversion from the familiar line of traditional *qasidah* writers. There was only one step to sufistic poetry from the point where Shihāb had reached. His mind betrayed strong tendency to Sufism. Another innovation introduced by Shihāb, where he was the fore-runner of Amir Khusraw, was his inclination to compose poems decorated with artifices = *qasidah-i-masnā*. There is one poem, for example, where Shihāb used the names of four animals: elephant, lion, wolf, and rhino, in every verse. All his poems abound in brilliant and intricate constructions. These literary devices were exceedingly liked by upper class society of Medieval India, for, these were in conformity with their taste and manners. Only extracts from the poems of Shihāb have been available in earlier anthologies.

Shams ud-Din Muhammad Balkhi, was a court poet of Sultan Nāsir ud-Din Mahmūd. Later, he rose to higher position during the reign of Balban, who assigned him the office of *Dabir* = Secretary. Also, he served Nāsir ud-Din Bughra Khan, Balban's son and governor of Bengal. When Amir Khusraw began his career as a poet, he showed his verses for improvement to Shams-i-Dabir. In the introduction to his *Diwan*, *Ghurrat ul-Kamal*, Khusraw praised the literary merits of Shams-i-Dabir and acknowledged his greatness among the men of letters contemporaneous to Nāsir ud-Din Mahmūd and early years of Balban. Bada'uni, the historian, and many other writers of anthologies have preserved verses from the *qasidahs* of *Shams-i-Dibir*.

Amid-i-Sūnam (Loyaki) was a scholar and poet living in the reign of Balban who conferred on him the title of 'Fakhr ul-Mulk'. He was

assigned high office in the government, which he could not perform with efficiency and suffered disgrace on the charge of misappropriation. His blunt address in a *qasidah* before the Sultān, complaining that a poet of noble lineage was treated as criminal, showed that he was not really guilty. He belonged to the ruling clan, Loyak, occupying semi-independent territory around Ghaznah, and was genuinely proud of his background. 'Amid stayed for some time in company of Balban's favourite son, Prince Muhammad, whose court at Multan was famous for the assembly of literary men like Amir Khusraw of Delhi. His distinction as a poet was in the field of *qasidah*, the difficult form of Persian verse replete with rhetorics.

Mahmūd Khattāt was a poet and calligraphist in the reign of Balban. His patron was Muhammad Junaidi, grandson of the earstwhile Nizām ul-Mulk Junaidi. A number of contemporary personalities, commanding political influence or conspicuous for their learning, were mentioned by Mahmūd in his *qasidahs*.

'Alawi, 'Azz ud-Din was a poet in the reign of Sultān Balban and enjoyed the patronage of his minister, Muhammad Junaidi. Earlier *tazkirah* writers have preserved a number of his poems.

'Irāqī, Fakhr ud-Din (d.688/1289) constituted a distinct class among the literary men of his age; he was a Sufi poet. Neither did he care to present his art in professional manner to the contemporary Sultāns and their courtiers; nor were they interested in the sort of stuff he produced. No doubt, he composed *qasidahs* of excellent quality; but he took up altogether different subject. Master pieces as they were, the poet praised the merits of his spiritual guide, Shaikh Baha ud-Din Zakariya. Initially, Shaikh Sa'di of Shiraz had shown the way by purifying the *qasidah* from obsequious praise of worldly nobles. Instead, he switched attention to moral questions and other pious themes not excepting God and nature. The change introduced by Sa'di was sincerely appreciated by 'Iraqi. The latter's inspiration encouraged him to reserve the field of eulogy solely for his Shaikh. Next, 'Iraqi dedicated himself to *ghazal* and made remarkable success. Indeed, his *ghazals* vibrate with the spirit of a "typical *qalandar*" as he really was: "*Pisara rah-i-qalandar bizan ar*

harif-i-ma'" (My boy, tread the path of *qalandar* if you are our friend).

Initially, 'Iraqi acquired spiritual training under the guidance of Shaikh Shihab ud-Din Suhrawardi, and having quitted Hamadan, his hometown, passed early life in Baghdad. Next, he came down to Multan and made considerable spiritual progress in the *Khanqah* of Shaikh Baha ud-Din Zakariya. That the great Shaikh of Baghdad faced some difficulty in imparting moral instruction to that awkward disciple, seems to be a mere fiction. Modern research has discarded the frivolous legends attached to 'Iraqi's life*.

Thus, no credence could be given to 'Iraqi's infatuation with a cobbler boy in the Bazar of Baghdad and Shaikh Shihab ud-Din Suhrawardi's stern reprimand. In Multan, he faithfully adhered to the discipline observed in the *Khanqah* of Shaikh Zakariya. To his credit, Multan provided favourable atmosphere for creative ideas. Evidently, some of his best literary pieces, both *qasidah* and *ghazal*, bear the stamp of that city. As he proceeded from Multan to Cairo, for the *qalandar* could not stay longer at one place, Shaikh Zakariya honoured him by giving the letter of succession - *Khilafat Namah*.

'Iraqi's intellectual abilities attained their zenith during the days spent by him in Quniya, Turkey, where he attended the lectures of Shaikh Sadr ud-Din Qunawi. The latter was a profound scholar of Islamic sciences, having written twenty four books on miscellaneous subjects. Besides, he had accomplished himself as a Sufi. Also, in Quniya 'Iraqi enjoyed the friendly company of Maulana Jalal ud-Din Rumi (d. 672-1273). **

Sadr ud-Din Qunawi (d.673/1274) was the disciple and spiritual successor of Shaikh Muhy ud-Din Ibn ul-Arabi, the renowned personality of Islamic history, particularly, in the realm of Sufi thought. All followers of the Sufi discipline respectfully remember him as Shaikh ul-Akbar. He was born in the city of Mursiya, Andalusia. So he is also called Shaikh ul-Andalusi (d.638/1240). His death occurred in Damascus. Of his many works, the

* *Sa'id-i-Nafisi*: Introduction to *Diwan-i-'Iraqi*.

** Ahmad Afjaki: *Manaqib ul-'Arifin*.

most widely studied is *Fūsūs ul-Hikam*. According to familiar practice in the Sufi circles, Shaikh Sadr ud-Din Qunawi placed important texts by his side in order to explain relevant portions from them during lectures. 'Iraqi prepared notes which have survived under the title, *Lam'at*. Erroneously, people attributed them as running commentary on Ibn Arabi's *Fūsūs ul-Hikam*. Indeed, the *Lam'at* is commentary, but of a different work, namely, *Sawanih fi Ma'ani ul-'Ishq*, written by Ahmad Ghazzali, the brother of Imām Abu Hamid Ghazzali.

From Quniya 'Iraqi shifted to Damascus; there the end came (688.1289); and he was buried by the side of Ibn Arabi. The Indian Sufi, Maulana Jamali Dehlawi, famous as Darwesh Jamali (d.942/1535), who witnessed the days of the Lodi Sultans and thereafter the advent of Babūr, went on a wandering tour of the Islamic world. He recorded in his *Tazkirah* when he visited Damascus: "The two graves of Ibn 'Arabi and 'Iraqi are situated side by side. To the wayfarers the local inhabitants would courteously point out: This is the sea of Arabia: this is the sea of Persia. *Haza Bahr ul-'Arab. Haza Bahr ul-'Ajam*."

CHAPTER 3

The Age of Nizām ud-Din Auliya and His Successors to the Invasion of Timūr. (689 / 1290 - 801 / 1398)

At the time young Kayqubād, the grandson of Balban, passed out of scene and the Khalji nobles formally requested their leader Jalāl ud-Din Firūz to ascend the throne of Delhi (689/1290), the most distinguished man living in the capital rather throughout the empire, was Nizām ud-Din Auliya. He had returned from Ajodhan twenty five years ago (662/1263): his Shaikh having granted him the insignia of honour : *Khilafat Namah*, *Khirqah*, prayer carpet, and walking staff, together with permission to establish his own *Khanqah* at Delhi. In course of time, Nizām ud-Din's *Khanqah* became the chief centre of attraction for people at large from the noble to the humble, and all dignitaries of the empire acknowledged its importance. In turn, Nizām ud-Din Auliya left a line of successors, whose benevolent influence the whole society enjoyed and their age lasted over a century till it was eclipsed by the tragic invasion of Timur (801/1398).

As Shaikh Nizām ud-Din Auliya influenced his age so did his successors and the successors of successors. Particularly, it may be said about Shaikh Nasir ud-Din Mahmūd Chirāgh-i-Dehli and his disciple : Khwajah Gesū Darāz Saiyed Muhammad. All of them were endowed with noble temperament and earnestly came to grips with the problems of life as they

found them emerging during their times.

Spiritual merits apart, these venerable men possessed excellent literary qualities and their two generations continuously dominated the literary scene. Although primarily concerned with improving the moral character of man, they proportionately invested their genius in diverse intellectual fields. Literature was uppermost in their quest.

Times were eventful and the generations having lived through them, saw many memorable happenings. For example, they saw the initiation of the Khalji dynasty, distinct from Turkish stock and closer to Tajiks, whose founder was soon removed from the throne by his ungrateful nephew. They saw the tumultuous reign of Ala ud-Din Khalji, one of the most prodigious personalities of Indian history, extending his jurisdiction to the farthest South and his soldiers marching to the coastal region of Indian Ocean. They saw the palace revolution against Khalji power organized by Khusraw Khan Barwari, the upstart of Hindu origin. They saw the intriguer's removal in four months; but as Barani remarked, not without causing much injury and insult to the dignity of the rulers. They saw the emergence of Tughluq dynasty and the confusing rule of its most enigmatic sovereign. One of his whimsical acts, witnessed by them, was the compulsory transfer of capital from Delhi to distant Daulatabad and the hardships suffered by Delhi's population, perpetually so much addicted to luxurious life. They saw the emergence of a new capital, Firuzabad, during the reign of Firuz Shah Tughluq on the bank of river Jamuna. And, ultimately, they saw the horrible invasion of Timur, who plundered and burned the city during his stay of a fortnight; he left it in ashes and ruins taking away immense booty, not excepting the marble slabs and other precious stones which he utilized to decorate his buildings at Samarqand and Bukhara.*

* Khalji Sultans : Jalal ud-Din Firuz (d. 695/1295). 'Ala ud-Din (d. 715/1315). Qutb ud-Din Mubarak Shah (d. 720/1321). Khusraw Khan Barwari (720/1321). Tughluq Sultans : (1) Ghiyas ud-Din (d. 725/1324). (2) Muhammad b. Tughluq (d. 752/1351). (3) Firuz Shah (d. 790/1388). (4) Ghiyas ud-Din Second (d. 791/1388). (5) Abu Bakr Shah (d. 792/1389). (6) Muhammad Shah (d. 796/1393). (7) 'Ala ud-Din Shah (d. 1393). (8) Mahmud Shah. (9) Iqbal Khan Malloo Pathan. (10). Amir Timur (801/1398).

Both, in the domain of prose and poetry, the century followed a set rule. The fall of Baghdad (656/1258) being a dividing line, prior to that period prose was generally simple and pleasant in style. On the other hand, poetry, chiefly *qasidah*, used to be rhetorical, pedantic, and artificial. After the fall of Baghdad a drastic change took place. The literary equation was altogether reversed. Poetry became more appealing in range; and poets, mainly the *ghazal* writers, assumed greater role as interpreters of human emotions. The writers of prose gradually ceased to be conscious of the advantage of simple expression. Their prose style grew tasteless and grotesque. Thankfully, the age brought out the first great poet of Indo-Persian line. Amir Khusrav, the vigorous and versatile genius, had strong attachment with Nizām ud-Dīn Auliya. Also, the Shaikh very much enjoyed the poet's charming conversation.

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Nizām ud-Dīn Auliya : The life of Nizām ud-Dīn Auliya coincided with the epoch unforgettable as a high watermark of glory and prosperity. Precisely, it began from the second year of the reign of Raziah, encompassed the days of the Khaljis, and lasted to the year of Muhammad b. Tughlūq's accession (636/1238 - 726/1325). Meanwhile, he seriously thought about his role in the world and the decision was firmly taken : he would live in the state of voluntary poverty. The chosen methods were devotion to God, humility, and sympathy with mankind. Indeed, there were milestones in his life to reckon with : Bada'un, where he was born; Delhi, where he acquired formal education of the highest quality; Ajodhan, where he found a spiritual mentor willing to guide him on the path = *Tariqat*, distinct from the theological lore = *Shari'at*; and Delhi again where he was destined to preach, by personal example, the message of his Chishti fore-runners assiduously for sixty years* (664/1265-725/1325).

* Muhammad Habib, *Shaikh Nizām ud-Dīn Auliya, Indian Inheritance*, Vol. I, pp. 267-279 (ed. K.M. Munshi). Saiyed Athar Abbas Rizvi, *A History of Sufism in India*, Vol. I, pp. 154-168.

A Naqawi Saiyed tracing his pedigree from Imām Ali Naqi alias Hadi, tenth in the line of 'Ali, the Prophet's cousin and successor, Nizām ud-Din's grand-father, Khwājah Saiyed Ali, emigrated from Bukhara and came to settle in Bada'un, North India. It was an early settlement of Muslims outside Punjab, where a considerable population, professing Islam, lived peacefully before the battle of Tarāin, and enjoyed the protection of Hindu sovereigns. Prior to Nizām ud-Din, another eminent scholar who emerged from Bada'un, was Razi ud-Din Saghāni, respected for his profound knowledge of the science of traditions. At Bada'un Nizām ud-Din was born in the year 638/1238 and was named Muhammad. The most memorable event of his childhood, when he was merely five years of age, was the death of his father, Khwājah Saiyed Ahmad. Henceforth, poverty loomed large and he passed life under the care of his widowed mother, Bibi Zūlaikha, totally deprived of the ordinary comforts of daily existence. The experience was not without its positive aspect. It made easy for him to pass through one of the seven stages = *Maqāmat*, of Sufism, that is, "Renouncement" (of the world), when time came to embrace that discipline.*

Obstacles notwithstanding, Bibi Zūlaikha carefully planned the future of her son. She gave first priority to good education. A humble reciter of the town, Shādi Mūqri in his natural kindness bestowed tender attention on the poor orphan and undertook the instruction of the *Qur'an*. Efficiency in proper intonation of the Divine Book was soon completed. Next, the pious lady approached Maulana 'Alā ud-Din Usūli, the most learned scholar then living in Bada'un. The Maulana at once realized the intelligence of the child and tried by giving lessons from a comprehensive textbook of jurisprudence, *Mukhtasar al-Qudūri* : The young student amazed his teacher by actively picking up the basic issues of the subject. At sixteen, a happy incident crossed his life. His teacher, Maulana Usūli, declared that Nizām ud-Din had attained qualification to tie the usual scholar's turban around his head. And, the date for the ceremony of *Dastar-bandi*, the familiar convocation, was fixed. All learned men of Bada'un graced the occasion by their presence. Most outstanding in the

* Sh. Shihāb ud-Din Suhrawardi mentioned ten *Maqāmat*: 'Awārif-ul-ma'ārif.

assembly was the old saint, 'Ali Maulā, originally a bandit of the Hindu caste of milk-sellers. The latter was inspired to embrace Islam and repent from sinful life in the company of Shaikh Jalāl ud-Din Tabrizi. The Shaikh departed for North-Bihar and Bengal leaving 'Ali Maulā as his successor in Badā'un. Gradually, the worthy disciple became famous for his piety and rose to sainthood. In his speech, 'Ali Maulā blessed the recipient of honour and prophesied his future greatness.

Next, in order to pursue her aim Bibi Zulaikha proceeded to Delhi with her son and daughter as further higher education was available only in the imperial capital. The atmosphere there was quite opportune and the young man soon entered the exalted circle of scholars. They were men whose association was bound to build up a special temperament of their student already endowed with sensitive nature. Prominent among his teachers were : 1. Shams ul-Mulk Mustawfi. Initially, he was a revenue officer, a *Mustawfi*, but love of knowledge over-weighed the comforts of wordly dignity. He resigned from service and passed the rest of his life in reading and pious routines. Students gathered around him for instruction and his discourses deeply impressed their minds. 2. Maulana Kamāl ud-Din Zāhid, had a pious scholar's integrity and independence of character. Once Sultān Balban requested him to accept the duty of leading his prayers. Maulana Kamāl ud-Din exclaimed : "Only my prayer has been left with me. The Sultān wants to take away that also." Balban was very much embarrassed by that reply; and as the Maulana was to depart from his presence, the Sultān offered his apology. 3. Najib ud-Din Mutaakkil, was the brother of Shaikh Farid Ganj-i-Shakar and lived in Delhi, where he was respected for his learning and piety. His knowledge of Islamic sciences was incomparable. But, that noble band of religious scholars illustrated peculiar habits. They never desisted from the cardinal virtue of unworldliness. And, they lived in total disregard of worldly needs. Proximity to the centre of power was not difficult for them; in fact, they themselves preferred distance from the Sultān and his nobles. For, they were the followers of an idealism purely moral in content. Of course, there were other Ulama of quite different colouring. But, the men who inspired Nizām ud-Din and subscribed in shaping his mental framework were of a distinct character. Their dictum was : "Liberate yourself from every desire

of material belongings and be happy." Indeed, petty worries did not bother them at all. Fruit seasons came and passed away; they could not taste a single slice of melon or mango despite their cheap price and abundance in the market. Quite often, after morning prayers, Bibi Zulaikha would inform in a mood mingled with strange humour: "My boy; today we are the guests of God." It signified that there was nothing to eat and they would starve during the day. The son welcomed the message, for, it strengthened the life of the soul. Both would devote themselves to prayers with greater attention. Only one occasion arose when Nizam ud-Din was lured by the idea of security and comfort. The post of *qazi* was within his reach; he was nearing the completion of his four years' rigorous education. Shaikh Najib ud-Din Mutawakkil restrained his brilliant student and advised him not to give up the spiritual course. Nizam ud-Din readily submitted.

Overburdened by age and weakened by regular fasting, Bibi Zulaikha felt, at last, that the end was approaching. She summoned Nizam ud-Din by her bedside and pressing his hand between her two enervated hands proclaimed in a low voice: "My dear boy; I entrust you to God." Thus, the great lady passed away from the world. Not long afterwards, Nizam ud-Din set out to stay with Shaikh Farid Ganj-i-Shakar at Ajodhan. The difficult journey began at the age of twenty (656/1258).

The *Khanqah* of Shaikh Farid was a world of pious practices. The throngs of devotees arrived daily to seek his blessings. Of course, *Fiduh* – gifts, poured in abundance; but everything was distributed before the closing of the day. Nothing was left for tomorrow. The Shaikh and the inmates of his *Khanqah* lived in extremely simple manner. Often, they tasted starvation together. Nizam ud-Din had fully prepared himself for such a style of life. Shaikh Farid was well pleased with the merits of his disciple.

A sufi's spiritual training makes its headway through a secret communion between his teacher and himself. It is based on intuition causing transformation of his personality. In the end, he feels tremendous satisfaction. No phraseology is appropriate enough to translate his blissful experiences. Prayers, fasting, and other miscellaneous rituals are voluntary exercises fortifying the spirit and assisting in the progress of

the soul's journey. The Shaikh would confer transcendental wisdom upon the pupil; it is not found in books; it may be called inner enlightenment.

Meanwhile, the Shaikh would deliver lessons from selected standard text books by making the students sit in a circle = *da'irah* = *halqah*. Nizām ud-Din learned many relevant texts from Shaikh Farid. Of them, expressly mentioned in his *Khalāfat nāmāh* were Shihāb ud-Din Suhrawardi's *Awārif ul-ma'ārif* and Abu Shakūr Sulamī's *Tamhīd ul-Mubtadi*. The relationship lasted for about seven years. In the year of his death (664/1265) Shaikh Farid granted *Khalāfat nāmāh* to his favourite pupil and asked him to go back to Delhi. At the time of departure, Shaikh Farid offered a gold coin to Nizām ud-Din, which the latter gladly accepted. All of a sudden he felt that the gold coin was the only possession of the Shaikh and that nothing would be left with him. Respectfully, he placed the coin at his master's feet. The Shaikh took it and deposited in his pocket. Really, both the teacher and the pupil were men of fascinating manners.

Having arrived in Delhi, Nizām ud-Din initially found shelter in the house of Amir Khusraw's maternal grandfather, 'Imād ul-Mulk, a high functionary of the empire. But, the nobleman's sons evicted him from their princely mansion and he shifted to a nearby mosque. He never cared to have a personal house; nor did he marry. Only, when his fame began to attract crowds of devotees, he managed a lodging somehow in village Ghiyāspur; it served as the so-called *Khanqah*. The *fatah* = gifts, which gradually increased in quantity, did not affect the Shaikh's mode of living. Even when he was not fasting, he remained hungry. Starvation did not diminish his cheerfulness. In meeting with the stream of visitors, sympathy beamed from his countenance. What was intriguing to the Hindus, mainly of high caste, was his indiscriminate practice of offering *ta'zim* = standing salutation, to people of all classes, may be of humble origin. Also he ordered that food from his community kitchen - *langar*, shall be distributed to the Muslims as well as the Hindus. Following the law of *Tawakkul* = Trust in God, all food and everything received during the day in *fatah* was given away to the needy people. Every night Iqbāl, the servant, would sweep the kitchen clean, and in order to win his

master's approbation for smart service, would present himself with broom in hand. The Shaikh expressed happiness.

After supper his servants escorted him to his bedroom situated on the upper storey of the *Khanqah*. He slept only for a few hours before midnight. As midnight passed, the inmates of the *Khanqah* noticed the lamp burning in his room and its light coming out till the Mu'azzin's call announced the time of morning prayer. He spent his time in meditation, prayers, and the reading of books. Often, his voice was heard reciting verses loudly. For, he had excellent literary taste and enjoyed the study of classics during the tranquil hours of night: "In silence, I and the lamp keep each other company till the break of the day."

With his contemporary sovereigns, it may be sad to recollect, the relations of the Shaikh hardly remained normal and cordial. He never took serious interest in political developments. The list of events may bear witness to his attitude: 1. Kaiyubad, the last slave Sultān, grandson of Balban and a youth of seventeen years, offered *fātūh*. The Shaikh condescended to accept. With a view to improve the maintenance of the *Khanqah*, the Sultān granted revenue of a few villages. The Shaikh stubbornly refused. It was commonly known in the capital that the inmates of the *Khanqah* and many well known Sufis living there were facing starvation and the Shaikh equally shared their hardships. 2. Jalāl ud-Din, the first Khalji Sultān, desired to fix a meeting. The Shaikh declined to oblige. Once, rumour spread of the Sultān's surprise visit. The Shaikh ordered his servants to be ready to demolish the boundary wall and make way for his exit in case the Sultān entered from the front door. At last, in order to diffuse the situation, the Shaikh left Delhi to stay away for a few days in Ajodhan. 3. Only, Sultān Ala ud-Din Khalji adopted the policy of ideal aloofness during his reign. Both the Sultān and the Shaikh were indifferent to each other. The Sultān cautiously guarded his greatness from being overshadowed by his most illustrious contemporary. 4. Serious conflict arose with the last Khalji Sultān, Qutb ud-Din Mubārak Shāh. The young sovereign, sunk in abject debaucheries, repeatedly created trouble for the Shaikh. He built a mosque, *Masjid-i-Miri*, and invited all the learned and pious men of the capital to offer their

congregation prayer there. The Shaikh defied the Sultān's order and abstained from going to *Masjid-i-Miri*. His plea was : "The mosque near my house has greater claim over me." Again, in his whim, the Sultān introduced a novel practice. After the new moon was sighted, all learned men of the capital would present themselves at the court and salute the Sultān. Of course, the Sultān would offer them cash and garments for their prayers. The ceremony took place on every first day of the lunar month. The Shaikh did not participate in it and, so to speak, made himself conspicuous by absence. Instead, he sent his servant, Iqbal, to represent him. Every man in Delhi heartily laughed at the boldness of the Shaikh. Sending Iqbal to salute the Sultān was really wonderful. Even the Sultān himself could not remain impervious to the Shaikh's subtle sense of humour. He was deeply stung by the insult. In the state of intoxication, he started saying : "Whoever brought the head of Nizām ud-Din Auliya to me, I shall pay him a thousand coins of gold". Moreover, he issued strict orders for Nizām ud-Din Auliya to be presented in the court on the coming first day of the next lunar month. Anxiety and suspense gripped Delhi. Men and women fervently prayed for the safety of the Shaikh. At last the new moon appeared on the horizon; the same night Khusraw Khan Barwari assassinated Qutb ud-Din Mubarak Shah (720/1320). The Shaikh suffered no harm. 5. The friction which developed with Ghiyas ud-Din, the first Tughluq Sultān, was the last in the Shaikh's life. How it originated may be summed up in brief: Khusraw Khan Barwari tried to cover up his crime by profusely showering silver and gold to his right and left. Gift packets of cash were sent to all the leaders of public opinion, that is, men known for piety, small or great. Many of them preserved the amount safely with the intention of returning it after normalcy will be restored. Nizām ud-Din Auliya also got his due share; he immediately distributed it among the poor and the needy. Soon, Ghiyas ud-Din Tughluq brought the situation under control and assumed power as legitimate sovereign. He found the public treasury quite bankrupt; Khusraw Khan had plundered it in four months. As a rule, the state with depleted coffers is a handicapped institution. Ghiyas ud-Din Tughluq ventured to try one expedient. Let him demand the refund of amount, whatever could be retrieved, from its holy recipients. Nizām ud-Din Auliya on being served the Sultān's notice, summarily replied: "It was the property of the Muslims and the poor; I

gave it to them. Of course, I did not spend a single coin on my personal needs." Ghiyās ud-Dīn Tughlūq was not satisfied by the Shaikh's explanation. Nor did he want to spare the other Sufis of the capital, who had enjoyed themselves with the gifts of the usurper Khusraw Khan. Their acceptance of his money amounted to tacit support of rebellion and lawlessness. In desperate mood, he declared that he would simply ask them and their leader to get out of Delhi. Meanwhile, Ghiyās ud-Dīn marched to Lakhnauti, Bengal, on an urgent campaign. Before leaving, he made it known that the money will have to be refunded. Naturally, those Sufis who were left with nothing in their pocket and could not deposit back a single coin in the royal treasury, assembled round Nizām ud-Dīn Auliya. Fearing the wrath of the Sultān they wept. It was certain, they said, he will be returning soon, and the defaulters will be punished. Their child-like simplicity was completely swayed by the imaginary dread of the Sultan's whip. At last, their wailing moved the Shaikh to pity. He reassured them : "Friends, do not worry. What is your fault ? The Sultān has not arrived. These utterances fortified their dejected listeners with strong feelings of relief. In fact, the Sultān had sent advance message to Nizām ud-Dīn Auliya (recorded by the historian Nizām ud-Dīn Ahmad in his *Tabaqat-e-Akbari*) : "You must leave the capital as soon as I reach there. Either you would live in Delhi or myself." Thereupon, in his usual good humour, the Shaikh exclaimed : "Delhi is still far away : *Hanūz Dilli dūr ast*." In the month of Rabi II 725/1325, the Shaikh breathed his last at the age of eighty seven years. But, the confidence and solace infused by him were too sound to be shaken. When the Sultān came back about three months later, in the moth of Sha'ban 725/1325, his son and heir-apparent arranged a grand feast in his honour outside the capital at Afghanpur. Accidentally, the high dome of the newly built mansion fell down; and the crumbling stones reduced Sultān Ghiyās ud-Dīn Tughlūq's flesh and bones to lifeless pulp. A proverb from amongst the sayings of Nizām ud-Dīn Auliya has survived in our language : *Hanūz Dilli dūr ast*.

As regards the *Fawa'id ul-fawad*, undoubtedly it was one of the most remarkable books produced in the Indian sub-continent. How Sufism as a system tended to exert influence over the minds of the people, is clearly revealed by that book. Customarily, the Shaikh delivered lectures to the

disciples, who attended regularly and could take notes if they liked. It was an old rule of Khanqāh life. An interesting practice originated in India at that juncture. Often, a more active and intelligent disciple would remember the utterances of the Shaikh as he listened to them spoken. At night or during spare moments, he would reproduce them on paper as faithfully as his memory could help. Recorded verbatim, they assumed the title, *Malfūzat*.

Nizām ud-Din Auliya' spiritual attainment naturally won for him a brilliant position in society. And, his utterances were bound to arouse wide-ranging curiosity. Specially, the words of his mouth had been objects of deep veneration for the devotees; there were meanings of moral significance contained in them. The importance of his spoken words - *mulfūzat*, may, therefore, be fairly imagined.

Strangely, as the *Fawa'id ul-fawā'id* rose to fame, a large number of fabricated or the so-called apocryphal, *Malfūzat*, bearing the names of other great Sufis, also appeared in the book market of those days. Despite careful researches of modern scholars, some of them are still zealously read by the lovers of that category of books; and their circulation has not diminished. It may not be exaggeration to suppose that forgers played active role in the expansion of Sufi literature.*

The excellent literary flavour in the *Fawa'id ul-fawā'id* resulted from its author's mastery over the art of conversation. All the expedients of an artist were at his command when he desired to impress his audience. To make the discourse enchanting he freely cited verses. Perhaps, some of them were his own; many others were the compositions of great Sufi poets, whose works he usually studied. His favourite poets seemed to be Sanai Ghaznawi (d. 545/1150) and Saif ud-Din Bakharzi (d. 658/1259).

In his daily sittings, Nizām ud-Din Auliya' referred to a large number of works dealing with different branches of Islamic sciences. Mostly, they were Arabic sources : for example, *Ihya ul-'Ulām*, *Awārif ul-ma'arif*, *Nawādir ul-ūsul*, *Rūh ul-arwah*, *Qūt ul-qūtūb*, *Mashāriq ul-anwar*,

* Muhammad Habib, *Chishti Mystic Records of the Sultanate Period*.

Maktūbat-i-Ain ul-Qazzat, *Tafsir i-Kashshaf* and the like. However, inspite of the high standard of learning, the discussions neither tended to be dry nor were they beyond the grasp of his disciples. A strain of freshness ran through them from beginning to the end. Moreover, if the Shaikh noticed dullness in the atmosphere of his discourse, he would readily entertain his audience by relating naive and awkward instances; he was an excellent story-teller : "Razi ud-Din Saghani, author of *Mashariq*, was ill; a visitor came and recited a tradition of the Prophet; it condemned fornication and slander; then, he started blowing his breath over his friend's face and chest; Saghani protested in feeble voice; 'My dear, I am dying of pain; what was the occasion of reminding me about such indecent tidings?' The simple fellow apologized : 'Sir, I recalled that reciting tradition by the bedside of the patient cures his sickness; presently, that authentic tradition came to my mind. Saghani closed his eyes without making any comment.'" All the audience attending discourse in the *Jam'at Khanah* laughed heartily. The Shaikh also enjoyed their laughter.

According to Sufi doctrine, the Shaikh must be a perfect man. Only then, he would be able to guide others through the well-known seven stages of spiritual progress. First of all, he would invite his disciples to live pious life and suppress evil passions. Some of the teachings of Nizam ud-Din Auliya, laid down in the *Fawa'id ul-fawad*, may be summed up briefly : 1. He advised detailed programme of rituals and prayers during the timings of night and day to his followers. Prayers categorized by him were of two kinds : (i) *Lazimi* = compulsory : Five times' prayers, fasting, and other obligatory duties. Their reward was confined to the individual. (ii) *Mut'addi* = Communicable : making caravansarai, laying gardens, digging wells along the roadside and other acts of charity. The reward passed to others. Their importance was far greater. For further clarification he emphasised that actions were the keys to unlock the gate of Divine grace. 2. Livelihood was vital for existence. So, earn your living with honesty and dignity. Do not waste all your energies in the pursuit of *rizq* = daily bread that is, earnings. The Shaikh had read Maulana Hafiz ud-Din's *Book on Hunting*. The tiger jumps on the prey and would not care if the animal escaped. The dog would chase until exhausted. Be a tiger; do not be a

dog. 3. After all, what is the reality of the world? Listen. Once, an old woman, painted and powdered, wearing gaudy dress and costly jewellery, appeared before Jesus Christ on whom be peace. She was arrogant, ugly and repulsive in her looks. "Who are you?" "I am the world." "How many times did you marry?" "The number of my husbands defies reckoning." "Did anyone divorce you?" "No. I killed all of them myself." It implied that only the Darwesh has courage to renounce the world completely. It amounted to divorcing her scornfully if he slept one night without food. For ordinary people, it must be enough that they lived with a sense of mutual good will and respect towards each other. 4. Besides the vast knowledge of Islamic history, the Shaikh was gifted with rich thought. He showed many new horizons to his disciples. In his view, there were four human types : (i) Those who were outwardly good and inwardly bad. They prayed, but their hearts did not move. (ii) Outwardly bad and inwardly good; they enjoyed prayers, although they often looked unsound and shabby; their hearts melted whenever they remembered God. (iii) Neither outwardly nor inwardly good; they were the slaves of lust. (iv) Good, both in outwardness (*Zahir*) and inwardness (*Batin*). Of course the Sufis (Darwesh) belonged to that category. From amongst them God recruited his *Wali* = favourite (pl. *auliya*). They surrender themselves absolutely to God's will and God loves them. There were two distinct merits of a *wali* of God. First, he was blessed with immortality. Secondly, he had extraordinary divining sense; the inner state of others was not concealed to him. "When I was a student in Delhi, there was a lady, Bibi Fatimah Sam. My teacher, Shaikh Najib ud-Din Mutawakkil, had great regards for her. I noticed a number of times that Bibi Fatimah brought food early in the morning. Then, it was revealed to me that my teacher and his family passed their previous day and night without taking a morsel of bread. Shaikh Najib would raise his hands and pray : "O God, just as you granted intuition to a woman for knowing my secret condition, grant a little of the same to our king; he should be aware of the distresses faced by his subjects. 5. The Shaikh defines *Karamat* = supernatural act, as some feat which reason was unable to explain. The favourites of God were authorized to perform *Karamat*. In fact, *mû'jizah* = miracle, was the special privilege of the Prophets. Between *mû'jizah* and *Karamat* there was a difference of degrees. Among popular *Karâmât*, the exercise very much

appreciated by the Sufis, were flying in the air and walking on water. "A darwesh lived in Lahāwar (Lahore) and tilled a small piece of land. Once, the revenue officer, a crazy fellow, pressed him to show *Karamat*. The darwesh pleaded humbly that he was an ordinary person. On this, the officer threatened to raise the revenue of his land and impose extra demand of arrears. Left with no alternative, the darwesh walked on water and crossed the river. Having reached the other bank, he called a boatman. The people asked him to return in the same fashion. The darwesh declined, saying, his baser self would be deluded that he was something." Thus, the Shaikh repeatedly advised his disciples not to attach much importance to *Karamāt*. The real thing was love of God.

The Shaikh lived for a cause : improving the moral personality of man. So, the knowledge of so many saintly souls must have been carefully imbibed by him; their examples inspired him; and their legacy confirmed the importance of his own line of action. Communication with the young disciples had great educative value. Logically, the pages of *Fawa'id ul-fawad* were sprinkled with interesting anecdotes : 1. Hasan Afghān was one of the disciples of Shaikh Bahā ud-Din Zakariyā and resided in Multan. He was quite illiterate. Due to the life of exemplary piety and absolute unworldliness, the position of *wali* = God's favourite, had been granted to him. Shaikh Zakariyā liked him very much and often said : 'If I were asked on the Day of Judgement : What have you brought ? I shall reply : I have brought Hasan Afghān.' So, one day Hasan Afghān happened to pray in a mosque of the city. The *Imam*, behind whom Hasan offered prayers, was overwhelmed by distraction. Neither was his mind quiet nor could he concentrate his thoughts. After the prayer was over, Hasan Afghān respectfully approached the *Imam* and whispered into his ear. "Shaikh : you went from Multan to Delhi, purchased slaves, travelled with the Caravan of merchants to Khurasān, sold the slaves and returned to Multan. I was being dragged behind you all the way". 2. One day, this writer (Hasan Dihlawi) had occasion to kiss the hands (and feet) of the Shaikh. The *tafsir* = commentary of Imām Nāsiri was open before him. He related a very interesting story : 'Imām Nāsiri once suffered from serious attack of epilepsy. All his relatives thought he was dead; and they buried him in the graveyard. At night Nāsiri recovered his senses and guessed

correctly that he was inside the grave. It occurred to him that God, the Merciful delivered the sufferer from every calamity if he recited *Yasin* (Sura 36 of the Quran) forty times. He, therefore, began to recite and completed thirty nine times; an aperture had been formed and light entered the grave. Actually, he gained some idea what was happening. A *Kafan dāzd* = stripper of shroud, had ventured to dig the grave for plundering the winding sheet. Nāsiri, therefore, took up the fortieth recitation very cautiously in whispers. As he reached the end, the grave was wide open. He jumped outside causing such a shock to the thief that his heart collapsed instantly. Nāsiri walked away to his house. There were great rejoicings in the family. 3. Shaikh 'Usmān lived in Ghaznah and had an eating shop. He cooked delicious soup from turnip, beet and other vegetables. Rumour spread in the city that the soup-seller gave full plate, and in his courtesy, forgot to check between genuine and fake coins. All idle loafers fed themselves joyfully and paid fake coins, winking at each other. Time passed and no change took place in Shaikh 'Usmān's practice. There was abundant good humour in his nature and visitors never found him wanting in pleasantries. At last signal was received by him of the approaching end. Shaikh 'Usmān hastened to the mosque; it was his last prayer: "O Merciful and Compassionate. All my life I willingly accepted fake coins from my customers. Exactly similar were my prayers. Accept them; I implore Thy mercy:"

The calm and quiet atmosphere of the discourses was likely to be disturbed by unusual hindrances. A curious incident has been reported by their collector, Hasan Dihlawi, as eye-witness: "The Shaikh was explaining a serious subject and the assembly listened with rapt attention. All of a sudden, rowdy slogans were heard and a party of *jawaliqis* (roaming band proclaiming unworldliness) burst into the *Khanqah*. They shouted abusive language and demanded money immediately. For, they were hungry. The Shaikh hastened to the chamber where *futuh* was deposited, brought the money and gave them. Their disappearance was as abrupt as their entry. Before the assembly could compose from the reaction of the ugly scene, the Shaikh cheerfully remarked: 'Hundreds of people come and place their forehead at my feet. Today, it was a lucky day. They came and abused me freely. I received adequate compensation for

the homage others paid me.”

Conclusively : Hasan-i-Sijzi collected the *Malfūzat* of Nizām ud-Din Auliya. His record began on 3 Shaʿban H. 707/1307, and closed on 19 Shaban H. 722/1322. Precisely, the *Fawaʿid ul-fawaʿid* was a diary of utterances and discourses of fifteen years and sixteen days.

Amir Hūsaini, Rukn ud-Din Husain (d. 718/1318), belonged to Gardez, modern Afghanistan, and came to acquire spiritual training under the guidance of Rukn ud-Din Abūʿl Fath, the grandson of Shaikh Baha ud-Din Zakariya. He witnessed the early years of the Khalji Sultans. Having completed the desired education, he shifted from Multan, his teacher’s residence, and settled in Herat, where he passed the rest of his life. Professing allegiance to Baha ud-Din Zakariya, the Suhrawardi saint of Multan, through his grandson, he gained recognition as a representative of Suhrawardi order in Herat and the adjacent area of Khurasān.

Amir Hūsaini acquired permanent place in Persian literature due to a questionnaire, containing a set of fifteen questions, covering matters of importance to the Sufis. He despatched them to his contemporary, Mahmūd-i-Shabistari whose hometown, Shabistar, was situated in the neighbourhood of Tabriz. The questions framed by Amir Hūsaini were in verse; so were the answers. Mahmūd-i-Shabistari was inspired to express his views in regard to the various issues constituting Sufistic doctrine, in about one thousand verses. The metre of the poem, as of the questions, was *Hazaj māsaddas maqsūr*=*Mafaʿilūn mafaʿilūn mafaʿil*. It appeared under the title, *Gūlshan-i-Rāz*, and its theme made it a work of lasting fascination for the Sufis.

Thanks to his early training in Multan, Amir Hūsaini had clear perception of the subject in theory and practice. The fifteen questions brought forth all the basic problems faced by a seeker of esoteric knowledge : 1. As to the nature of thought ? 2. Why is thought sometimes a sin, sometimes a duty, and what sort of thought is incumbent on the mystic ? 3. What am “I” ? What is meant by “travelling into one’s self” ? 4. What is meant by “the Pilgrim,” and what by “the perfect man” ? 5. Who is the Gnostic = Arif,

who attains to the secret of Unity ? 6. If knower and known are one pure essence, what are the inspirations in this handful of dust ? 7. To what point belongs the expression, "I am the Truth" ? 8. Why call they a creature 'united' ? How can he achieve 'travelling' and 'journey' ? 9. What is the union of 'necessary' and 'contingent' ? What are 'near' and 'far', 'more and less' ? 10. What is that Sea whose shore is speech ? What is that pearl which is found in its depths ? 11. What is the way to find that pearl ? 12. How are Eternal and Temporal separate ? Is this one the world and the other God ? 13. What means the mystic (Sufi) by those allegorical expressions of his ? What does he indicate by 'eye' and 'lip' ? What does he intend by 'cheek', 'curl', 'down', and 'mole' ? 14. What meaning he attaches to 'wine', 'Torch', and 'Beauty' ? 15. Idols, girdles, and Christianity in this discourse are all infidelity; if not, say what are they ?*

The other works of Amir Hūsaini were : *Nūzhat al-Arwah*, *Kanz ur-Rumūz* and *Tarab ul-Majalis*, ca. 711/1311.

Of the above mentioned, the *Nūzhat al-Arwah* gained much popularity. It was completed when the author was living in India. The prose passages are lavishly interspersed with verses. There are twenty eight chapters : The first defines the path = *Sūluk*; the second imparts knowledge of the path; the third describes the stages = *Maqamat*, and so on. The impressive personality of the author reveals itself all along the pages of the chapters. Like most of the Sufis, Mir Hūsaini was perfectly familiar with the art of writing : he added illustrative anecdotes which subscribed greatly to make the *Nūzhat al-Arwah* a charming and readable book.

Baha ud-Din Mahmūd, was the grandson of Qāzi Hamid ud-Din Nāgaūri, the representative of Suhrawardī order in Delhi. The tradition of learning and piety continued in the family and Baha ud-Din Mahmūd gained respect for his pious character. He witnessed the days of the Khalji Sultāns. As author, his works were : 1. A commentary on Sūra 93 of the Qur'an : *Waz Zūha*, containing topics of interest to the Sufis; its title was *Misbah ul-'Ashiqin*. 2. A treatise for the moral guidance of the Sufi fraternity, *Asrār ul-Masha'ikh*, ca. 720/1320.

* E.G. Browne, *A literary History of Persia* Vol. III pp. 146-148.

Zarradi, Fakhr ud-Din (d. 738/1337) belonged to Sāmanah, Punjab, and came to live in Delhi during the days of the Khalji Sultāns. He was a Sufi and enjoyed the trust of Shaikh Nizām ud-Din Auliya, who gave him *Khilāfat nāmāh* = decree of succession. His tracts in support of *Sama* = Sufi music, were written in scholarly fashion, but his widely popular work was a concise text of Arabic grammar used by young students in colleges; *Zarrādī; 'Usmaniyaḥ*.

Khwajah Muhammad Dihlawi, was the son of Maulana Badr ud-Din Ishāq, the favourite disciple of Shaikh Farid Ganj-i-Shakar. Nizām ud-Din Auliya appointed him *Imām* for leading prayers in his Khanqāh and would stand behind him at regular hours of daily prayers. Khwajah Muhammad was an expert of music. He is supposed to have prepared an independent collection of the Malfūzāt of Nizām ud-Din Auliya under the title, *Anwār ul-Majālīs*.

Zia ud-Din Sūnāmī (d. unknown) served as qāzi of Delhi during the reign of 'Ala ud-Din Khalji and was a contemporary of Shaikh Nizām ud-Din Auliya, whom he sternly criticized on the question of *sama* = sufi music. On hearing that Shaikh Bū 'Alī was careless in dress and external appearances, Qāzi Zia ud-Din proceeded with a pair of scissors to Panipat and personally trimmed the moustaches of Bū 'Alī. For, Islam forbade them protruding down the upper lip. The Sufi preserved his hair and would always show them to the visitors, saying, "I surrendered them as a token of submission to the law of the Prophet, peace be on him." Zia ud-Din wrote a book on the nature and maintenance of public morals. *Nisāb ul-Aḥtisāb*.

Qawwās, Fakhr ud-Din Mubārak Shah (d. unknown) belonged to Ghaznah and came to live in Delhi during the time of Sultan 'Ala ud-Din Khalji (696/1295-715/1315). His title, 'Qawwās' = bow-maker alluded to his profession and source of livelihood. None the less, he was a scholar additionally gifted with erudition, which displayed itself in the compilation of a dictionary. Next to Asadī's work, it was a landmark in the history of Persian lexicography. Instead of alphabetical order, the author used his own and an amusing device for the arrangement of words. For example, things related to fire, water, clay, and air, and things that grow,

and so on. There were five sections, *bakhsh*, in the book, and in turn, every section was sub-divided into a number of sub-sections, *gūnah*. The work has survived under the arbitrary title *Farhang-Namah-i-Fakhr-i-Qawwās*.

Qawwās was known to his contemporaries mostly as a poet. The historian, Zia-i-Barani informed that he was enrolled in the government bureau which regularly disbursed salaries to poets and writers. Qawwās was the author of many books. Time destroyed all of them save the *Farhang Namah*.

Shaikh Nasir ud-Din Mahmūd, Chirāg-i-Dehli,* was the only *Khalifah* = spiritual successor, of Nizām ud-Din Auliya, who could manage to stay in Delhi. The rest dispersed to various places : Akhi Sirāj ud-Din 'Usman to Lakhnauti, Qutb ud-Din Manawwar to Hānsi, Wajih ud-Din Yūsūf to Chanderi, Mūhyi ud-Din Kashāni to Awadh. And, those who became the victims of compulsory exodus from Delhi to Daulatabad, were Burhān ud-Din Gharib, Fakhr ud-Din Zarrādi, Hūsām ud-Din Multani and others. Maulana Shams ud-Din b. Yāhya was one whom the Sultān suggested to make himself more useful elsewhere, better in Kashmir. Instantly, he developed serious ailment and died. The general feeling among the people was that Sultān Muhammad b. Tughlūq wanted to dissolve the activities of the Sufis, who wielded popular influence in Delhi, more or less, parallel to the temporal authority. That position seemed to have reached during the days of Nizām ud-Din Auliya. Nor did the Sultān like the hustle and bustle of the opposite camp, the Ulama or the learned classes.

From Awadh, Ajodhya proper, Nasir ud-Dn Mahmūd (b. ca. 675/1276), shifted at a considerably mature age of 43 years. Before coming to Delhi, he had undertaken extensive exercises of spiritual development. It included the vow of celibacy and total suppression of carnal desires. Naturally, Nizām ud-Din Auliya was very much impressed by his intrinsic merits.

* Muhammad Habib : *Shaikh Nasir ud-Din Mahmūd Chiragh-i-Delhi. Collected Works* (ed. Nizami).

In course of time, the relationship between the Shaikh and the disciple increased further. The inmates of the Jamā'at Khānah addressed him as *ganj* = treasure, meaning custodian of spiritual bounty. Renouncing the world and going down to absolute poverty was, in a way, more difficult and painful for Nasir ud-Din Mahmūd. He was brought up by wealthy parents. His father, belonging to an emigrant family from Yezd, South Iran, was a wool merchant and the family members jointly controlled the thriving business. However, in his robust character Nasir ud-Din Mahmūd had inherited all the characteristics of Nizām ud-Din Auliya; and, not unjustly, therefore, the common people of the capital began to call him 'Chirag-i-Delhi' (lamp of Delhi) in the following generation. The title survived as permanent identification. He took over as successor to his Shaikh immediately after the latter's death (725/1325).

The land of the Khānqah of Nizām ud-Din Auliya was claimed as inheritance by his sister's sons. Nasir ud-Din Mahmūd, therefore, walked away to another place and established his lodge at some distance, where his mausoleum is now situated. All his life passed in faithful adherence to the code of Chishti order. In fact, it contained the summary of the accumulated teachings of Sufism. As a primary condition, the Sufi shall have nothing to do with the rulers and nobles of the upper classes : For, they symbolized lust of the world. And, he must not earn any livelihood. The reason : it would distract his thought from prayers and concentration on God. Further more, the unconscious idea of having something other than God to depend upon, would enter the mind. So, be prepared for starvation if you wish to be a genuine *darwesh*. Only, treat yourself as guest of God. Inevitably, two ways of earning remained open : 1. Cultivation of a minimum area of barren land. 2. Begging, which the Indian Sufis avoided in most cases unless expressly ordered by the Shaikh. In its place, they accepted *futūh* = gifts offered without asking. Seemingly, the *futūh* was a dependable source; but it came only after the Sufi rose to fame. Between the two points : initiation and fame, there used to be uncertain durations when the Sufi had to pass through miserable experiences of hunger and destitution. He would bear these pains with exemplary fortitude and patience. Those were the common experiences which every *darwesh* invariably shared. To him, those were the steps along the path for attaining love of God.

At the age of fifty, Nasir ud-Din Mahmūd assumed the responsibility of spiritual successorship to Nizām ud-Din Auliya (725/1325). He had joined the *Khanqah* of his Shaikh at Delhi about seven years ago. During the intervening period, he made his position to the top; all the inmates of the Jamā'at Khānah acknowledged his merits. The evidence has been left by Amir Khūrd, an almost contemporary writer : "Shaikh Nasir ud-Din Mahmūd was like the moon among the stars."

As it happened with his great predecessor, so was the case with Chirāgh-i-Dehli. His relationship with the contemporary sovereign all along exhibited unpleasant strains; and the Shaikh patiently bore the hardships resulting from bitterness with the royal authority. Undoubtedly, a scholar of unique qualities Sultān Muhammad b. Tughlūq was intelligent enough to realize some of his own basic weaknesses. That keen sense made him assertive; at times, he tended to be obstinate. He was not like 'Ala ud-Din Khalji, for example, with whom every humble darwesh could take liberty to address a rude letter and he remained unruffled, as if the darwesh had enquired about the Sultān's health. Accidentally, Sultān Muhammad b. Tughlūq found contemporary writers of genius who, let us say, were not friendly witnesses. All the three : Ibn Batuta, 'Isāmī, and Barani recorded against him. Posterity has been handed over a cartoon and not a portrait of Muhammad b. Tughlūq. With such an awkward man Shaikh Nasir ud-Din Mahmūd and the fraternity of the Sufis had to deal; naturally, there was no question of mutual satisfaction and good will.

Of the many stories of friction between the Sultān and the Shaikh, which gained currency during the following centuries and were reported by the authors, Ferishtah, for example, the following may be taken, for brevity's sake, as most typical and authentic : 1. Inspired to achieve great objects, precisely, to conquer Trans-Oxiana and Khurasān, and exterminate the beastly race of Chingiz Khan, the Sultān collected a tremendous army, only its cavalry wing consisted of over three hundred thousand horses, the infantry far exceeded its number. For a ruthless man of action nothing else was needed. The Sultān, however, was gifted with a different calibre of mind. He invited the learned Ulama and the pious Sufis for an open discussion. Just, it was essential to clarify his thoughts over certain

obscure points of policy. Needless to say, the Sufis treated the Sultān's court as a filthy place. They were passivists to the core; war was an unpardonable sin and bloodshed a beastly act of man. They let their uneasiness be betrayed from their mien and deportment. The Sultān enthusiastically explained the project and invited their opinion. Shaikh Nasir ud-Din Mahmūd and Maulana Fakhr ud-Din Zarrādī loudly interjected, *Insha Allah* = God willing. The Sultān, a man of extremely refined nature, took it as taunt and felt very much offended. The whole discussion took another course of verbal duel in regard to the true meaning and proper significance of the phrase. No fruitful result came out, and despite the Sultān's gestures of courtesy, the meeting ended on a dismal note after meals. 2. Compulsory transfer from Delhi to Daulatabād was not a less baffling issue. The Sultān made it a question of the prestige of his government. The Shaikh made himself ready to die, come what may, but he shall not leave Delhi. Later on, two stories gained currency among the Sufis. : (i) the nobles of the court interceded with the Sultān; on the other hand, they entreated the Shaikh to make token compliance and move out from the gate of the Khanqāh to a short distance, say, upto Palam. The rest they would tackle themselves with the Sultān.

So, the Shaikh yielded to their entreaties, but returned to his Khānqāh at the same time. (ii) The Shaikh firmly said "No," and his more powerful will prevailed. The entire population of the imperial capital, not excepting invalid and destitute men and women, were forced to leave. And no barking sound of dogs was heard at night. Only the *Chiragh* continued to shed light over Delhi. The conclusion of the two stories was the same. The Shaikh remained in Delhi and the Sultān conceded his case as an exception. 3. Sultān Muhammad b. Tughlūq paid heavily for his whimsical policies and the whole empire was shaken by revolts. As the bad news arrived from a certain region, he hastened to crush the rebels. One after the other, all provincial governors declared their independence. During the last year of his reign, and he reigned for a total number of twenty seven years, the Sultān was marching at the head of his armies from Gujrat to Sind. Spies from the capital sent secret report of a possible conspiracy against him; he would be removed from power; his nephew Firūz Tughlūq might be raised to the throne. Obviously, the most influential and towering

personality in Delhi, despite his professions of unworldliness, was Shaikh Nasir ud-Din Mahmūd. The Sultān, therefore, urgently summoned both to join him at the camp. When the two reached the vicinity of Tattah, Sind, Sultān Muhammad b. Tughlūq died (752/1351). The Shaikh was one of the three or four decision-makers, who proposed the name of Firūz Tughlūq as the future Sultān.

Innocence and compassion are often rewarded with cruelty. It has been one of the strange ways of the world; and it will last as long as man allows his instinct to be controlled by ferociousness. Shaikh Nasir ud-Din Mahmūd met a similar tragic experience and faced it with remarkable serenity of mind. Once, he was busy with prayers in his room; it was afternoon time (754/1353); the inmates of the Jamā'at Khānah were taking rest, and some of them had gone to the city. Tūrab, a *qalandar*, entered the Shaikh's room and seriously wounded him without any provocation. Eleven wounds of Tūrab's knife were counted on the Shaikh's body. Immediately, he announced his pardon to the offender and prevented his disciples from taking revenge. Moreover, he asked one of his servants to pay him twenty silver tankās = coins. In obedience to their master's wish, the mob of Delhi showed remarkable coolness and restraint. Nor did the authority of law and order move into action. Tūrab disappeared unpunished and no cause of his evil intention could be ascertained. Luckily, the Shaikh survived the injuries. Now, he was an old man and had crossed more than seventy five years. Thousands of devotees visited his Jamā'at Khānah everyday and a good number of them lived permanently there. All of them had awareness that he was the most faithful disciple of Shaikh Nizām ud-Din Auliya. Early, when he came to Delhi as a youth, his spiritual guide had communicated to him a message through Amir Khusrau. And, he had firmly made up his mind to honour it in letter and spirit: "Tell Nasir ud-Din, he shall remain in Delhi among the people, submitting to their indignities and blows, and whatever hardships they inflict on him, he shall respond to them with humility, generosity, and kindness."

The remaining years were utilized by the Shaikh in the usual routine of meetings with miscellaneous visitors and seekers of spiritual solace,

imparting instruction to the disciples, and in the offering of prayers and meditation. Although he had a direct hand in the accession of Firūz Shāh Tughlūq, and the Sultān was all courtesy towards him, his old Chishti traditions forbade him from having any connection with the court. He died on 18 Ramzān 757/1356.

Historically, his death was a significant event. After his eyes were closed, Delhi ceased to be a strong Chishti centre. His chief disciple, Khwajah Gesū Darāz, Saiyed Muhammad, moved to Gulbargah, Deccan and made that city the seat of his spiritual activities.

In a formal way, Shaikh Nasir ud-Din Mahmūd did not award the letter of succession = *Khilāfat namah*, to anyone of his disciples. However, Khwajah Gesū Darāz was the most outstanding amongst them.

The Shaikh's *malfūzat* = utterances, were recorded by a disciple, Hamid Qalandar, under the title, *Khair ul-Majalis*. These discourses are the reminiscences of one hundred days. The dates are not mentioned. None the less, every *majlis* = meeting, enlightened the religious and moral issues of universal importance. The work was completed in 755/1354.

In his discourses, Shaikh Nasir ud-Din Mahmūd emphasized that the Prophet, peace be on him, was superior to all the *auliya* = favourites of God; and his *ittiba* = obedience, was the basic requisition of Sufi discipline (*Majlis* 5). Secondly, adopting honest means to attain success in the world amounted to attaining success in the *akhirat* = afterworld. That is, honesty in our intentions would be a guarantee of Divine favours (*Majlis* 85).

Whether questions of belief or situations of actual life, the Shaikh instantly quoted from authentic and irrefutable sources. The abundant references to the verses of the Qur'an and the traditions of the Prophet led to over-burden the *Khair ul-Majalis* with too much serious material. Possessing command over the Qur'anic text and traditions was the common virtue shared by all great Sufis; the Shaikh explained abstruse subjects in easy manner; and that was his distinct characteristic. Often, he applied rules of grammar and rhetorics like a professional scholar to clarify

the meanings of Divine verses. Once, he explained the significance of *mujahidah* = striving in Divine recollection; the audience would not understand properly; he repeated in simple and easy language; the point was clear to all (*Majlis* 46). Generally, Sufis are not supposed to have much intimacy with Greek philosophers. The Chiragh-i-Delhi had a wider sweep; he accommodated Plato and Aristotle in one of his discussions (*Majlis* 23). His audience unanimously agreed that in the elucidation of juristic subtleties, he touched the heights of *Imām-i-ʿAzam*, that is, Abū Hanifah (d. 150/767). Equally deep was his knowledge of the traditions (*Majlis* 68).

Apart from personal piety, the Sufis earned popular respect for their utilitarian role. They made it their duty to reform the character of human beings around them. That has ever been their singular achievement. Societies, as a rule, needed men of virtue and integrity for their healthy existence. If vicious men took hold of a society, and if its important organs passed into the hands of rogues, there were bound to be large scale sufferings; and all individuals will be the victims of troubles. The Sufis had deep consciousness of this dilemma. Happily, they knew the devices to bring out mankind from the filth of mean practices. Often, the most degenerate souls owed their elevation and deliverance to them. Shaikh Nasir ud-Din Mahmūd repeatedly discussed these themes. He advised that constant and long term association with men of integrity, honesty and truth could transform a sinner's inner personality (*Majlis* 96).

The study of the history and lives of the saints, from Hasan-i-Basri to his own times, used to be the necessary part of a Sufi's education. By its intelligent use, Shaikh Nasir ud-Din made his discourses extremely instructive and interesting. In the anecdotes related by him, he has cast light over the career of a large number of eminent spiritual teachers. For example, the personality of Ibrāhīm ibn Adham has been portrayed in two moving anecdotes : 1. One day, Ibrāhīm b. Adham was sitting on his royal throne and all the courtiers and attendants stood around him respectfully. Khizr, the prophet, appeared and proceeded straight to the audience hall. He addressed Ibrāhīm in commanding voice : "How did you get this kingdom?" Ibrāhīm replied : "I inherited from my father." "Who gave it to your father?" "My grandfather." "And who passed on to your grandfather?" "The great grandfather." Further, Khizr enquired : When

your great grand-father died, what did he take away from this world?" Ibrahim's reply was : "Nothing, but good actions." Khizr insisted: " When your father died, what did he take away?" The same reply came again: "Nothing but good actions." Said Khizr: " When you will die, what will accompany you to the next world?" This time Ibrahim pondered and replied : "Of course, good actions." Upon this Khizr pleaded : "When you know that only good actions will accompany you, why do you not completely devote yourself to their performance?" Saying this, Khizr disappeared. Ibrahim ordered his servants to find out the man talking to him. The servants ran in all directions, but found no trace of Khizr. Ibrahim was deeply upset in his heart. He renounced the throne, the palace and the kingdom, and gave his crown to a beggar in return for the garment which he wore. At once, Ibrahim wandered to a lonely forest. There a more wonderful spectacle came in sight. He saw seventy darweshes prostrating in line. Their heads were placed on the ground, but they all seemed to be lifeless. Ibrahim passed upto sixty ninth; at last, he found that the seventieth was breathing haltingly. The darwesh opened his eyes and thus spoke to Ibrahim : "We were seventy seekers of Divine nearness; we jointly vowed that nothing will divert our attention from that noble goal. Accidently, Khizr appeared and we felt extremely happy at our fate. An awful voice reminded us that we forgot our vow merely by meeting Khizr. It struck terror in our hearts and all died save myself. I have been left alive just to tell you what happened." Saying this, he also died (Majlis 10). 2. Khwajah Ibrahim b. Adham customarily roamed from place to place and did not stay at one town or city. He passed his nights in the mosque instead of going to the caravan Sarai, or other shelters. Once, he halted in a mosque and spent the whole night in contemplation. Overtaken by ecstasy, he came out of the mosque. The night watchman caught him and reported to the police officer the case of the thief who disguised himself as a *darwesh*. The latter produced him before the king according to the law of the city. On being questioned by the king, Ibrahim confessed that he was a thief. The king's acute understanding did not permit him to believe that the man was a delinquent. Ibrahim clarified that he was not an ordinary thief; actually, he was the thief of religion, and declared : " I steal the obligatory prayers of God." Then, Ibrahim quoted a tradition of the Prophet. The king became more curious. To his question Ibrahim replied

that performing prayers without paying complete attention also amounted to theft and cheating. The king was impressed and treated Ibrāhīm with respect. Turning to police officer the king asked how did he behave with Ibrāhīm? The officer submitted that he acted strictly according to law and put him in fetters. The king ordered that the officer be flogged. Ibrāhīm smiled scornfully : "You punish the officer for implementing your law, and pay respect to him who habitually disobeyed God." The king was so much enamoured that he requested Ibrāhīm to stay permanently in his capital. Also, he promised : "I shall reform myself in response to your counsels." Ibrāhīm said jokingly : "If you go out hunting I shall intrude into your *harem* = *seraglio*, and enjoy with your ladies." This remark made the king angry. Ibrāhīm exclaimed : "You felt offended by an imaginary breach of etiquette. O' King: I commit a hundred sins everyday and readily receive pardon from my master. Should I forsake Him to live with you?" (Majlis 70).

The contemporaries of Shaikh Nasir ud-Din Chirāg-i-Delhi admired him as a man of highly cultivated mind; he frequently recited the verses of Arabic poets in his discourses; and furthermore, he could tell wonderful stories to enlighten and amuse his disciples. Particularly, his friends admitted that the Shaikh was a perfect master of the art of story-telling (Majlis 68). The anecdotes related by him in the one hundred discourses of *Khair ul-Majalis* must be double in their number, more or less. Of them, one may suffice here as a specimen chiefly due to its factual nature : "A gentleman, who had royal decree of *madad ma'ash* = maintenance, lived in a village; he had a piece of landgrant there and its modest income was his source of livelihood. Unluckily, his house caught fire and the *farman* of land-grant was destroyed. With great difficulty he obtained copy of the *farman* from the revenue officer. He wrapped the document in his turban and proceeded from the headquarters to his village. The turban fell down somewhere along the route. He ran back in search of the turban, but failed to find it. All the nearby village folks were informed of the loss of precious document. Nobody could help him. At last, in utter despondency and grief, he came to "my Shaikh and teacher," Nizām ud-Din Auliya, and wept in his presence. For, obtaining another copy was extremely difficult matter. The Shaikh consoled him and said : "Well; bring some sweets, I shall recite

fatihah (sura 1. of the Qur'an) and invoke help from the soul of Shaikh Farid Ganj-i-Shakar, whose disciple I am. "The man hastened to the sweetseller's shop which was situated just on the other side of the *Khanqah* of "my Shaikh." The sweetseller weighed the sweets and took out a paper to pack the material. Surprisingly, the paper was the *farman* itself. The man came to the Shaikh with *farman* in one hand and sweets in the other, laughing with joy (Majlis 60).

Burhān ud-Din Gharib, Shaikh (d. 738/1337) was the disciple and one of the spiritual successors of Shaikh Nizam ud-Din Auliya. During the compulsory exodus from Delhi to Daultabad by the order of Sultan Muhammad b. Tughluq, Shaikh Burhān ud-Din also left Delhi and passed the rest of his life in the new capital. A disciple of Shaikh Burhān ud-Din Gharib collected his *malfuzat* = utterances, under the title, *Ahsan ul-Aqwal*.

Rukn ud-Din, Khwajah (d. 732/1331) lived as a Sufi in Daulatabad, the city of Sultan Muhammad b. Tughluq, and was the spiritual successor of Khwajah Burhān ud-Din Gharib. He was an emigrant from Kashan, Iran. Most of his writings have perished. He consulted about two hundred sources, precisely mentioned in the introduction, for writing the anthology of saints : *Shamā'il ul-atqiya*, having heard passages from the book, his teacher, mentioned above, honoured him with the title of *Dahir-i-ma'nawi*.

Shams ud-Din Muhammad b. Yahya, Shaikh (d. 749/1348) was a scholar of early Tughluq period and the disciple of Shaikh Farid ud-Din of Awadh, whose theological learning and saintly qualities earned him the prestigious title of "Shaikh ul-Islam". One of Shams ud-Din's own students was the great sufi, Shaikh Nasir ud-Din Mahmud, famous as 'Chiragh-i-Delhi'. Shaikh Shams ud-Din attempted a commentary on the classical work of traditions, Imām Saghani's *Mashariq ul-Anwar*, and wrote a book dealing with juristic and philosophical problems : *Shams ul-Ma'arif*.

Sha'ban ul-Millah 'Ali Murtaza (d. 760/1359), also known as "Māh-i-Shā'bān-i-Bayabāni", was a sufi who originally came from Bhakkar, Sind, to settle at a small place called Jhūnsi, near Allahabad, and

made it the seat of his spiritual activities. His son, Taqi ud-Din Naqavi, followed his father's way of life and acquired fame as a pious man. One of his pupils, Hāji Rūmī, wrote a biography of the Shaikh, praising the saintly qualities of both the son and the father. It was entitled : *Tahrir ul-Mū'taqid fī Halat-i-Mārshid*.

Hājib Khairāt, Rafi' ud-Din Dehlawi (d. 747/1346) lived in the reign of Muhammad b. Tughlūq and had endured the hardship of compulsory migration from Delhi to Daulatabād. Forced by difficult circumstances, he moved further down and found peace in the city of Ustadabād, near Gulbargah, where a nobleman, Shams ud-Din Muhammad, holding the position of *Sadr* = Chief of religious endowments, of that area, offered him warm patronage. At the latter's instance, Hājib Khairāt prepared a dictionary : *Dastūr ul-Afāzīl*, completed in 743/1342.

Māhru, 'Ain ul-Mūlk 'Abd ullah (764/1362) served as governor of various provinces under the Khalji Sultans and continued to hold important positions till the reign of Muhammad b. Tughlūq and his successor, Firūz Shāh. The rulers of Delhi recognized him as a man of strong common sense and sound judgement; and to his credit he always extended them amicable guidance in matters of policy. He passed considerable period of his active career in Multan. His natural gifts as a letter writer with independent epistolary style made him a significant literary man among contemporary circles and the relevance of his work lasted through generations, who learned the art from him. The letters he wrote in official and personal capacities to high dignitaries, religious leaders, and literary friends cast interesting light on historical developments of the age. Their collection survived under the title *Insha-i-Māhru*.

Ahmad, Maulana (d. Unknown) was the sufi disciple of Shaikh Nasir ud-Din Mahmūd Chirāgh-i-Dehli and was appointed by the Sheikh to lead daily prayers in his *Khanqah*. Inspired by the literary tradition of his elder contemporary, Sharaf ud-Din Ahmad b. Yahya Maneri (d. 782/1380), the Sufi of Bihar, Maulana Ahmad summed up the teachings of *Chishti* order.

as elucidated by his master, in a collection of 57 letters : *Sahā'if us-Saluk*.

Mir Khwārd, Muhammad b. Mubārak Kirmāni (d. 770/1369) belonged to a family of pious men given to spiritual way of the Sufis. His grandfather was a devotee of Shaikh Farid ud-Din Ganj-i-Shakar of Ajodhan and left his home town to live in the *Khanqah* of the above-named saint. Mir Khwārd was deeply influenced by Shaikh Nizām ud-Din Auliya and his disciple, Nasir ud-Din Mahmud Chirāgh-i-Dehli. He was the author of a book in ten chapters characteristically explaining the viewpoint of the *Chishti* order. Its title was *Siyar ul-Auliya*.

Ibn Batūta, the greatest traveller, visited India during the reign of Muhammad b. Tughlūq. He wrote piquantly about his observations of the sub-continent. Although he dictated in Arabic, his mother tongue, the narrative is of singular value. Sultān Muhammad b. Tughlūq appointed him chief qazi of the empire. The moor returned his gratitude by ridiculing the Sultān and portraying him absurdity personified. However, Shaikh Ibn Batūta left on record a rare information not mentioned by any scholar earlier than him. That was the event of the *Suttee* (burning the widow with her dead husband) practised according to their law by the Hindus. The site was a mango grove. There came the young woman clad in white dress. She performed ablutions and bathed herself in the nearby pond. Religious men were chanting holy songs on the sound of drums. A curtain was hanging; fire was burning on its other side; and flames were rising high. The woman first walked solemnly and, then all of a sudden, took a leap into the flames : "I was so much horrified by the scene that I fainted."

Muhammad Mújir b. Wajih ud-Din (d. unknown) was a Sufi disciple of Shaikh Nasir ud-Din Mahmud Chirāgh-i-Dehli. Extracting material from the works of earlier writers, he compiled a treatise on ethical and religious teachings, particularly, accommodating the *Chishti* standpoint. It contained twenty-five chapters and an introduction. Its title was *Miftah ul-Jinān*, completed ca. 770/1368.

Firūz Shah Tughlūq (d. 790/1388) was the last great Sultān of Tughlūq dynasty after whose reign India experienced a long spell of

political decline and disintegration culminating in the horror of Timur's invasion. Sultān Firūz was a man of lofty ideas and refined taste; and paid serious attention throughout his life to the promotion of knowledge and culture. Having brought to Delhi two stone-pillars of Ashoka from distant quarters of the empire he invited learned Brahmans to read out their inscriptions and gave them lavish rewards. On the cupola of the mosque, built in his new capital, Firūzabād, his achievements were inscribed by his orders. Later authors preserved these inscriptions as : *Fatāhat-i-Firūz Shahi*.

Tatār Khan (d. unknown) was a noble serving under Sultān Firūz Shah Tughlūq, whom the Sultān raised to the rank of minister in his government. At his instance, the scholars of Delhi, conspicuous among them being Shaikh Farid b. 'Ata Inderpati prepared : 1. A manual of legal decrees for practical guidance of the jurists : *Fatawa-i-Tatar Khani*; and 2. Wrote a commentary on the *Qur'an* : *Tafsir-i-Tatar Khani*, ca. 777/1375.

Farid ud-Din 'Alim b. 'Ata (d. 786/1384) belonged to Inderpat = Delhi, and witnessed the reign of Sultān Firūz Shah Tughlūq. He was patronized by Tatār Khan, a Turkish nobleman, whom he dedicated his legal digest. The work gained much popularity in succeeding centuries and the *qāzis* = judicial experts, in India mostly relied upon it as they decided cases and passed judgments. Its title was *Fatawa-i-Tatar Khani*.

Qabūl, Qara Khān (d. unknown) was a nobleman and jurist during the reign of Sultān Firūz Shah Tughlūq. He compiled a legal digest for the guidance of *qāzis*. Its title was *Fatawa-i-Qara Khāni*.

Sharaf b. Muhammad al 'Atā'i (d. unknown) was a scholar during the reign of Sultān Firūz Shah Tughlūq (d. 790/1388). He compiled a voluminous work on jurisprudence containing one hundred and fifteen chapters, and dedicated it to the contemporary monarch. It gained popularity under double title : *Fatawa-i-Firūz Shahi*/*Fawa'id-i-Firūz Shahi*.

Kamal ud-Din b. Karim ud-Din (d. unknown) belonged to Nāgaur, Rajasthan, and enjoyed the patronage of Prince of Bahram Khan, son of

Sultan Firuz Shah Tughlūq. The Sultan conferred on him the title of *Sadr-i-Jahan*, and he was made chief of religious endowments in acknowledgement of his scholarship. He was the author of a legal digest, which he dedicated to his young patron : *Majmū'ah-i-Khānī fī 'Ain ul-Ma'ānī*.

Múzaffar Kirmānī, Sadr ud-Din Yâqûb (d. unknown) was a theologian and jurist who lived in the reign of Sultan Firuz Shah Tughlūq. He wrote a book on Islamic (*Hanfi*) law, in which chapters were subscribed by his other contemporaries as well. Its double title was : *Faḥḥ-i-Firūz Shāhī/Fatawa-i-Firūz Shāhī*.

Amir Māh, Saiyed Afzal ud-Din Abū Ja'far (d. 772/1370) was a Sufi of Bahra'ich, Awadh, living in the time of Firuz Shah Tughlūq. The Sultan met him on his way to Bengal and was impressed by his saintly character. He was the author of a tract on Sufism : *al-Matḥab fī 'ashiq-i-Mahbūb*.

Ilyās b. Shihāb, 'Abd ul-Qawī (d. unknown) lived as a physician during the reign of Firuz Shah Tughlūq. His work on the subject of medicine contained three main sections bearing about seventy-two sub-sections or chapters. Its title was : *Rahat-i-Insān*.

'Azz ud-Din, Maulana (d. unknown) was a scholar during the reign of Sultan Firuz Shah Tughlūq. As the fortress of Nagarkot, Punjab, was conquered by Firuz Shah's armies, about more than a thousand books of Sanskrit were found there. The Sultan ordered them to be brought to Delhi and some of them rendered into Persian. 'Azz ud-Din translated a book related to physical science and astronomy, and named it : *Dalā'il-i-Firūz Shāhī*.

'Abd ul -'Aziz Shams (d. unknown) belonged to Thānesar and was employed as professor in the *Madrasah-i-Firūzī* established by Sultan Firuz Shah Tughlūq (d. 790/1388). He possessed knowledge of Sanskrit besides astronomy and mathematics. As the library of the Rajah of Nagarkot was transferred to Delhi after the surrender of his fort, the Sultan ordered that important books on scientific subjects should be translated

into Persian. 'Abd ul-'Aziz Shams was engaged to translate the Sanskrit work of Varahamihira or Barahamir. Earlier, the same book, a classic in the field of astronomy, was translated into Arabic by al-Biruni. The Persian version of 'Abd ul-'Aziz Shams appeared under the original title : *Barahī Samhita*. Other copies of the same translation are available as *Kitāb un-Nūjām*.

Ghūnyat ul-mūnyah is a treatise on music. The name of its author has not survived. Evidently, the author's patron, Amir Shams ud-Din Ibrahim Abu Rija, at whose instance the work was taken up, was a noble man of high position and served as governor of Gujrat in the reign of Firuz Shah Tughlūq.

Badr Ibrāhīm witnessed the days of Firuz Shah, the last great Tughlūq and was the author of one of the earliest Persian dictionaries, compiled in the Indian sub-continent. He arranged his material in seven sections - *bakhsh*, hence the book has often been mentioned as : *Haft-bakhsh*. In turn, each *bakhsh* was split into sub-sections, *gunah*, and then, *bahrah*. Badr Ibrāhīm lived through the tumultuous period of the decline of Tughlūq dynasty that culminated in the invasion of Timūr (801/1398). The title of his dictionary was : *Zufān-i-qāya*, completed ca. 800/1397.

Fazl ud-Din Muhammad was a scholar of th days of Tughlūq Sultans and resided in Delhi. He compiled a dictionary and named it : *Bahr ul-fazā'il*, ca. 795/1392.

Sharaf ud-Din Ahmad b. Yahya Maneri (d. 782/1380) was born at a small place, Maner near Patna. Originally, his family emigrated from Jerusalem. Among his teachers was Shaikh Abu Tawwama, a learned theologian of Bukhara, who visited Delhi in Balban's time and travelled farther eastward to settle in Sonargaon, Bengal. In young age he spent sometime as a seeker of knowledge at Delhi and was particularly influenced by Shaikh Najib ud-Din Ferdowsi, a pious man, under whose guidance his spiritual training was completed. Shaikh Najib honoured the young disciple with a *Khirqah*, Sufi robe, when time came to send him back to his home. He passed the rest of his life observing an ideal Sufi's

austerity, although his contemporary sovereigns, Muhammad b. Tughlūq and Firūz Shah Tughlūq, bestowed lavish endowments for the maintenance of his *khanqah* at a village, now called Bihar Sharif. The deep spiritual insight, which established his position as the leading Sufi of Bihar, actually displayed itself in his letters. With sustained seriousness, he thought out all the essential problems concerned with the enlightenment of man's inner personality, consolidated them under one hundred headings, and addressed them in the form of letters to one of his devotees. The object of these letters, that is, the transmission of a Sufi's moral and religious teachings became easier due to the excellent literary qualities possessed by their author. The collection is popular as *Maktūbat-i-Sadi*. Equally significant were his *malfūzat* = discourses, collected by one of his disciples: *Madan ul-Ma'oni*. Also left by him was a commentary on Abu Najib Suhrawardi's Arabic work, *Adāb ul-murīdīn*.

Ahmad Charm-pūsh, Saiyed (d. 766/1364) was a contemporary and cousin of Shaikh Sharaf-ud-Din Ahmad b. Yahya Maneri, the scholar-saint of Bihar, and held independent position as a Sufi and poet. He travelled widely and came to India by way of Central Asia in the time of Sultān Firūz Shah Tughlūq. The Sultān was impressed by his personality and paid a visit to his *Khanqah*. A wearer of leather coat in all seasons, he became famous as *Charm-pūsh*. Contrary to the lofty principles of all-embracing tolerance, so much emphasised and cherished by the Sufis, Ahmad unblushingly exhibited the inhuman passions of a fanatic. He preached violence and persecution, saying: "The dwellings of the 'Rāfīzis' should be burned down, and that, they deserved fire and sword." His utterances = *malfūzat* were collected by his disciple, 'Ala ud-Din 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm, under the title: *Ziya ul-qulūb*. And, his *Divān* appeared in print from Nawal Kishore Press, Lucknow. On scrutiny, it was found to be a confused mixture of verses from another Sufi, Ahmad-i-Jām, known as '*zhandah pil*' = furious elephant (d. 536/1141).

Būrhan ud-Din Múzaffar b. Shams Balkhī (d. 803/1400) came from Balkh, modern Afghanistan, during the days of Sultān Firūz Shah Tughlūq and settled in Bihar, where Ahmad Charm-pūsh initiated him into sufistic discipline. Earlier, he had earned reputation as a scholar and was

employed for the teaching of Islamic sciences in the *Madrasah* of Firūz Shah at Delhi. Like all Sufis, Maulana Bārhan ud-Din wandered freely throughout the Islamic lands. And, as an additional experience he voyaged to the holy city of Mecca through Sonārgaon, Bengal. His death occurred in South Yaman, when the boat carrying pilgrims cast anchor at Aden. Besides commentaries on juristic treatises, he left : 1. an ethical manual, '*Aqā 'id-i-Mūzaffari*, 2. a collection of letters, and 3. a concise *Diwān* of verses.

Būlbūl Shah, Saiyed Sharaf ud-Din 'Abd ur-Rehmān (d. 727/1326) was among the earlier Sufis to penetrate the valley of Kashmir. He belonged to the *Suhrawardī* order and completed his spiritual training under the care of a free-wandering *darwesh*, who claimed himself as the direct disciple of Shaikh Shihāb ud-Din Suhrawardī, having arrived in Central Asia from Baghdad. Following the advice of his Shaikh, Būlbūl Shah came out from Turkistan and settled in Kashmir. He invited Rinchana, the Buddhist Rajah of the valley, to embrace Islam and the event led to the establishment of the first ruling dynasty of the Muslims. The founder of the dynasty was Rinchana's minister, Shāh Mir. Bulbūl Shah left no book, nor did he seem to be a trained scholar as most of the Sufis used to be. History has acknowledged his importance as the agent of social change; his *Khanqah* was the first seminary of Islam in Kashmir. The details of his biography have been preserved by the anonymous author of *Bahāristan-i-Shāhi*.

'Ali Hamadani, Mir Saiyed (d. 786/1385) occupied important position among the Sufis of India, particularly, for his success as a preacher of Islam in the region of Kashmir. The people of that land gratefully remember him as 'Amir-i-Kabir'. A free-wandering *darwesh*, the Amir possessed active and impressive personality; and followers in large number marched in his company as he undertook the lengthy tour from Hamadan, his place of birth, to Kashmir through the cities of Central Asia. He could endear himself to crowds of people by his sincerity and humility. From his daily routine of prayers, fasting and contemplation in solitude, he regularly spared time to meet visiting devotees and address discourses for spiritual training of the disciples. Like all great sufis, 'Ali Hamadani was aware of the merits of reading and writing, and made careful use of his

scholarship. About forty-three treatises in Arabic and Persian are ascribed to his pen, generally, man's moral reform being the object of these books. He extended his field of guidance and addressed to kings and men of power in one of his exclusive manuals, emphasizing that worldly glory was illusory and kindness towards human beings was the essential principle of good government. Its title was *Zakhirat ul-Mulūk*. A verse of *Qur'an* (42:23) was the source of an independent work : *Mawaddat ul-Qurba*. Another widely consulted treatise was : *Adab-i-Mubtadi*. Nur ud-Din Ja'far, a disciple, collected the sayings and salient features of his biography under the title : *Khulasat ul-Manaqib*.

Ja'far Badakhshi was a sufi and disciple of Mir Saiyed 'Ali Hamdani, the celebrated scholar and saint, who made the valley of Kashmir the field of his spiritual and missionary activities. Ja'far collected anecdotes heard by him from time to time in the company of his preceptor and named the work *Khulasat ul-Manaqib*, ca. 787/1385.

Saiyed Jalāl Būkhari, Makhdūm-i-Jahāniyān Jahān Gasht (d. 785/1384). His father and grandfather were well known for their piety and learning. The grandfather was a disciple of Shaikh Baha ud-Din Zakariya, the Suhrawardi Saint. And, the father, Saiyed Ahmad Kabir, followed the same tradition. Both, Saiyed Jalāl and his brother, Sadr ud-Din alias Rajā Qattāl, maintained the Suhrawardi connection. *Saiyed Jalāl Bukhari* was regularly initiated into sufi discipline, by Shaikh Rukn ud-Din Abu'l Fath, the grandson of Baha ud-Din Zakariya. Muhammad b. Tughluq awarded him the title of 'Shaikh ul-Islam' and assigned control of a *Khanqah* in Siwistan, Sind. Soon, he resigned from that position. Like most of the sufis, he embarked on long journeys and visited most of the cities of Islamic world as a free wandering darwesh. Finally, he settled at Uchchah, his birth place. His visits to Delhi were periodical. But, during his early life he was travelling abroad most of the time. That he became a disciple of Nasir ud-Din Chirāgh-i-Delhi, as reported by the historian Ferishtah, seems to be a mere legend. Of course, his relations with Firūz Shah Tughluq were very close and the Sultān paid him great respect. Quite likely, he stayed in Delhi for some time during the last days of the Tughluq dyanasty. Saiyed Jalāl Bukhārī enjoyed prestige as a scholar and sufi; and he was the author of a number of treatises on ethical subjects.

Among his pupils, who collected verbatim record of his sayings, were: 1. Ziya 'Abbāsi : *Khizānah-i-Jalālī*, 2. Sa'd ud-Din 'Alī : *Khulāsat ul-Alfāz*, and 3. Makhdūm Zādah 'Abd ullah : *Sirāj ul-Hidayah*. Saiyed Jalāl Būkhārī himself preserved the *Malfūzat* of the Sufi, 'Ala ud-Dawlah Simnāni (d. 736/1335) under the title *Chihāl Majlis*. He went on pilgrimage to Mecca eight times and wandered from Bukhara *en route* Nishapur, Baghdad and Palestine upto Cairo. The account of his travels full of interesting details was *Mūsafir-nāmah*.

Fakhr Muhammad Ghaznawi (d. unknown) came from Ghaznah and lived at Uchchah, Sind in the *Khanqāh* of Saiyed Jalāl Būkhārī, celebrated saint known as *Makhdūm-i-Jahāniyān Jahan Gasht*. A disciple and *Khalīfah* = spiritual successor, of Saiyed Jalāl Būkhārī, he attended seven discourses of his Shaikh in the month of Zi'ādih 777/1375, and recorded them under the title : *Tuhfat us-Sara'ir*.

'Abd ullah Yāfi'i (d. 768/1367) belonged to Yaman and became a sufi under the guidance of Saiyed Jalāl Būkhārī, the wandering saint, known as *Makhdūm-i-Jahāniyān Jahan Gasht*, who ultimately settled at Uchchah, Sind. Inspired by his teacher, 'Abd ullah Yāfi'i prepared a collection of two hundred anecdotes dealing with the spiritual merits of Shaikh 'Abd ul-Qādir Jilāni (d. 561/1166). Its title was *Khulāsat ul-Mafakhir*.

Yūsūfi, Naim ud-Din Yūsūf belonged to Gardez, a town near Ghaznah, modern Afghanistan, and came to acquire spiritual training under the guidance of Shaikh Hāmid Kabir, grandson of the famous saint, Saiyed Jalāl Būkhārī, *Makhdūm-i-Jahāniyān Jahan Gasht* of Uchchah, Sind. Among the disciples of Shaikh Hāmid Kabir, Yūsūfi's reputation survived as a scholar and author. He left a manual of rituals : *Aurād-i-Yūsūfi*, and an account of the spiritual merits possessed by Saiyed Jalāl Būkhārī and his descendants : *Māhibbiyah*.

'Isāmi : Fūṭūh us-Salātin 'Isami, whose name does not seem to be exactly clear, carried to perfection the tradition laid down by Amir Khusraw and attempted a full-length versified chronicle, the *Fūṭūh us-*

*. Agha Mahdi Husain (ed.) *Fūṭūh us-Salātin* (Agra, 1938).

*Salatin** (Victories of the Sultans) in 750/1349. At an early age he cultivated in himself the essential literary ability required to transform the dry facts of history into a drama of exciting and everlasting interest. His object was to infuse his contemporaries with amusement and pride by presenting in flowing numbers the entire account of the Turkish military conquests in India. The spirit of an artist and an historian throughout worked in combination to bring out the flickering glimpses of events crowding the long period of three centuries that elapsed between Mahmud of Ghaznah and Muhammad Ibn Tughluq. He almost correctly estimated that the society in which he lived owed its existence to the expansionist activities of the Turks and that its development had taken place through a series of conquests. In the scheme of arrangement adopted by him it was natural enough that valour, ruthless ambition, violence and mutual jealousy freely dominated the scene.

At the beginning of the work, and also before its close, there is repeated clarification in so many verses that he was prompted to its composition solely as an ardent follower of the two outstanding poets of epic tradition, namely, Ferdowsi and Nizami. He did not enjoy patronage of the ruling classes and they never advised him to take up that project; nor had he any desire to extort reward from them in return for his labours. He just wanted to impress upon the world that like a man of genius he could successfully tread the path of old masters and was able to create equally brilliant version of the heroes who had in a way more justifiable claim for attention and whose memory, he was sure, the following generations in India would always cherish with affection and enthusiasm.

Of the two poets, however, it was Nizami of Ganjah, and not Ferdowsi, who provided greater inspiration for the design of the work. Nizami appeared one night in dream and exhorted the young poet to write. That dream fired his imagination to go ahead with the task, and the reward was immortality. He avowedly proclaimed that he would share that gift with his patron, the Bahmani King 'Ala ud-Din Hasan; but that was mere courtesy. Already his fascination for Nizami had been so deep that according to his own admission whatever time of the day he spared from his five times' prayers was spent in reading the celebrated *Khamasa* (Nizami's Five

Masnavis). Consequently, the master's ideas, phraseology and soft tones of language dominated from beginning to the end of *Fatūh us-Salatin*. To place it with *Shah-Nama* would be an exaggerated approach with which a serious student of Persian literature may not agree. First of all, Ferdowsi's treatment of the colossus of legends embracing timeless antiquity is a phenomenon that admits of no comparison. His work involved thirty years of patient efforts, whereas the *Fatūh us-Salatin*, spread over twelve thousand verses, was ready in the hand of its author in five months and nine days only. The reference to Ferdowsi, like Sa'di of Shirāz, does not occur more than twice in the whole work; but Nizāmi has been quoted over half a dozen times, and similarly, his verses have been more frequently borrowed to embellish the discussions. Ferdowsi's somewhat rugged but grand style and the astounding depth of ideas set a unique standard of the art of versification and made him one of the most estimable figures of Iran's intellectual history. 'Isāmi's statement before his royal patron: "Ferdowsi brought down his work from ancient time to Mahmūd, and I take up from Mahmūd to your time," was not a correct view of *Shah-Nama*. In fact Ferdowsi confined himself only to the pre-Islamic era. These facts put together do not allow the argument for accommodating *Fatūh us-Salatin* in the class of *Shah-Nama*, as one of the modern scholars of medieval Indian History has assiduously tried. *

The historical description opens with Sultān Mahmūd of Ghaznah. The generation of Muslims, no doubt, tended to reserve their special reverence for Mahmūd ever since they established their settlements in Lahore and Multan and other places. But it was chiefly 'Isāmi, and also Barani writing about seven years later, who seduced the common imagination to hold Mahmūd as a hero of Islam and a sincere servant of that faith in India. Nothing could be more repugnant to sound judgment than 'Isāmi's delineation of his first and foremost character. It may be illustrated by briefly mentioning some of the most queer tales inserted in the account: Subuktigin was informed in dream of his son's future greatness before the latter was born. Muhammad, the Prophet on whom be peace, had enjoyed the vision of Mahmūd so many centuries earlier

* See Agha Mahdi Husain, English Translation of *Fatūh us-Salatin* Vol. I, Aligarh Muslim University, Dept. of History.

and had honoured him with blessings. Again, Mahmūd saw the Prophet in dream and expressed his earnest desire to serve the cause of Islam. On his way back from the expedition of Somnāth Mahmūd saved his army by miraculous power and the way which had been lost appeared in sight due to his prayer. Once he needed water for ablutions before prayer and suddenly a spring gushed up from beneath the ground. The famous legend, often attributed to Kayqubād and elsewhere to Nawshirwān, of a peasant woman offering a glass of pomegranate juice to the King, has been unscrupulously repeated at length and its glory awarded to Mahmūd. These features have been endlessly added to the personality of his hero hoping, perhaps, that they would escape criticism and objection under the fair garb of poetry.

Nevertheless, the military campaigns of the reign of Mahmūd and the subsequent vicissitudes befalling his son, Mas'ūd, have been faithfully narrated. Despite the wide knowledge which 'Isāmī showed regarding that period it seems doubtful whether he had access to the famous history of Bayhaqi. Invariably his practice was to start the topic by saying: "I heard it from old and authentic story tellers". Thus, the precise reference to sources has been conveniently overlooked. A brief address to the cup-bearer with entreaties for exhilarating wine before the close of every discussion was a characteristic literary device to create pleasing effect and retain the interest of the reader in transition from one subject matter to the other.

He deemed as of little significance the history of more or less one hundred and fifty years intervening the death of Sultān Mahmād of Ghaznah and the rise to power of Sultān Muhammad b. Sām Ghori. For, he gave it a sweeping treatment in about a hundred verses only. During that period the Great Seljuqs, on condition of being accepted as overlords, allowed the house of Ghaznah to survive and maintain its hold over the territory which lay between the cities of Ghaznah and Lahore. Thus, most of the Punjab and Sind continued in possession of the Ghaznawid family and they often carried military expeditions down into the heart of the Gangetic Valley. The notices of these minor chance-victories, however, do not occur in the book. His real talents as versifier and story-teller shine out when he turns attention to Mū'iz ud-Din Muhammad bin Sām Ghori, and

still more to the time onwards. The material at his command, a special category of literature known as *Fath-Nama*, assumes larger proportion and his utilization of it becomes more and more careful.

Tracing the history of Delhi he sighted in his imagination the early generations of Muslim immigrants striving to build a well-ordered city of wonderful structures. Possessing mature taste of urban decency and faced with the dilemma of culture and climate they became passionately fond of importing the designs of architecture from the land of their ancestors. According to 'Isami's testimony it was Iltutmish who first conceived the ambitious plan of making his capital a centre of civilization matching in all essential features with places situated elsewhere in the Islamic world. He extended invitations and lavishly encouraged "the descendants of the Prophet, the learned scholars of Bukhara, the pious men of exalted dignity from every city, the wise doctors acquainted with the knowledge of Greece and Rome, the rich merchants dealing in diamonds and pearls and other costly merchandise, and the artisans of every description. They all came like moths gathering around the candle." From the reign of that sovereign, he said, Delhi's fame for splendour continued to spread far and wide.

His generation, seemingly, treated with disapproval some of the manners and customs which were normally valid during the early period of slave dynasty. The way he described the reign of Raziyah, her activities and her ultimate end, indicated that peoples' attitude about female position in society had changed a lot, and the primitive simplicity of the early Turks was no more acceptable as a social norm. The observations made by him about the character of Sultan Nasir ud-Din Mahmud reflected the general feelings of his contemporaries that the Sultan was a real favourite of God (*Wali*). But some of his utterances regarding that Sultan were mingled with unauthentic and rather absurd reports, for example, the long episode of playful competition between the young sons of Nasir ud-Din and Balban and the consequential tragedy whereby Balban was incited to take the life of the innocent Sultan by secret poison. Balban as sovereign has received fairly objective treatment and it is gratifying to note that neither dealing with Balban nor with any one else was 'Isami swayed, like Barani, by the oft-disputed Platonic ideal that a king must possess the qualities of

a philosopher. However, the account of Kayqubād naturally suited his medium and on few occasions like that was the poet lucky to get as much charming and joyous material for his pen.

Passing on to the Khaljis his diction becomes more eloquent suggesting the change of scene. Particularly, interesting information has been revealed about the early life of 'Ala ud-Din when his character was in the formative stage. 'Isami showed that two factors : a haughty wife and a half-mad sufi, were responsible to arouse cruel ambition in the mind of that young man. How superstition plays havoc in misleading the uncultivated spirits has been illustrated by mentioning a certain lunatic, whose business of the day was to strike stones at the heads of the passers by, and who once shouted at 'Ala ud-Din and addressed him as the future king of India. That marvellous news was promptly affirmed by another Sufi, named *Darvesh Gurg* (Wolf), living at the town of Karah. From these episodes, and from an earlier one concerning the time of Jalal ud-Din when all the Sufis joined hands against another rival, Sidi Maula, and executed him on the double charge of magic and heresy, the historian's implicit object was to let the conduct of the Sufis be publicly examined. Usually their sect was supposed to be harmless and humane; but the dictum was not applicable all the time to all of them. They often suffered calumnious charges for their wayward and irresponsible manners.

The account between Balban and 'Ala ud-Din has been interspersed with frequent notices of the Mongols who posed great challenge to the safety of Delhi Sultanate all through that period. 'Isami observed that some of the Mongol leaders, like one named Turghi Mughal, for example, had a plan to conquer the Indian empire for themselves. And that alone in the reign of 'Ala ud-Din they invaded seven times. The struggle of such crucial importance deserved to be recorded, for, it gave an idea of the heroic courage displayed by the Indian Turks and their Rajput vassals who fought with them. While sketching the battles scenes 'Isami took real advantage of the studies made by him of Nizami and Ferdowsi.

It was strange coincidence that none of the three major writers, who closely witnessed the reign of Muhammad b. Tughluq, were kindly disposed towards him. They unanimously declared him as one of the most

enigmatic personalities who ever ruled mankind. But 'Isāmi and Ibn Batuta were more implacable than Barani. The latter merely ridiculed the Sultān with contempt, whereas, the other two entertained unconcealed hatred also. According to Barani the private life of the Sultān was spotlessly clean : he imposed upon himself the austerity of a philosopher. It was his public career, which, despite honest intentions, earned him disrepute. Ibn Batuta and 'Isāmi, specially the latter, left totally disgusting image. He represented Muhammad bin Tughlūq as a fiend casting mischief upon mischief and deriving unnatural pleasure from the sufferings of mankind. In the list of crimes produced by 'Isāmi the first was that the Sultān plotted to kill his father. Ibn Batuta gave more or less the same evidence. Yet their accusation failed to stand the test of rational analysis, and on judicious examination, was deemed worthy to be rejected. Muhammad bin Tughlūq received honorable acquittal before the bar of history.* Similarly the other charges : that the Sultān ordered the Qarajil (Himalayan) expedition just to destroy human life, and, that in order to suppress revolts he systematically reduced the whole population of the empire to utter poverty, were found lacking in substantial reasoning. However, the world shall always regret that such a wonderful man was allowed by the scholars of his time, although he himself was one of them, to be painted black by powerful adversaries and no one paid attention to write a favourable report and wash away the malice.

The memory of being forcefully removed from his peaceful and luxurious home at Delhi haunted 'Isāmi all his life. He was a boy when the royal order of mass-migration to Deogir, renamed Daulatabad, fell like thunderbolt on the citizens of the metropolis. The hardship and agony of the endless trail of people marching along the difficult route was personally witnessed by him, and the family to endure great hardships. For, his grandfather, an old noble of high position, was one of the casualties of that sad journey. The soft and pleasure-loving inhabitants of royal city were hardly used to adventure and according to his statement, nine-tenth of them either died or disappeared, for, the number of those reaching Daulatabad was only "one - tenth". The desolation of Delhi, so rich in monuments built by the previous Sultāns, filled his heart with

* See Agha Mahdi Husain, *Rise and Fall of Muhammad bin Tughlūq*.

immense grief, and certainly, the feeling was shared by the whole generation.

As demanded by the nature of the work, the historian had to keep his gaze mostly fixed at Delhi; but in the end he diverted attention to the region which had recently become a theatre of interesting activities and where he had been unwillingly compelled to live. By narrating the complicated affairs of the Deccan in approximately two thousand verses he rendered valuable service to his patron, the founder of Bahmani Kingdom. All the principal actors, who appeared on the stage to unfold the drama of successful revolt in reaction to the misrule of Muhammad bin Tughluq, have been introduced and their role fully described. He showed that the class of nobles possessed excellent ability to restore order and could rule in any situation or environment. What they deemed essential for the stability of their system was one element: the monarch, which, in the hour of need they often agreed to choose from amongst themselves.

Before closing the book he announced his verdict by contrasting the qualities of Muhammad ibn Tughluq and the Bahmani upstart, who recently adopted the title of Abul Muzaffar 'Ala ud-Din. Needless to say, the one received as much condemnation the other was praised.

While reading the *Futuh us-Salatin* we should not forget that it is half view of the picture. It completely ignores the contribution to the arts of peace made by the Muslims in India. There are casual references to the sufis, but the author failed to elaborate the significance of their humanistic principles. Nor did he realize, perhaps, that the application of the philosophy of love to social relations was bound to produce important results. The efforts for political cohesion of the sub-continent and the consequent uniformity and peace in wider areas, the safety of routes and easy mobility, the cheap and quick justice and emphasis on human well-being, and finally, the desire on the part of the rulers to make administrative experiments and accommodate local customs, were some of the factors that deserved to be brought to light; and by their omission 'Isami forfeited the credit which was not beyond his power to obtain.

Ziya ud-Din Barani The exultation of Ziyā-i-Barani that "he resurrected the Turkish Sultāns of Delhi," was not without a grain of truth. They have been represented with all their majestic grandeur to give evidence before posterity of their achievements and virtues as well as their failings and sins. Nevertheless, Barani stood out among the category of writers who showed the least scruples of conscience in preaching the philosophy of brutal force.

He was brought up in the secure bosom of one of the foremost aristocratic families who held high honours under the Turkish royalty of Delhi, and passed many years of his adult life as *nadīm* (boon companion). This office and its institutional peculiarities have been discussed by Nizām ul-Mulk in a separate chapter of his *Siyāsat Nāmāh*. The *nadīm* was privileged to attend the most private assemblies of the Sultān. Of necessity he was excluded from all official duties, for, service meant subordination while he had perfect intimacy with the sovereign. Thus, one must bear in mind that Barani was not a theologian; nor had he acquired deep learning of Islamic theological system to apply it competently to historical and political questions. Whereas restraint has been the universal practice adopted by every theological order, the *nadīm* lived in exactly dissimilar conditions: no luxury was beyond his reach. His nights invariably passed in frivolous amusements shared with his master. In fact being a religious man in personal life is quite different from the mere use of theological idiom as a writer. Barani's self-righteous assertion on orthodoxy - especially his violent tone against the Hindus - created the popular deception that he was a member of the class of 'Ulama. Barani, on the other hand, unblushingly gave a frank statement of his private conduct: "At this time when due to old age and infirmity not one tooth has remained in my mouth, afflicted in mind, battered by the envious enemies and humbled by them to their heart's desire, I still remember my youthful days, the convivial gatherings, and the luxuries of all sorts that I enjoyed in the company of nobles and great men. In my assembly the fair and good-looking faces, the delicate cup-bearers with honey like lips and silvery legs, the merry friends, the sweet singers, and exceptional dancers had been always present in abundance.*"

* *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shāhī*, p. 165

These manners of life, not farther removed from pagan habits, were chosen for himself by almost every *nadim* since the institution came into existence in the early days of Abbasid Caliphs. Such a man, in spite of his brilliant personality marked by apparent intelligence, could neither submit himself to the arduous patience of serious scholarship, nor was he allowed to be mellowed by practical experience of state affairs. Yet he had leisure to mix with men of learning and a keen observation to judge the men of power. It was an ideal situation to reflect on problems concerned with government. If allowed time by chance, he could produce a readable treatise of historical and political interest. Earlier, there had been many talented spirits, like al-Balāzūrī (d. 279/892), the *nadim* of al-Mutawakkil, who illumined the path. Barani perforce found opportunity to follow their footsteps.

At the time of writing he had been overtaken by a temporary spell of religiosity. Surely, old age works deep changes in man's soul and its experiences are rapidly followed by actual transformation of character. If he had attempted to present his works, especially the history, at a somewhat earlier and happier period of life, his sentiments would have assumed less exaggerated tone. But the profligacies of youth became the moral agonies of the evening of life. The stark reality of having lived for seventy four years and the sombre thought of the last hour approaching soon demanded to be consoled by a clear-cut philosophy of life, which in turn crystallized into the philosophy of history. It had a single keynote : only virtuous life, in Barani's self defined terms could avert the inevitable doom awaiting at the end from which neither individuals nor the ruling dynasties could be exempt.

After the death of his patron, Sultān Muhammad bin Tughlūq (792-1351) Barani lost his position at the court and fell on evil days. Knowing no better way to combat inner despair he decided to be a writer. It was not the spirit of a genuine seeker of truth that impelled him to satisfy personal curiosity and provide answers to intellectual cravings. He had, on the other hand, a practical and immediate purpose : his *Tarikh* must be a comprehensive report of ninety five years to impress Sultān Firūz Shah Tughlūq who had banished him from the court and whose favours he desired to win back. The idea of a more ambitious plan of universal history,

no doubt, crossed his mind for a little while; but his innate intelligence provided a fitting alternative. He was inclined to pick up the thread where it was left by Minhāj-i-Sirāj (658/1259) and depict onwards the events of ninety five years (658-753/1259-1352) of which he and his preceding generation had been the eye-witnesses. "And during these ninety five years, eight kings have ascended the throne of the capital of Delhi, apart from three other persons, who by deserving claim or otherwise, occupied the throne for three or four months each. I, therefore, devoted this brief history to the account of the same eight kings."* Thus, Barani passed his five years (753-758/1352-56) when he was the victim of royal displeasure, in the fruitful pursuit of writing the history and other works like the *Fatawa-i-Jahandari* and the *Na't-i-Muhammadi*. Of course the last named, dealing with the praise of the Prophet, directly aimed at seeking salvation. Whereas the other two were designed to purchase redemption from the existing state of torture and humiliation.

Evidently, Barani's interest in history was aroused due to his more serious preoccupation with ideas regarding the nature of government; and history in his scheme provided a mere perspective so as to magnify his view of politics. He explained his political concepts in more serious manner by composing the *Fatawa-i-Jahandari*. It is not certain whether the latter appeared before or after the *Tarikh-i-Firāz Shahi*.** However, the theories discussed in the two books are the same, and still more, there are coincidences when the literal expressions are also common, for example, the safety of the king was a matter of serious concern and he must take care of himself against "persons who are possessed by dauntless and demonic passions, for, they can willingly throw themselves in burning fire and running water for satisfying their brutal ambitions." And again, Mahmūd and Balban, the two vocal figures of the respective works, offer identical advice, without the least alteration of a word, in matters regarding the maintenance of army and treasury, the implementation of orthodox theological commands, and the extermination of philosophers, heretics, and infidels. Nor do the recurrences end over

* T.F. p. 22.

** Prof. Mohd. Habib is inclined to give precedence to the *Tarikh*. See *The Political Theory of the Sultanate*.

admonitions to adopt the policy of golden-mean in treatment with the subjects and strike a balance between the opposite temperaments of wrath and mercy that should guide the disposition of the sovereign.

Among the historians writing in Persian language Barani stands as a curious example who trained his imagination to soar high in the manner of Thucydides and Tacitus. These two great masters of Greece and Rome are well-known for having invented speeches and put them in the mouth of persons treated in their books. Quite independently, the Arab historians also learned this charming technique and many of them enlivened their narratives by reproducing speeches and conversations.* A somewhat likewise device, however, was adopted by Barani in the *Fatawa-i-Jahandari* and the same strain continued in the other work. He idealized Sultān Mahmūd as a paragon of kingly perfection, and then, presented him as addressing counsels to his sons and to the kings of Islam regarding the problems and principles of statecraft. These exhortations swell the pages of the *Fatawa-i-Jahandari*. Obviously, Sultān Mahmūd could have neither conceived nor desired for a moment the role Barani has assigned him in the book. Like all men of his race Mahmūd preferred and in fact lived a life entirely devoted to tough action, and spared himself little leisure for musing over the subtle theories so honourably attributed to him.

In the *Fatawa-i-Jahandari* a clear distinction has been made from the outset between the spiritual and temporal categories of power. Adam's two sons, Shith and Kayumarth, represented in their lines respectively all the prophets and the kings of the world. Thus, by the ingenuity of placing together these two legendary figures of quite alien surroundings - Semitic and Persian - he tried to reconcile the Islamic and Zoroastrian-Sasanid ideals of terrestrial suzerainty. The conclusion was not far to seek that prophethood and kingship were both divine in origin. Unlike al-Mawardi (d. 450/1058), who justified and defended the existence of Caliphate as a continuous process enjoying the consent of all Sunni Muslims, Barani recognized the legitimacy of the four orthodox Caliphs only. The ideas of other Muslim thinkers, mainly al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111) and Ibn-Taiymia (d.

* D.S. Margoliouth, *Lectures on Arabic Historians*, p. 121 (Calcutta, 1930).

729/1328) have been casually repeated on many important issues, for example, political power (*Siāsa*) was essential to implement religious commands (*Shari'a*), and again, social harmony and religious uniformity demanded the suppression of schism and heresy. All these matters apart, it was the personality of the Sultān which loomed large in Barani's mind and acquired importance as the chief subject of discussion. In expounding his political theory he was directly inspired by the thoughts of ancient Iran and his 'Sultān' was in fact the replica of the Persian king of kings. Writing about a century after the extinction of Abbasid caliphate, and that in the Indian environment, his main concern-more than other *Sunni* doctors elsewhere-was to press the argument that the Sultān, over and above his secular duties, had an obligation to enforce the law of religion. Thus, Barani proposed for the Delhi Sultanate, whether he was aware or not, the politico-religious model of the Sasanid state, where the king as 'power incarnate' was bound to safeguard the worldly as well as the spiritual welfare of his people.

It is gratifying, however, that the Turks in India maintained a wise distance in their actual practice from the fanatical theory preached by Barani in his book. Despite the cries raised by his imaginary hero : "O, my sons and kings of Islam", the instructions and counsels were prudently rejected at all events. In fact, neither the Sultān of Delhi could exercise angelic virtues in personal life, nor was it expedient for him to wreck havoc on his subjects for their only fault of being Hindus or Shi'ahs and philosophers. The non-availability - save one - of the copies of *Fatawa-i-Jahandari* affirms the belief that it failed from the beginning to exercise influence as a political treatise and did not attract much notice in learned circles. Moreover the abounding anecdotes, being generally inaccurate and bogus, could hardly increase the prestige of the book. Thus, to presume that Barani's political theory received official support in the ruling circles of medieval India, or that it was adopted as a guiding principle by the Delhi Sultanate, would not be a judicious conclusion.

None the less, the political faith, irrespective of its weaker response, was deeply ingrained in the spirit of the author and prompted him further to project it through his *Tarikh*. He confined his attention to his own times

not going back more than two decades beyond the span of his life. The tales he heard as a boy from his elders in the family and later on the scenes he witnessed with his own eyes glittered in his imagination; and time, far from obliterating them, sanctified those memories until their narration became a matter of moral obligation in old age.

In personal outlook he stood apart from the class of historians who usually made dynastic divisions of history. Nor did he care to adopt annalistic pattern for the arrangement of events. His integrated study of the eight Sultans revealed that there was a definite harmony in the phenomena which controlled the rise and decline of dynasties and subsequently affected the change in society and government. He perceived history as advancing in almost regular periodic motions. Balban, whose powerful personality resembled his earlier master, handed down the crown to a frivolous successor. Then, the two great Khaljis were followed by a similar worthless prince. Still further, Firaz Shuh, the third member of the house of Tughluq, has been represented in the light which by implication revealed that his actions violated the principles necessary to be a successful monarch. Thus Barani anticipated Ibn Khaldun who, about half a century later, ascertained that the shifting of power from dynasty to dynasty followed a fixed law. In the Arab philosopher's estimate the third generation showed definite signs of enervation and was often doomed to extinction due to a number of factors : the first and most striking one was the luxurious mode of living.

In the opening chapter of *Tarikh*, Barani presented the magnificent and fascinating scene of Balban's court and the striking personality of that monarch. The two contrasting phases of his life have been purposely depicted for the instruction and benefit of other Sultans. As a noble, Balban often indulged in luxuries and arranged grand convivial parties; but after wearing the crown his habits entirely changed, wine was banned, and not a word incompatible with royal dignity was uttered in his presence. The main feature of this chapter is Balban's *Hisaya* – counsels, to his elder son, Muhammad; and in recording them Barani's pen assumes a noble elegance that can hardly pass unnoticed. Most probably these advices were imagined by the historian himself as reflecting the very

intention and inner thoughts of Balban; for, there is no hint that he got them from an oral authority or consulted official records. Nor could Balban express the ideas lately discussed in *Fatawe-i-Jahandari*.

A transformation of mood was essential for the description of the reign of Kayqubād, and despite old age he had not altogether lost his talents. Firmly controlling his pessimistic seriousness, he recounted with a sense of enjoyment the details of revelries in which the young Sultān and his whole age threw themselves. It was natural that this account must be accompanied by the favourite theme of 'advice. In this chapter the two principal figures whom he made to speak were Fakhr ud-Din, the Kotwāl of Delhi, addressing his unscrupulous nephew, and Kayqubād's father, Bughra Khan, conversing with his son. Evidently, there is much repetition of the theories regarding the nature and elements of Kingship and the role of nobles etc.

The boyhood experiences of Barani covered the period of Jalal ud-Din Khalji, for, in the year of his accession the historian was a child of five years and started education in *Madrasa*. Although the first great Khalji inaugurated the era of dynamic expansion, the conditions of rapid disintegration were inherent in the whole policy which he pursued. He had been made to acknowledge his shortcomings as an ideal Sultān by comparing himself with those noble souls who luckily accomplished their mission: "Great were the God-fearing defenders of religion, like Mahmūd and Sanjar, whereas I am a seeker of worldly expediencies". Next, the focus shifted to the second great Khalji. 'Ala ud-Din, no doubt, impressed Barani for his distinct personality and the performance of great tasks as a monarch. Barani exercised his pen with great care and patience to depict the details of 'Ala ud-Din's public and private conduct, and preserved almost all the admirable as well as the ugly shades of the Sultān's character. He represented 'Ala-ud-Din as a ruthless and ignorant man yet capable of drastic administration. Needlessly did the historian discharge his chagrin against that monarch for treating religion as apart from Kingship. Of course, the absolutely idealistic spirit of Islam allowed no distinction between religion and politics; but the experiment did not succeed in practice. Like all Muslim scholars Barani was aware of this fact,

and elsewhere conceded - alluding to the Shith and Kayumarth legend - that the two institutions were irreconcilable and rather eternally separate.

His dismal conclusions regarding the theory of historical change found their most convincing proof for justification from the events which occurred around the throne of Qutb ud-Din Mubarak Shah. Apart from the vices of sex and wine, that Sultān adopted insulting attitude towards the great saint of the age, Nizām ud-Din Auliā. So his unwise conduct led to ignominious and fatal consequences : not only was the house of Khaljis ruined, but mankind suffered great distress, and above all, the Hindus tried to usurp power by raising the unscrupulous neo-convert, Khusraw Khan, and Islam was humbled in the country. In conclusion Barani asserted that the moral integrity of the Sultān guaranteed the safety of his realm and between the two there was an inalienable connection. It was the scheme of Providence to which no hand of mortal man could alter.

In taking up the account of Giyās us-Dīn Tughlūq the historian was elated with a sense of admiration and gratitude, for, the Sultān was the restorer of stability and the saviour of Muslims from the former usurper. By his conduct the Sultān fulfilled all the ten conditions of kingship - most remarkable and essential among them were his steps to glorify religion, successful encounter with the heathen Mongols, maintenance of justice and order in the land, mild taxation resulting in prosperity of the subjects, and above all, not to allow the mischievous philosophers and enemies of orthodoxy around his throne. He was the monarch who trained his habits and based his policy according to Aristotle's famous "Golden mean" and never strayed into extremes.

It was with Muhammad bin Tughlūq that Barani consciously stood the test as a judge of men and matters. Nothing regarding that monarch's personality and passions was secret from him, for he had passed more than seventeen years of his life in the Sultān's company as *nadim*. The chapter has been written with seeming impartiality and detachment. He praises Sultān Muhammad bin Tughlūq for extra-ordinary intellectual talents, the love of learning, pleasing conversation, repugnance to sensual pleasures, and an extremely polished personality. And then, his pen flows uninterrupted to record the list of weaknesses which made the

Sultān an embodiment of opposite and conflicting qualities; a perfect "enigma" whose personality bewildered understanding. Therefore, in delineating the Sultān's character the historian could hardly suppress his sense of contempt, although he owed so much to that sovereign. The kindness of the Sultān towards him was admitted and the feeling of gratitude expressed, but it was unmingled with respect. He attributed the failure of his master's government and its final collapse due to only one cause: the violation in practice of the very principles which the Sultān so loudly and emphatically professed. The whole reign has been presented as on comic scene of the Sultān's fertile genius conceiving wild ideas and their miserable shattering at the solid rock of reality. None the less, he was aware that the Sultān was one of the interesting personalities of history. There was such a baffling combination of saintliness and cruelty in the Sultān's nature that the historian failed to decide whether he must be compared with Bāyazīd and Mansūr-i Halalāj or with Pharaoh and Nemrod. In fact, ever since mankind was acquainted with Plato's thoughts through his Republic, it may count some of its prominent members - although the type has been always rare - who happened to be great dreamers of ideas, but gave very poor account of themselves when faced with practical tasks. This reality has been brought to light by many writers; yet few must have surpassed Barani in the brilliant and amusing description that he has left of Muhammad bin Tughlūq.

For obvious reasons Barani's account of the reign of Firūz Shah and the praises lavished on him must be read with caution and reservation. First, he had incurred the displeasure of that Sultān and was living in disgrace. Second, there was a hope in his mind that by presenting the *Tarikh-i Firūz Shahi* he may win back his lost position. And last of all, no contemporary subject could have dared to pass independent and open judgement over his autocratic sovereign. In order to understand this chapter therefore, we must glance at the principles discussed in the preface. While truth, according to Barani, had fundamental importance, the historian may, however, face difficulty at times to record correct statement. Under such circumstances he must perform his duty by "hints, insinuations, and metaphors". This clever advice had a relevance to the actual situation experienced by Barani himself when he wrote about Firūz

Shah. There are implicit meanings in many paragraphs which an intelligent reader may grasp without much effort. From the outset he presented Firūz Shah as 'soft' and particularly abhorrent of bloodshed. It was overtly mentioned as a virtue; but in fact implied otherwise; for, he had categorically laid down elsewhere that a perfect king must not be mild in character. Similarly, his remarks about soldiers drawing regular salary for doing nothing, and that no military expedition was despatched throughout the reign, may be read as a concealed mockery. The description of abundant prosperity enjoyed by the subjects was seemingly a tribute to the Sultān's administration, although viewed in terms of his political ideology it was an ominous sign, for, prosperity brought riches which in turn bred revolt. A picture of the bāzār and traders raising prices without check or hindrance was actually a stricture in disguise on the inefficiency of government. Still more, he once alluded as one of the essential principles that it was undesirable for the king to be over-generous; this policy made the royal servants extravagant and corrupted their habits. Yet he did not conceal that Firūz Shah was too much generous and rather extolled him for that habit. An intelligent mind could discern that it equally amounted to reproach. Nonetheless, there is ample information regarding the constructive character of the reign of Firūz Shah: the improvement of agriculture by liberalizing tenancy laws, the digging of canals, the expansion of education and exceptional attention towards the learned men, the interest shown by the Sultān in raising grand buildings like public mosques, *madrasas*, forts, and dams for irrigation. Here he adopted annalistic device and gave year to year account arranging the material into nine subjects or *muqaddimah* as he called each one of them.

It must be observed that Barani represents that rare category of Persian historians who succeeded to fuse history with political thought in grand style. His theory of kingship and the eloquent discussions related to that problem have lost their relevance in modern times; but the ideas expressed by him about the uses of historical knowledge and the functions of an historian are bound to echo through ages, and in truth have been repeated more or less by many thinkers who stepped in that field. He entertained great regard for history and while introducing that subject he attained the

dignity reserved only for moral teachers and metaphysicians of high stature.

'Afif, Shams-i-Sirāj. The reign of Firūz Shah, the last great Tughlūq, was a landmark : after his death the empire of Delhi was disintegrated and the people living in north India were exposed to a series of calamities, the most tragic of which was the invasion of Timūr. Those who experienced the wide-spread destruction, and their generation immediately following, suffered from nostalgia, and with the passing of years their tender feelings were multiplied for the order that had perished. In common imagination the rulers whose policy led to create the old order of stability and prosperity appeared as heroes possessing adorable virtues. These popular sentiments were earnestly shared by an historian who was actively associated with public administration in former days and whose sufi bent of mind made him ideally competent to discover saintly qualities among worldly monarchs.

Shams-i-Sirāj 'Afif picked up four sovereigns to adorn his lengthy narrative with their account, namely, 'Ala ud-Din Khaljī, Ghiyās ud-Din Tughlūq, Muhammad b. Tughlūq and Firūz Shah Tughlūq. His choice was self-evident : these Sultāns ascended the throne of Delhi in succession and their names were associated with brilliant record of greatness. Moreover, he was convinced that they surely possessed some sort of spiritual qualities which enabled them to preserve the glorious era, except with one brief interruption, for quite a long time. Out of them he singled out Firūz Shah Tughlūq, his master, to award the special distinction of Wali (favourite of God familiar with Divine secrets). The work was taken up in later life and he must have passed very busy days without which it was not possible to complete four massive volume dealing separately with each one of the above-mentioned monarchs. Unluckily, three fourth of his labours did not remain safe for posterity's benefit. Only the last volumes, covering the life and reign of Firūz Shah, bears repeated allusions about the other three. Its title as adopted for convenience was definitely not *Tārīkh-i-Firūz Shahī*.^{*} The author at one point said : "Sultān Firūz Shah was keenly interested that a history of his

^{*} Siraj Afif (ed.) *Tārīkh-i-Firuz Shahi* (Calcutta 1891).

reign should be written : but Barani had died and no suitable writer was available. The Sultān, therefore, ordered the events of his reign to be inscribed on stone slabs and fixed in the walls of the royal palace of Firuzabād". The work of 'Afif was in fact one of a series of *manāqib* = account of virtues, and therefore, may have been designated as *Manāqib-i-Firūz Shahi*, although he did not mention that as such.

'Afif's approach, based on the model of Sufi literature, compromised seriously with the principles of diligence, impartiality and detachment in the collection of exact information. The Sufis wrote monographs on the lives of holy teachers with the sole object of extolling their virtues. The so-called *manāqib* writing (sing. *manqabat* = praise) could be lightly accepted so far as it dealt with the character of spiritual personalities. But that framework was hardly suitable to depict the career of kings and conquerors. The reading public of medieval India cannot be blamed if the volumes of 'Afif on 'Ala ud-Din Khalji and the two Tughlūqs did not gain currency. The fourth volume survived, most probably, because it contained the author's intimate observations about Firūz Shah Tughlūq.

According to his own admission, 'Afif derived inspiration for his fourth volume from the work of Zia-i-Barani. He argued that Barani planned to write one hundred and one *muqaddimah* or issues of primary importance concerning Firūz Shah, but due to old age he completed only eleven and closed the narrative on the sixth year of Firūz Shah's reign. 'Afif, therefore, was inclined to supplement the remaining ninety. In spite of that overt claim it seems that he owed very little to the pattern of Barani : the latter surveyed the reign of Firūz Shah in simple chronological fashion whereas 'Afif entirely ignored that scheme. Actually he divided his book into five sections or *qism* and under each *qism* there were eighteen chapters of unequal length which were named by him as *muqaddimah* : The arrangement of noticeable facts under them was made according to his own discretion and judgement. Some of these headings apparently create the impression of being arbitrary and without connection. Secondly, they do not contain evenly designed details : the *muqaddimah* may prolong over a couple of pages or close down summarily in a few lines.

In the introduction he attempted to frame his ideas more or less into a political theory. Its details were largely derived from his sufi background, although in general outline it was already pronounced by earlier scholars. Since the decline of 'Abbāsid Caliphate, Muslims were inclined to believe that the spiritual and temporal domains of Adam were divided between his two sons, one a prophet and the other a king. These two divergent legacies once again combined in the person of their Prophet. Evidently, the Prophet was messenger of God as well as ruler of Muslim community. 'Afif gave this idea a more sublime expression : "God granted this world and the next to Muhammad and crowned him as the sovereign of both, who, in turn, partitioned them between the learned saints and the righteous Sultāns. These two groups, therefore, are the guardians of Islamic community on behalf of the Prophet. The learned saints can make infinite progress in the acquisition of Divine grace and their 'grades' = *maqāmat*, are beyond the reckoning of reason. But as regards a king, he may strive to raise himself upto ten spiritual grades, and in every one of them his mind will be endowed with certain qualities which must be very profitable for his success as a statesman. In the first grade, for example, he will be granted *Shafaqat* (clemency), in the second with '*Afw*' (forgiveness) and so on, till in the tenth grade he would become a perfect embodiment of *Kiyāsāt-wa-Firasāt* (sagacity and physiognomy). In conclusion to this lengthy introduction he asserted that Sultān Firūz Shah was lucky to have attained all the ten grades.

The first of the five sections (*qism*) bearing the caption : "From birth to accession," goes a little ahead of its limit: the events of the years immediately following accession are also treated under it. The historian was informed by his family members that both his grandfather and Firūz Shah were born the same day at Dipālpur. Ghiyās ud-Din Tughlaq, the uncle of Firūz, lived in that city as governor, 'Afif's great grandfather was the civil dignitary, the ladies of the two families exchanged visits, and the great grandmother of 'Afif often nursed Firūz with her breast. That fact the Sultān thankfully acknowledged all his life. In fact, the description gains interest from the third chapter, covering accession, onwards. It brings to light the diplomatic and other sorts of activities taking place between the nobles of the empire when Sultān Firūz left Thattah - after

being hastily coronated there and started moving in slow stages towards Delhi. As a digression and in pursuance of his chief inclination, 'Afif dwelt at large on the account of the saints who lived in the city of Hānsi. Instead of mentioning briefly the Sultān's meeting with them on way to the capital, he repeatedly declared that one of the objects of writing that book was to present the record of those holy men of Hānsi. Moreover, the later part of this section is full of revealing information about other important matters, such as, fresh assessment of the total revenue demand, replacement of the old agrarian policy and introduction of a new method called "Rule of Bread", and similar other measures that, according to 'Afif's assertion, led to increase the prosperity of the subjects. These points, notwithstanding their informative value, in fact expose the historian as lacking in critical ability. Unwittingly he degrades himself to the position of an official spokesman who could quite often make false statement that the policy of government did succeed, although the actual case may be otherwise.

Expanded over most of the eighteen chapters of section two, are three main events, namely, the Sultān's two visits in succession to Bengal, the foundation of the new capital of 'Firūzabād' at a little distance from Delhi, and the conquest of Nagarkot. These details were based on the reports narrated to 'Afif by his own father. A first hand information is provided about the causes which led Shams ud-Din and his son Sikander to assert their sovereignty in Bengal. While describing the scene of the Court of Sikandar with his ministers in council and their exhortation to make peace with the Sultān of Delhi he impressed that his mind was not after all devoid of the power of imagination. Similarly, the account of Firūzabad and the fort of Firūzah founded along the bank of Jamuna may suggest that he could fairly reproduce in writing what he sighted as an observer.

The story of the Sultān's expedition to Thattah has been arranged with meticulous detail over the whole section three of the book. Indeed that was the most adventurous event of Firūz Shah's life. The Sultān marched from Delhi at the head of a grand army with full confidence and show of pomp, avowedly to accomplish the unfinished tasks of his late predecessor in Sind. Having reached there a severe epidemic broke out

among horses and he ordered the whole army to retreat towards Gujrat. The guides, out of treachery and vengeance, showed a long and sandy route finally leading into the Rann of Kutch where neither water nor food was available. To say the least, for two and a half years there was a state of misery and misfortune which should have required the courage of a Xerxes or a Napoleon. The Sultān, however, saved his servants and soldiers like a real leader of men; he exhibited at that juncture the character of a genuine and God-fearing Muslim which, no doubt, may have provided a ground for his being treated as *Wali* by the generation of our historian. Describing these events 'Afif in spite of his predilection to rhymed prose wrote some passages which stand out as examples of easy and attractive style and whose occurrence in a book of history should enhance the value of the entire work.

In the fourth section he recounted the Sultān's activities aimed at administrative improvement of the empire. The range and variety of topics discussed in this section point to the labours undertaken by him in collecting and preserving accurate information. But he could not place his material into systematic order so as to highlight the role of his hero in shaping the events of his time. Nor was he outspoken enough to give his personal reactions about administrative affairs leading to certain results, for example, the accumulation of slaves in huge number for whom a separate secretariat had to be set up, the expenditure on thirty six royal workshops where commodities of luxury were manufactured, and the construction of so many buildings etc. However, without deviating from his fixed expression of praise to his master and approval for every act of official policy he dropped out sufficient hints that military discipline was deteriorating, for, at halting stations "musicians sang in every tent", and, "at the time of inspection the salary clerks charged as bribe one Tanka per horse from every soldier and the fact was known to the Sultān also".

Similarly, his description of the court etiquette observed by Firūz Shah (Ch. 4), the elaborate hunting expeditions (Ch. 10) and the luxurious display on ceremonial occasions (ch. 16), represented the Sultān in colours which were not favourable to the portrait of a *Wali* or humble devotee of God.

Whereas the first four sections are marked by repeated occurrence of the peculiar phrase "Thus spoke the noble narrators to this frail historian", the fifth one has the distinctness of being mostly a collection of eyewitness reports. 'Afif noticed significant change in the religious attitude of the Sultān during the last years of his reign and showed how the government policy adjusted itself accordingly. Particularly of greater satisfaction to him was the fact that Firūz Shah's routine of visiting the tombs of saints increased day by day with age. The learned theologians were consulted in matters of policy; and the administration of government was brought more and more in conformity to the code of religion. A list has been given of all the practices which were declared as abandoned throughout the empire, for, the guardians of religion disapproved them. There is a discussion regarding the imposition of *Jizya* (tax on non-Muslims); but its careful examination reveals, and the fact has been fully highlighted by modern scholars who were rather inclined to misunderstand it, that the order was confined to Brahmins only and was not applicable to all the Hindūs of the empire. Next, there are biographical sketches of high-ranking nobles whose sagacity and in some cases lack of it, was responsible for the success and in turn led to the downfall of the empire of Delhi. In this picture gallery the portrait of the minister, Khān-i-Jahān Maqbul, has been drawn in more shining colours. He combined illiteracy with superb intelligence and possessed extra-ordinary qualities. In fact before him no Hindū convert was ever promoted to hold the highest civil office of the state. In the end of the section, and the last three chapters of it are lost like the other volumes and the appendix dealing with Sultān Muhammad, son of Firūz. 'Afif enumerates briefly the troubles and turmoils which deprived Firūz Shah of mental peace in the years before his death. The Sultān lived over ninety years (d. 790/1388).

After reading the whole book, however, one may be led to get the impression that 'Afif followed in the execution of his work the golden rule of discretion. Indeed it may be difficult for a contemporary historian to be entirely honest : a number of factors like bias, pressure and fear preclude him from the exercise of that virtue. Clearly, at many points there were no alternatives save connivance and reticence. He disclosed, for example, the minister's fondness for maintaining large *harem*, but in case

of Firūz Shah, who possessed more than one hundred thousand slave boys, the number of other sex is not mentioned. For, the truth would have injured the saintly image of the Sultān, which he so carefully strived to build. Another and more disgusting weakness is the frequent occurrence of stories offensive to reason and common sense, especially when the focus is turned on the sufis: Firūz Shah could not conquer Thattah because a pious old lay was living there. "Now that she died three days ago, you conquered the city." That good news was brought to the Sultān by a holy man, Saiyed Jalāl of Bukhara. Such stories strike the reader almost in every section of the book.

Sirat-i-Firūz Shāhi was anonymous history written during the reign of Firūz Shāh Tughlūq at the instance of the Sultān himself. Neither in the beginning nor in the versified epilogue did the author care to write his name; although in one of the verses, he mentioned: "The date was 772(Hijra) when I completed this work by the grace of God" = 1370. He unfolded the material, abounding in flattering compliments and exaggerations, over four sections : 1. Firūz Shah's accession, his measures to check the depredations of the Mongols in North-Western area of the empire, and his march to Gujarat; 2. Firūz Shah's efforts to improve the administration : abolition of cruel punishments, reduction in unjust taxes, suppression of heresy, thereby, subjecting the Shi'ahs to severe inquisition and burning of their books, and allocation of funds to the repairs of old monuments including the 'Qutb Minār' of Delhi, which had suffered damage by lightning in those days; 3. Firūz Shah's virtuous qualities, the robes of honour received by him and the former Sultāns of Delhi from the caliphs, sacred nature of the institution of caliphate, and the prosperity of his reign; 4. Firūz Shah's personal attainments in various branches of knowledge, chiefly, astronomy, medicine and instruments of warfare, his interest in the promotion of learning and patronage to learned men etc. Only two manuscripts in India survived the inclemencies of nature's cycles : (i) that of Khuda Bakhsh, Patna, copied in 1002/1593, and written in clear *Nasta'liq*, belonged to the library of Mughal emperors on which two of them, Shah Jahān and Aurangzeb, fixed their seals; and (ii) preserved in Aligarh, being incomplete, was transcribed later. An officially sponsored work, the reader will be constantly reminded of the well-known

maxim that governments and rulers were never honest when they informed the world about their actions. That the historian wrote under direct supervision of the Sultān, may be conceded as the interesting side of the *Sirat-i-Firūz Shāhi*.

POETS

The poets of the age were mostly *qasidāh* writers; they supplied the stuff which was generally in demand by the aristocracy and the royal court. However, an important addition, the romantic *masnawī*, the historical *masnawī*, the didactic *masnawī*, and the epic in Ferdowsi's *mataqārīb* metre, asserted themselves in the field, each revealing its own merits. The above mentioned two forms owed their appearance to the genius of Amir Khusraw. Bū 'Alī Qalandar contributed the didactic *masnawī*. And, Badr-i-Chach composed a voluminous *masnawī* in the style of *Shah Namah*, praising the achievements of Muhammad b. Tughluq. The most remarkable advance was the introduction of *Ghazal*, which was destined to establish its superiority over all other varieties of literary forms. Khusraw and his friend, Hasan-i-Sijzi were the two pioneers of *Ghazal* in the Indian sub-continent. Surprisingly, they succeeded in elevating their art to its most perfect and finished degree :

Khusraw Dihlawī, Amir, Abu'l Hasan (d. 725/1325) was the first great poet of Persian born in India during the days of Sultān Nasir ud-Dīn Mahmūd, son of Ilṭūtmish. His parents were of Turkish descent and emigrants from Balkh, modern Afghanistan. He displayed his genius from very early age and left behind him the reputation of being gifted with versatile qualities, particularly, touching heights of imagination as a writer of *ghazal*, the lyrical verse. As different stages of life mirrored themselves in human constitution, similarly, poetic tone may also be subject to gradual change. On this assumption Khusraw divided his lyrical verses from boyhood to old age and placed them in five *Diwāns*. Their titles indicating chronological sequence: 1. *Tuhfat us-Sighar*, 2. *Wasat ul-Hayat*, 3. *Ghurraṭ ul-Kamāl*, 4. *Baqiyah-Naqiyah* and 5. *Nihāyat ul-*

Kamal. Another set of Khusraw's compositions were the romantic *masnawis*, where he followed Nizāmi of Ganjah and brought out five poems. *Khamsah*, choosing the same metres. These are : 1. *Matla' ul-Anwār*, 2. *Shirin Khusraw*, 3. *Majnūn-Laila*, 4. *A'ina-i-Sikandari* and 5. *Hasht-Bihisht*. One of the rare qualities possessed by him was that he justified himself as a chronicler in verse. Balban's successor and grandson, Kayqubād, and all the Sultāns following him, employed Khusraw for versifying the events of their reigns. In response to their wishes, he painted the moving picture of history that made up one piece of florid prose and five poems.

Distinguished by no serious accuracy of a historian yet earning consideration from scholars of that class there had been a line of illustrious writers in India since ancient times. The dramas of Kalidās, written in fourth century A.D., depicted the age of imperial Guptās. Bāna executed his *Harsh-Charitra* with ample display of imagination and fancy to focus light on the conditions obtaining in the seventh century A.D. The tradition lingered on in works like *Rājtrāngini* and *Prithvirāj-Rason*, which, despite their lack of factual rigidity, are so often named 'sources'. In Khusraw there is a somewhat affinity of approach and manner to those earlier masters, although he was not consciously imitating them as models. His labours were wholly devoted to bring into relief the events of his own age. Being indifferent to disclose the past and its logical connection with contemporary affairs, he neither needed nor could claim profound learning. Intelligence and observation were the only requisite qualities that served his purpose and he possessed them in abundance.

The technique of rhyming the chronicles in different metres and of writing the one in extremely florid prose accorded with the picture that the author observed around himself. Power and pleasure were the two passions of the Indian Turks : in order to gratify them they indulged in worst horrors and sank to the lowest depth of dissolution. A writer who was brought up in these surroundings and shared the habits of the same society could hardly exercise sober judgment. Moreover, if he obstinately dared to be rational and critical, or simply frank and honest, there was every chance that his head would be removed. And Khusraw as a trained courtier could

not take the risk. Besides, he wrote at official commands and took up his position to justify the conduct of his heroes who in turn gave him lavish purse. In such circumstances poetry was a deliberate choice, for, it readily supplied colourful and exaggerated language with equal opportunity for vagueness.

The *Qirān us-Sa'dayn* (Conjunction of the two auspicious Stars, 688/1289) was the first work in which Khusraw the poet intentionally undertook the job of an historian. Its peculiarity is that a single incident of not very significant nature has been described with fascinating interest in extra-ordinary detail spread over 3944 verses. The incident was a meeting between Bāghra Khan, the father holding the governorship of Bengal, and Kayqubād, aged eighteen, the son and publicly proclaimed Sultān of Delhi. The two remained encamped with their armies for a few days along the bank of river Sarjā in Oudh, saw each other with royal etiquette, and then departed. The father went away to his province where he led a carefree life preferring it to the crown of sovereignty that was by right his own after his father's death. The son marched back to Delhi with pomp and surrounded by the luxuries of youth which he voraciously tasted as a reaction to the rigorous discipline imposed upon him by his serious grandfather, Balban. Two years passed since the affair was over. Then, one day Khusraw was summoned to the royal audience at Delhi and the young Sultān requested him to versify that whole episode as indeed he was himself an eyewitness. It was a striking opportunity, for, the poet being thirty seven years old was eager to tread the new ground although he had already announced himself to the world, and what was more important, "Kayqubād was the first king who took Khusraw into his service.*

His object in *Qirān us-Sa'dayn* was not merely to narrate but to dramatise the piece of event which gained so much prominence among the people and was talked about in every home all over the empire. Several interesting scenes depicting the grandeur of the capital, the architectural beauty of the congregation mosque, the profuse manners of the nobles and their

* I. Wahid Mirza : *Life and Works of Amir-Khusraw* (Lahore, 1962)

sovereign, the military operations against the marauding Mongols, the diplomatic messages exchanged between Bughra Khan and Kayqubad, and as a real climax, their meeting, have been drawn by the poet to infuse his work with dramatic motion. The problem of creating apparent coherence and continuity between the numerous scenes has been tackled by a novel artistic device: Introduced between them are the sweet and melodious *Ghazals* which conveniently shift the reader's interest from one joyous scene to the other.

The *Miftah-ul-Futuh* (Key to the Victories, 690/1291) was written when the old dynasty ceased to exist and the tide of events had brought Jalal-uddin Khalji to the throne of Delhi. The name given to the *Masnawi* leaves one guessing whether Khusraw foresaw the designs of territorial expansion and vigorous conquest that the reign of Khaljis was going to initiate. In that comparatively small poem of 760 verses*, he gave a faithful account of the activities of Sultan Jalal-uddin Khalji in the year of accession. His chief interest was to deal with military affairs, none the less, he touched upon other matters also, for example, the picturesque details of the Sultans's entry into Delhi, the joyous welcome by the populace, and the social life of the capital where on the one hand every street vibrated with the sound of dance and music, and on the other, Shaikh Nizam-uddin Aulia preached the austere discipline of Sufism. On the whole the epic element dominated the poem, for it was avowedly composed to perpetuate the memory of the grand victories attained by the Sultan within the brief period of one year. According to his own admission a high sense of truth exercised strict check on his poetic imagination and therefore no exaggeration could creep into the narrative. This statement seems to be true, for, the poet scrupulously refrained from grand style.

In the *Khaza'in ul-Futuh* (Treasures of Victories, 711/1311) he set out to describe the conquests carried on by the generals of Sultan Ala-ud-din Khalji in the southern part of the Indian sub-continent. Although in prose it was written at a time when the temptation for rhetoric, displayed with so much extravagance and ingenuity in the five manuals or *Rasa'il* still retained its hold over his mind. Consequently, the real facts are mixed

* *Miftah ul-Futuh* (d.) Oriental College Magazine, Lahore, 1936-37.

through strokes of verbosity with difficult literary artifices and cannot be picked out without much strain over understanding. It is pitiable to find that the educated classes of his times had fallen into the general fallacy of admiring florid style. Perhaps, they were not interested and did not feel the need to be plainly and intimately acquainted with the events of civil and military successes, for they were just taking place before their own eyes. His curious method of writing may be explained in a few words. He thinks out a phrase like 'Bride' or 'Star', and then writes a few sentences in relation to it. Thus, there are more than two hundred and fifty phrases in the entire volume; and over every phrase there is a rubric of an appropriate verse or single line which accords more or less with the description that follows. The word 'Nisbat' (relation) occurs invariably before every discussion, for example : "This is in relation to the Bride and her waiting maid." And "Notice the relation of Horse as swift as wind". Again, "Yonder is the relation derived from stars and planets." And so on. The discussion may close in two or three sentences and sometime extend to a few pages. These fragments of "Relations" have been pieced together to form the whole book. There could be hardly more awkward scheme for the arrangement of real facts. Its historical contents have been thoroughly analysed by the scholars.*

The *Dewal Rani and Khizr Khan* (715/1316) covers the ground of more romantic nature, for, it is colourful elaboration of a love story, the draft of which was written by the lover himself and handed over to the poet for the favour of rendering it into verse. He was deeply touched by his patron's desire and whole-heartedly put all his genius for immortalizing the name of the lover and that of the beloved too, in more than four thousand verses that took about four months. In old age the poet once again turned to that *Masnawi* in order to add a few hundred verses covering the misfortunes and tragic end of that young prince. Perhaps, the charming qualities that Khizr Khan possessed in his character haunted the memory of so many contemporaries. The historical flavour has been carefully introduced into the work by giving a brief but moving picture of the rise of Muslim power

* See texts : Mo'in ul-Haq (ed.) Aligarh Muslim University, 1927, Introduction by Mohammad Habib; and Wahid Mirza (ed.) Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1953, Introduction.

in India from the time of Sultān Muizz uddin Muhammad bin Sām Ghori to that of Ala ud-Din Khalji. Another aspect of the work is the interesting account of India's social and cultural life in which Khusraw was very much interested and painted those details in bright colours. He mentioned with pride the cheerful attitude of Indians, for, in his works, "Whosoever came in their contact - Turk, Arab or Persian - was obliged to feel one with them."

The *Nah-Sipihr* (Nine Skies, 718/1318) was planned on a bigger scale for the young Sultān, Qutb ud-din Mubarak Shah Khalji, who despite his profligacy, was widely read in the poetry of past masters and had the good sense of inviting Khusraw to compose an account of his reign. It was a challenge to the poet's literary career and he at once set his heart on executing the royal command. The whole book is divided into nine sections or heavenly spheres and for each one of them a different metric arrangement has been conceived. In section three he betrays-as he did earlier in his former work - the patriotic feeling for India with which the Medieval world was totally unfamiliar. He emotionally pleads for the country and its climate, the people, their language and manners and their attainments in various fields of knowledge. The following section is not less significant, for, he underlines in it his political philosophy in the form of discourse addressed to the young sovereign. According to him there were five essential conditions for good government, namely, the king must have wise counsellors; he must maintain peace and stability unshakable by inner or outer pressure, he must take care of his life : if he could not save himself he must be unworthy of saving his subjects; justice should be the keynote of his policy, and last of all, he must strive for the prosperity and welfare of all subjects. The book finally closes with lengthy excuses for his imperfections if there were any.

The *Tughlūq-Nama* (720/1320) was the last work which Khusraw now an aged man about to reach seventy, agreed to undertake on familiar lines. Sultān Ghiyas -ud-Din Tughlūq, not unnaturally, felt the desire that his achievements must be known to the world by the pen of the same author, who, throughout the long years of his life had actually moved with the events; and by a combination of art and observation depicted them for the

benefit of posterity. In brief analysis the *Masnawi*, containing more than two thousand verses, may be said to cast light on three points : the treacherous usurpation of power by Khusraw Khan accompanied by deeds of horror against the former Sultān's family, the preparation of Tughlūq for revenge in which the consent and support of other nobles was crucial, and finally, the military operations leading to the overthrow of the usurper and the accession of Tughlūq as Sultān of Delhi. The humiliation inflicted by the usurper's Hindū kinsmen over the ruling Turks could not be recorded with so much clarity by a contemporary possessing lesser courage. Much of the poem's space has been taken by his mastery of imagination in depicting the correspondence between Tughlūq and other nobles of high rank. And then, there is a genuine survey of the resources commanded by the adversary with whom Tughlūq had to contend. To the end of the poem Khusraw seems to be occupied in showing that it was not an easy victory which Tughlūq secured, and that he fought one of the most prestigious and epoch-making battles.

Before closing the discussion it must be clarified that Khusraw's object by consuming his labours over the above-mentioned works was not actually to "study the past events," as has been emphasized and argued in some recent researches. In fact, he did not write about the past : merely he was a contemporary observer. The events were taking place during his own life-time and had been alive in his memory. His royal patrons engaged him in succession to exercise his pen over the day-to-day affairs in which they played noteworthy role as conquerors, lovers, drinkers and merry-makers and wished that their actions should be widely advertised as well as their account be preserved for the future. Nevertheless, he stands to be as much criticised or defended as a respectable journalist of modern times who has the sure consciousness that his writings would be scrutinized by the coming generations as records of historical value.

In conclusion, the actual position of Khusraw must be judged on the well-known principle that the functions of an historian are incompatible with that of a courtier. If circumstances did not allow him to comment freely on the defects of the men of power, his praise of their virtues must be accepted with utmost reservation.

Hasan Dehlawi (d. 738/1337) was a disciple of Shaikh Nizām ud-Din Auliya, the great saint of Delhi. His place of origin being Sistān, early writers mentioned him as 'Sijzi'. Essentially a poet, he acquired still greater fame as the reporter of his Shaikh's conversations - *malfūzat*. The collection was acknowledged as the most authentic commentary on the teachings of the *Chishti* order. Also, it was a piece of charming prose and has been justly estimated among literary works of the highest order produced in the sub-continent. Its title was : *Fawā'id ul-Fawad*. Hasan's contribution as a poet was equally remarkable. He left a voluminous *Diwan* of verses. Having survived till the days of Sultān Muhammad b. Tughlūq, he had to march with the great exodus from Delhi to Daulatabād ordered by that queer monarch, and passed his last days in the new capital of the Sultān away from Delhi.

Hasan-i-Dehlawi also left a concise prose treatise, which dealt with some of the important points of sufi ideology. Its title was *Makh ul-Ma'ani*. His *Diwan* of verses had been published from Hyderabad.

Bū 'Ali Qalandar, Shaikh Sharaf ud-Din (d. 724-1324) was a sufi commanding great prestige and fame during the days of the Khalji Sultans, Jalāl ud-Din and 'Ala ud-Din. His place of residence was Pānīpat, a town north of Delhi. Notable among the works of Shaikh Bū 'Ali Qalandar were a *masnawi* entitled: *Kanz ul-asrār*, and collection of letters: *Maktūbat-i-Sharaf*.

Nakhshabi, Ziya ud-Din (d. 751/1350) came from Nakhshab, a town near Bukhara, escaping the fury of the Mongols, and settled in the city of Budā'un, North India, about two hundred kilometres from Delhi. The span of his long life supposedly crossed a hundred years; it coincided with the slaves, the Khaljis and the early days of the Tughlūq dynasty. Nakhshabi was a contemporary of Amir Khusraw, although the two did not mention each other. A sufi living in complete resignation from the world, nonetheless, he made remarkable literary achievements. Having arrived in India, he seemed to have acquired mastery over Sanskrit and made useful translations from that language into Persian. One of his versions, *Tūtī-nāmah*, has passed over to many languages of the world. The other work, *Lazzat un-Nisa*, was obviously the free rendering of *Kūk Shāstra*, the

Indian classic on sex education. Also, noteworthy are Nakhshabi's sufistic treatises : 1. *Chihil-Namās*, 2. *Silk us-Sālak*, 3. *Gūl-Riz* and 4. *Diwān* of verses.

Jamal ud-Din Hānsawi, Shaikh (d. unknown) belonged to Hānsi, a town in Punjab, and was the spiritual successor = *Khalifah*, of Shaikh Farid ud-Din Mas'ūd Ganj-i-Shakar, the *Chishti* saint who lived in Ajodhan, Punjab (d. 664/1265). Earlier, he held official position as a theologian, which he resigned after entering the sufi circle of his Shaikh and passed the rest of his life in voluntary poverty. He was a poet and left a *Diwān* of verses. Jamal ud-Din Hānsawi enjoyed great confidence of Shaikh Farid, who had entrusted him many important duties of his Khanqāh. His poetic accomplishments were widely acknowledged.

Badr-i-Chāch (D. 815/1412) lived at the court of Sultān Muḥammad b. Tughlūq and was the most outstanding poet during the period of the Tughluq dynasty. His birth-place was the modern city of Tāshqand, Central Asia. In his panegyrics, addressed solely to his royal patron, there is a literary as well as historical awareness. They contain all the exquisite and ornamental devices considered essential for the art of *qasidah*-writing. His picture of the events witnessed at the court of the Sultān of Delhi is marked with clear and interesting details. The *madrasah* education in the sub-continent included in its syllabus the *Diwān* of Badr-i-Chach and the poet exercised deep influence in shaping the literary taste of cultured society for a span of five centuries.

Badr-i-Chāch composed a *Shāh Nāmāh* on the pattern of Ferdowsi, and narrated the achievements of his patron, Muhammad b. Tughlūq. It contained thirty thousand verses.

Rāju, Shāh Yūsuf b. 'Alī Dihlawī (d. 731/1330) was a Sūfī of Delhi who emigrated to the Deccan, and after free wanderings customary among the men of his class, settled near Khuldabad years before the Bahmani kings established their ascendancy in the Deccan. Shah Raju was respected in the area due to his scholarly life and had many devotees. His concise *Diwān* of verses has survived.

Saif Jām Harawī (d. Unknown) came from the city of Herat, Khurasan,

in the reign of Firūz Shah Tughlūq and lived till advanced old age. He witnessed the establishment of independent regional dynasties after the sack of Delhi by Timūr (801/1398). His contribution was a literary collection, *Bayāz*, containing selected verses from a number of contemporary poets. Its title was *Majmu-ah-i Lata'if wa Safinah-i-Zarā'if*.

Khāwari, Saiyed Muhammad resided in Kashmir and made himself known for welcoming Mir Saiyed 'Alī Hamadāni in a poem. His chronogram mentioned the date of the saint's arrival in the valley as H. 781/1379. Notable among the poetic works of Khāwari were his *masnawī* entitled *Khawar-namah*.

Hamid Qalandar was the disciple of Shaikh Nasir ud-Din Mahmūd Chirāgh-i-Dehli, and compiled his sayings under the title : *Khair ul-majalis*. Hamid Qalandar was an accomplished poet. All contemporary writers have acknowledged his command over the art of *qasidah*. His nine *qasidahs* and a few poems have survived (*Bayāz* : *Dastūr ush-Shu'ara* (Br. Mus. Rieu No. 374).

Mūghis ud-Din Hānswi, lived as a poet in the court of Sultān Muhammad b. Tughlūq. His *Diwān* of verses perished. Thanks to the care of *Bayāz* writers who collected verses of noteworthy poets, a few poems of Mūghis have survived.

Amir Ikhtiyār ud-Din, was a nobleman of the reign of Sultān Muhammad b. Tughlūq. He was acknowledged for his literary talents. Only two *qasidahs* of Amir Ikhtiyār in praise of a new palace built by Sultān Firūz, have survived (*Bayāz Rieu*. No. 474).

Yūsūf Gada (d. 774/1372) was a sufi poet claiming himself as the disciple of Shaikh Nasir ud-Din Mahmūd Chirāgh-i-Dehli. Humbleness and self-imposed poverty being primary conditions of the sufi way of life, Yūsūf pertinently seemed to have chosen the appellation, *gada* = beggar, for himself. And, as usual, there have been instances of many *Shaikhs* admonishing some of their disciples to live as mendicants for a stipulated time. For, in their view, it was the speedier remedy to cure man of his

inherent defects : arrogance, self-conceit and hatred of others. Moreover, the *Khanqah* life of sufis throughout the Islamic world organized itself on *Fatûh* -alms, the substantial means of their material support. So, either symbolically or in actual practice, Yûsûf was *gada* and it became integral part of his name. A disciplined moralist like all men of his class, Yûsûf Gada left a versified 'Gift of Counsels' for the training of human character. In his attempt, most probably, he treated as his model an earlier work, *Qabûs Na mah*, of Prince Kaykâ'us b. Askandar (ca. 475/1082), the grandson of Qabûs b. Washmgir, friend of Avicenna and Al-Birûni, and ruler of Tabaristan (d. ca. 403/1012). For, Yûsûf Gada's 'Gift' is very close to the above-mentioned book in scheme and arrangement. Amir Kaykâ'us belonged to royal line and was not a sufi; he wrote in graceful prose and was not inclined to verses; but, he inspired Yûsûf Gada, the humble sufi, to address his son in the Amir's manner. Social background apart, both held definite views on education and both of them treated their sons as model students. In his work, Yûsûf Gada suppressed the worldly humour of his predecessor by injecting frequent doses of morality, such as, fear of approaching Day of Ressurrection and details of Heaven and Hell. The 'Gift', composed for his son, Abu'l Fath Rukn ud-Din found entry into educational institutions and retained itself as a regular textbook. An interesting specimen of 'children's literature', its vogue lasted together with Shaikh Sa'di's *Gulistan* and *Bûstân* till the beginning of twentieth century A. D. Another class of readers responsible for popularizing the 'Gift', as pointed out by a modern scholar, were the *Chishti* sufis. They recommended the work left by their brother sufi, pronouncing *Chishti* allegiance, to their devotees, who were mostly humble folk, semi-literate and just able to read. For them, really, Yûsuf Gada had produced a treatise of appealing 'Counsels' to lead virtuous life and attain Divine favour. It was pleasing to recite its seven hundred and seventy-five melodious verses stuffed with rules about prayers, ablutions, fasting, pilgrimage, reading of the *Qur'an*, obedience to parents, and so on. The author dedicated it to his spiritual guide, Shaikh Nasir ud-Din Mahmud Chirag-i-Delhi. Its title was *Tûhfah-i-Nasâ'ih*, completed in 795/1393.

Malik Ahmad, was the son of Amir Khusraw. He was well-known among his contemporaries as a poet; he lacked altogether the spark of

genius possessed by his father. As an exercise in absurdity, he suggested amendments in the verses of poets far superior and talented than himself. However, he lived on his father's reputation.

Zahir Dehlawi, served as *qāzi* during the later days of Tughlūq dynasty. His patron was Sultān Mahmūd b. Sultān Muhammad, the last Tughlūq sovereign. Qāzi Zahir ud-Din was a brilliant poet and had collected his *Diwān* of verses.

Malik Tāj ud-Din Ikhtisān, was a scholar and poet of later Tughlūq period. He held the position of Sadar, chief of religious endowments during the reign of Muhammad Shah b. Firūz Shah (d. 796/1396). Generally, he wrote *qasidahs* on classical model.

Saiyed us-Sadāt Ajall, was a poet of important position in the court of Sultān Firūz Tughlūq. The Sultān built his new capital, Firūzabād, and decorated it with a large number of grand palaces and other beautiful buildings. A lengthy *qasidah* of the poet (30 verses) praising the palace and the mosque has survived in the anonymous Bayāz (Rieu No. 374).

Mūtahhar-i-Kara, 'Aziz ud-Din b. 'Abd ullah (d. 816/1413) was a known poet in the reign of Firūz Shah, the last great Tughlūq. He arrived from Iran and was posted as *qāzi* of Kara, near Allahabad, by the above-named monarch. Allegedly, Mūtahhar stayed at the court of Shah Shūja of Shiraz (d. 786/1384), the patron of Khwājah Hāfiz, before crossing over to India. Most of the *qasidahs* composed by him were devoted to the praise of Firūz and his successor, Nāsir ud-Din Mahmud Shah II. His *Diwān* has survived.

Mas'ud Bek (d. 836/1433) was born in the royal Tughlūq family and led the life of an unwordly sufi devoted to pious routine. Ibn 'Arabi's pantheistic thought, *Wahdat ul-Wujūd*, exercised deep influence over his mind, and he expressed views in his poetry which the leaders of orthodoxy could not easily tolerate. The charge of heresy against him led to his execution. Famous as a poet and possessing *Diwān*, he was the author of a number of tracts in prose explaining various aspects of sufistic discipline. Noteworthy among them are 1. *Mir'at ul-'arifin* and 2. *amm us-*

Sahā'if fi 'Ain ul-Ma'arif.

Qāzi 'Abid lived as a poet in the court of Sultān Firūz Shah Tughlūq. A fragment of that poet, which was the translation of an Arabic piece, has survived.

Tāj Shirāzi, belonged to Shirāz, Iran, and lived in the court of Sultān Firūz Tughlūq. The Sultān treated him with kindness. All literary men of Delhi admired his command as a *qasidah* writer. Anthologies could not preserve the specimens of his verses.

Qāzi Sairafi, held the post of *qāzi* during the reign of Sultān Firūz Tughlūq. An accomplished jurist, his contemporaries liked him mainly as a poet. His verses did not seem to have survived.

Malik Ziya ul-Mūlk, was a nobleman and held important position in the court of Sultān Firūz Tughlūq. He possessed excellent literary taste and composed *qasidahs* of fairly admirable quality. A quatrain of that poet has survived (Badā'uni Vol. I, p. 247).

Jamāl ud-Din Ustāji, was employed as a poet in the court of Sultān Firūz, the last great Tughlūq. His learning and erudition were acknowledged by all the contemporaries. Jamāl lived the life of piety and was inclined towards unworldliness. He had few rivals among the men of his age in the fields of lexicography, science of traditions, and calligraphy. A brief *qasidah* and a *ghazal* of that poet have survived (Rieu No. 374).

Ilyās Harawi, came from Herat, modern Afghanistan, and found employment in the court of Sultān Firūz Tughlūq. A *qasidah* of Ilyās, containing twelve verses, in praise of a new palace built by his royal patron, has survived. (Rieu *Bayān* No. 374).

Shaikh Razi ud-Din Mūjahid, received regular stipends from the bureau of poets and composed eloquent *qasidahs* in praise of Sultān Firūz Tughlūq.

CHAPTER 4

The Weak Centre and Regional Dynasties (801/1398 - 932/1526)

It was mere chance that the Saiyeds and the Lodi Afghans were able to maintain the central authority during the period, which lasted over one and a quarter century. The effort was symbolical in nature. They did not seem to have the consciousness of their historical destiny. Nor did they uphold any idea of the importance of their role. Times demonstrated strong centrifugal tendency. Disintegration had already set in from the days of Sultān Muhammad b. Tūghlūq. Further, the calamity of Timūr's invasion completely destroyed the central structure of the empire. Precisely, four Saiyeds = 37 years, and three Lodis = 75 years, altogether seven sovereigns, comprised the duration of the weak centre.* On the Saiyeds fell the responsibility of rebuilding the broken edifice. Needless to say, their resources and abilities were unequal to the task. Of course, the two Lodis were men of determination and self-confidence. They promoted their reconstructive policies as assiduously as circumstances would permit. Challenging the regional dynasties was not an easy matter. Their kings, the heirs of the old time provincial governors, were

* Saiyed Khizr Khan Masnad-i-Alā (d. 824/1421), Saiyed Mubarak Shah (d. 837/1433), Saiyed Muhammad Shah (d. 847/1443), Saiyed 'Ala ud-Din 'Alam Shah (d. 855/1451), Sultān Bahlūl Lodi (d. 894/1488), Sultān Sikandar (d. 923/1517), Sultān Ibrāhīm (d. 932/1526)

themselves active enough to threaten the weak centre. It was a uniform misfortune of the Sultans ruling the symbolic centre to be worried constantly by revolts and lawlessness of the local lords within their own very much reduced territory. Every petty chieftain defied the jurisdiction of Delhi and periodically stopped payment of revenue dues to the central exchequer. Mutual fighting between the nobles created additional strains and made the purpose of consolidation far more difficult. Disgusted by uneasy conditions, Sultán Sikandar took drastic step in order to fix a close and more careful watch over the haughty Rajpúts and other recalcitrant elements. He shifted the capital from Delhi to Agra, 911/1506. Its strategic advantages might be conceded; but culturally it was a loss. Delhi enjoyed the prestige of a great centre of civilization for the last two centuries. That continuity was broken. Its fame still attracted men of talents from the outside world; but their patrons went to live in Agra. The period of the decline of Delhi's traditional glory extended till the days of Sháh Jahán, who was to restore its former position, 1058/1648. However, despite tūrmōils and wars the continued existence of a centre, although in its weak and symbolic form, was the matter of real significance. Its credit was earned by the Saiyeds and their successors, the Lodi Afghāns.

In one more respect, the period made itself distinct and left a mark on the cultural development of the sub-continent. The Hindūs and the local people began to study Persian on large scale. Hence, from the Lodi Period onwards, Indian Persian began to assume its independent character. Vocabulary and proverbs freely came out from indigenous sources. The Hindus obtained a considerable share in civil administration. Particularly, the revenue matters at middle and lower level passed on almost completely into their hands. Compelled by the emergency of their work, they coined large number of words familiar to the Indians, but eccentric to the people of Iran. For example, corresponding to a variety of taxes, which their genius could conceive, they framed exuberant terminology. The knowledge and interpretation of its meanings was their own prerogative. And, similar idioms had been invented for the purpose of circulating administrative agenda, bulletins, and miscellaneous correspondence. Gradually, the drafting of various government documents and deeds and

the day to day official working, influenced the structural peculiarity of diction quite perceptibly, not excluding the much higher domain, that is, literature.

Many learned men, who lived under the jurisdiction of the 'Weak Centre,' enjoyed great reputation; and their achievements were superb in many fields. Fortunately, patronage was not lacking during the entire period. The rulers, and also their nobles, gave full encouragement to writers and talented people, interested in things of the mind. Equally, were the religious classes active in imparting their traditional instruction on well organized footing. But, on the whole, the system of education tended to be secular in spirit. Persian language, since the pre-Islamic times of the great Sasānian emperors = *Akasirā-i-'Ajam*, was rooted in purely secular ideas. It abounded in thinkers who established the principles of practical instead of theoretical morality. They emphasised on the question how to make the world a better place for living. All those traditions of Persian wisdom found their way into the educational programme of the sub-continent, as it was adopted from the days of Bahlūl and Sikandar. For the following centuries, the Indians accepted Shaikh Sa'di of Shirāz as their greatest teacher; and the Shaikh ruled over their minds as long as the system survived.

The general contribution of the period may be fairly estimated from the quality of books produced on various subjects. The authors, mostly prose writers including a few poets, left a very impressive record of their accomplishments. Their works provided guidance to varied disciplines; and naturally therefore, they retained their importance despite changes in the taste and standards :

Yahyā b. Ahmad Sirhindi, was the author of a book of history, *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhi*, which he named after his patron, Saiyed Mubārak Shāh, as a token of his gratitude. For, Yahyā obtained service in the court of that King.

India had been passing through a period of agony and crisis and the prestige of Delhi Sultanate had sunk very low when Yahyā issued forth his book. Although concise and somewhat sweeping in character, it was

no less important. For, its later portion raised curtain from the events which had taken place ever since Siraj-i-'Afif closed his record, that is, around the time when Sultān Firūz Shāh Tughlūq passed out of scene. Yahyā ibn Ahmad guided our information till the year 838/1434, which may be treated as the probable date of the completion of his work.

Avowedly, he desired to get entry into the honoured circle of royal courtiers. It could be possible, according to his plan, if he offered a present to please Mubārak Shāh, the monarch of his time. And, the most suitable offering, in his estimate, was a book of history. This remark occurs in the brief preface of the book; and from this we may trace his training and background. It is well-known that the reading of history and the ambition for courtly life were typical aristocratic traditions in medieval Muslim society. Save the above mentioned hint, the author throughout remained silent about himself. Nor was the account of his life introduced by any other contemporary or later writer. The fact that out of so many branches of learning he selected history to gain favour from the ruling sovereign, may be enough to suggest that, without saying, he entertained serious view about the subject and was convinced of its utility, particularly, to those who wielded authority and power.

The advent of Sultān Muhammad b. Sām Ghori and his proclamation of Delhī as capital of the empire, was the starting point of Yahyā b. Ahmad's study. The narrative of one century is compact and uncritical. But, the historian knew the art of writing simple and absorbing prose. Naturally, the reign of Raziyah, daughter of Sultān Iltūtmish, supplied the topic of special attention. For, she was a talented woman, young and beautiful, and carefully tutored by her father to rule the empire. It was a misfortune that she could not control the tide of events. Yahyā's account was interesting enough to explain that the Turks were wild horses, who ran out of track. Unless reined by stern masters, they overthrew them in quick succession. Intrigue and revolt were the favourite hobbies of the Turkish nobles. Yahyā summed up every tragic episode by citing an appropriate verse. Describing the tragic death of Khān-i-Shahid, that is, prince Muhammad, son of Balban, Yahyā has recorded full text of the elegy = *marṣiyah*, which Amir Hasan Sijzi wrote in prose. It is an interesting

literary document preserved in his history. For, as a usual fashion, elegies are supposedly composed in verse only. That prose piece was rendered into poetry by Hasan-i-Sijzi's friend, Amir Khusraw. It must be reckoned as a unique piece.

Yahyā surveyed the thirty years of Khalji period with only passing interest. Brief, no doubt, the period was full of tremendous events. The surprising and innovative experiments made by Sultan Ala ud-Din Khalji in the economic and military spheres did not detain the historian's attention. Nor did he reveal his curiosity regarding the romance of prince Khizr Khan, son of 'Alā ud-Din and the charming princess, Dewal Rāni. He could have communicated these facts to his patron for the sake of instruction and pleasure, at least. None the less, it was justified on his part if he suppressed the details concerning the reign of Qutb ud-Din Mubārak Shah, the last Khalji sovereign. The latter's shameful vices had crossed all reasonable limits. Yahyā was an strict adherent of moral principles; he seemed to have his own peculiar notions of history. Perhaps, he followed the rule, that dilating on the crimes of man did not form the necessary duty of every historian.

The more certain and firm ground for Yahyā to pitch himself was the period closer to his own days. Moreover, the knowledge of his father and grandfather enlightened his memory with additional facts. Relating to over two decades, that is, from the later days of Firūz Shah Tughluq to the sack of Delhi by Timūr, Yahyā b. Ahmad supplied most original information. All later historians have borrowed from him as the only source. That was the real significance of his work. He may rightly be called a beacon between Sirāj-i-'Afif and the early Mughal historians. For, all the patchy record of the Afghans in the form of *Waq'at* = happenings, was prepared sometime during the days of the Mughals.

As observed by Yahyā, it was clear during the last two years of the reign of Firūz Shāh, when the Sultān had crossed the age of ninety years and had been reduced to a faint shadow of his former greatness, what shape things will take in the future : 1. There were going to be two Sultāns in the capital, both exercising nominal power, and the *Imam* of the congregation mosque, to the consternation of all audience, will recite two names at the

same time in the *Khutbah* = Friday sermon. 2. No discipline will be left in the army; and the soldiers, mere rabble divided in their allegiance, will daily attack each other. 3. The nobles will waste all their energy in mutual fightings and cutting each others' throats. 4. Famine will stalk in the entire realm and the common people will suffer miserably. However, in the later portion of the book Yahyā saw good reason to focus light on the activities of the capital only; he made himself just the reporter of the city of Delhi; and that was his real virtue.

Despite vast knowledge of events, Yahyā did not allow his work to swell in bulk. The ten years, from the death of Sultān Firūz to the appearance of Timūr, demanded the test of his competence as a narrator. He avoided unnecessary details and continuously wrote in easy manner. Seemingly, his aim was to deal with all aspects of the alarming conditions; and he remained firmly objective. In the same way from the accession of Saiyed Khizr Khan to the time of closing the work (838/1434), he maintained his record entirely free from partiality and prejudice. Of course, in the end he laid down his moral purpose. His genuine hope was that "Men of worldly authority would learn from my book not to be over-ambitious, cruel, and arrogant."

ʿAsim Shoʿaib ʿAbdūsī lived during the days of Sultān Bahlūl Lodi (855/1451-894/1488) and his son, Sikandar Lodi (894/1488-923/1517). He was the author of a dictionary, which he dedicated to Dāwūd Khān, an Afghān noble of Sikandar's court. It was entitled *Majmal ul-ʿAjam*, completed in 999/1493.

Saiyed Muhammad b. Jaʿfar Makki (d. 891/1486) was the pupil and spiritual successor = *Khalifah*, of the famous Saint, Shaikh Nasir ud-Din Mahmūd Chirāgh-i-Dehli (d. 757/1356). He is said to have lived unusually long life, a quality often possessed by men of saintly character. He witnessed the rule of Muhammad b. Tughlāq and died in the reign of Bahlūl Lodi, thus, spanning over a century. His collection of letters, *Bahr ul-Maʿāni*, addressed to a disciple, Malik Mahmūd Shaikhan, acquired great popularity and was eagerly read in sufi circles as it clearly explained the issues of their interest. More scholarly contribution of Saiyid Muhammad was the *Bahr ul-Ansāb*, a historical and genealogical work on

the Prophet and his caliphs and family. Besides the above mentioned books, he wrote two brief treatises : *Risalah dar Bayan-i-Rûh* and *Panj-Nikat*, elucidating his religious views.

Samâ ud-Din Dehlawi, Shaikh (d. 901/1495) was a sufi of the *Suhrawardi* order living in Delhi during the days of Sûltân Bahlûl Lodi (d. 894/1488). He was born among the Kambos of Mûltân, and having roamed freely across the cities of Gûjrât and Rajasthan, established his *Khânqah* = monastery, in the Imperial capital. Spiritual discipline apart, the Shaikh was a scholar of traditional sciences and imparted instruction as professional teacher to a large number of students, for, he remained active and alive till the age of more than a hundred years. Among one of his students, who rose to eminence, was Darwesh Jamâlî Kambo. Shaikh Samâ ud-Din was the author of 1. a glossary on 'Iraqî's *Lam'at*; and 2. a tract on sufism, *Miftah ul-Asrar*.

Muhammad Ghaus Qâdiri (d. 877/1472) was a descendant of the great saint of Baghdad, Shaikh 'Abd ul-Qâdir Jilânî (d. 561/1166), founder of the *Qâdiri* order. Muhammad Ghaus emigrated to Uchchah, Sind, and settled in that city (ca. 862/1458). One of his disciples, Abû Ishâq Jamâl ud-Din Ahmad, collected his *malfûzat* = utterances, naming them *Mûkalamât-i-Ghausiyah*.

Shahr ullah, was a follower of Shaikh Hamid Uddin Hâkim, a sufi of Mûltân, who had been the younger contemporary and son-in-law of Shaikh Baha ud-Din Zakariyâ, and whose death occurred in 737/1336. Shahr ullah lived in Mûltân during the reign of Sûltân Sikandar Lodi (d. 894/1517) and wrote the account of his Shaikh under the title : *Tazkirah-i-Hamidiyah*, completed in 900/1404.

Husain Nâgaûri (d. 901/1495) was a sufi scholar and descendant of Shaikh Hamid ud-Din 'Nagaûri. His spiritual guide was Shaikh Kabir, a saint of Gujrat, in whose company he passed many years before returning to his home-town, Nâgaûr. He witnessed the days of the Lodi Sûltâns, Bahlûl and Sikandar; and by his efforts the tomb of Khwajah Mu'in ud-Din Chishti of Ajmer and the buildings enclosing the shrine were reconstructed. As author, he left a commentary on the *Qur'an* : *Tafsir-i-Nûr un-Nabi*.

Madar, Shah Badi ud-Din (d. 838/1434) was a descendant of the Jews of Syria. His father, Shaikh Abū Ishāq Shāmi, embraced the discipline of sufism and earned respect for his piety. Shāh Madār stayed for a long time in the holy city of Medinah in order to attain spiritual perfection. After a lot of wanderings, he came to India and settled in a small village, Makanpūr, between Kanpur and Allahabad, where his tomb is still situated. His followers, the *madāris*, mostly vagabonds accustomed to nomadic life, who strongly believed in his supernatural qualities, were responsible for spreading his reputation as almost a legendary saint. The chronogram of his death was *Sakin-i-Bihisht* = 838/1434.

Mahmūd b. Shaikh Ziyā lived in the court of Sultān Sikandar Lodi and was famous for his satirical poetry. His friends requested him to compile a dictionary for their benefit utilizing all the earlier sources; and he obliged them with a work, named, *Tuhfat us-Sa'adat*, completed in 916/1510.

Muhammad b. Shaikh Lād was a scholar of Lodi period and author of a dictionary that has been estimated as an outstanding work of Medieval Indian literature. Its title was *Mu'yid ul-Fūzala*, completed in 925/1519).

Hasan Tāhir (d. 909/1503) was a scholar and sufi of the reign of Sultān Sikandar Lodi. His ancestors belonged to Multān, but he was born in Bihaṛ and acquired early education in the city of Jaunpur. Having arrived in Delhi, where Sultān Sikandar treated him with respect, he passed all his life in spiritual and academic pursuits. Due to his piety people of Delhi called him *Tahir*. He was the author of a sufistic treatise : *Miftāh ul-faiz*.

Miyān Bhowā (d. 925/1519) held positions in the reign of Sultān Sikandar Lodi and for some time functioned as *wazir* of the Sultan's government. His contemporaries acknowledged him as a man of extraordinary scholarship. He showed special interest in the field of medicine, as he said, "Of all the sciences it was directly beneficial to mankind." In his eagerness, he studied Sanskrit and acquainted himself with *Ayurvedic*, the medical system existing in India since ancient times.

In collaboration with scholars, competent in both the above-mentioned and the Islamic science : *Tibb-i-Yūnani*, he attempted to bring out their synthesis. His researches and that of his team continued for many years and they experimented over a large number of diseases, exactly one thousand and one hundred seven in number. The result of his experimental and statistical labours was a voluminous book : *Ma'dan ush-Shifa*, or in recognition of his royal patron's philanthropic nature : *Tibb i-Sikandar Shahi*, completed in 908/1502.

'Abd ullah Talanbi (d. 922/1516) was a scholar during the reign of Sūltān Sikandar Lodi. His place of birth was Talanbah, a town near Mūltān, and he lived in Delhi, where people respected him for his learning. Basically a teacher, he trained a number of disciples, who became eminent theologians after him. Sūltān Sikandar was fond of the Shaikh's company and often came to attend his lectures. His contribution as author was a commentary on the philosophical textbook, *Mizān-i-Mantiq*, which survived under the title : *Badī'ul-Mizān*.

'Aziz ullah Talanbi left his hometown, Talanbah, near Mūltān when the area was devastated by the Mongols. He settled in the town of Sambhal, north India; the place was famous for its learned men. Shaikh Aziz ullah taught books of higher learning, particularly, related to scholasticism and philosophy. Like his fellow townsman, 'Abdullah, the Shaikh was honoured for his scholarship during the reign of Sūltān Sikandar Lodi.

Abd ul-Wahhab Bukhari (d. 832/1428) belonged to Mūltān and passed a considerable portion of his life as a wandering sufi. Finally, he settled in Delhi during the reign of Sūltān Sikandar Lodi, who received him kindly due to his pious and scholarly habits. He was the author of a commentary on the *Qur'an*.

Sharh-i-Sikandar Shāhi was anonymous commentary on Imām Abū'l Qāsim Shātibī's versified tract, *Hirz ul-Amāni*, dealing with *tajwid* = recitation of the *Qur'an*, prepared during the reign of Sūltān Sikandar Lodi (d. 923/1517) and named after the monarch. Shaikh Jamāl Khizr lived as a scholar in Delhi and enjoyed the patronage of Sūltān Sikandar, known

for cultivating friendship with men of learning. Engaged in teaching, the Shaikh delivered lectures on various subjects of Islamic sciences including *tajwid*. As regards its origins and history : *Tartil* = loud recitation of the Qur'an, being universal practice and believed to be a source of Divine blessings. Initially, the companions of the Prophet = *Sahabah* recited the Holy Book in the purest accent of al-Hijāz, where the cities of Mecca and Medinah were situated. In the next generation, the companions of the companions = *Tabi'in*, exhibited divergence in phonetic modulations as they belonged to distant geographical areas. Admittedly, environment altered men's features including vocal cords. At last, as many as seven modes of the *Qur'anic* recitation came in fashion and were accepted by the doctors of religious law. First of all, Imām Shatibi acquired distinction as *qārī* = reciter, possessing command over the seven known accents. He was born in Spain and spent his later life in Cairo (d. 590/1194). His above-named work, *Hirz ul-Amāni*, served as standard guide-book for the reciters throughout the following centuries. As usual Shaikh Jamāl Khizr also utilized the same for his classroom discourses and demonstrations. One of his students, whose name remained unknown, gathered the notes of Shaikh Jamāl Khizr under the said title : *Sharh-i-Sikandar Shahi*.

Rājah Mān Gwaliāri was the ruler of a small territory around Gwalior, Central India, during the days of Sultān Bahlūl and Sikandar, whom he paid tribute as their vassal. He offered lavish patronage to musicians. Bakhshū Nāyak originally started his career at the Raja's Court; later on Bakhshū migrated to Gujarat. Rājah Man Singh was the author of a book on musicology : *Sangit Kiran*. It was translated into Persian and appeared under the title, *Ma'rifat ul-Arwah*. The name of the translator remained unknown. The work dealt with sufi music in eight sections and further sub-division. Initially, the Greek philosopher, Pythagoras, advanced the theory that music elevated the human spirit to transcendental plane of Divine proximity. All the spiritual systems of the world, including the Muslim sufis, closely followed the same view. Irrespective of what the orthodox doctors of law held, the sufis fervently adhered to *Samā*. That musical science required serious application, has been carefully illustrated in the sections of *Ma'rifat ul-Arwah*.

Yahyâ Kabûli (d. unknown) belonged to Kâbûl and lived at the court of Sûltân Sikandar Lodi, the most talented sovereign of his dynasty. Yahyâ's field was the science of music in which he diligently perfected himself. His fondness for Indian classical music led him to learn Sanskrit language and he prepared notes from a number of Sanskrit books. As he personally acknowledged, he received constant encouragement in his studies by the scholar minister, Miyân Bhowâ. After years of systematic researches, he brought out a work on musicology containing seven chapters and their further sub-divisions : *Lahjat-Sikandar Shahi*, ca. 920/1514.

'Alâ ud-Din Awadhi belonged to Khurasân, Iran and settled as a sufi in Awadh. Like so many pious and unworldly men endowed with disciplined character, he survived till advanced age. His span of life coincided with the period of the Lodi Afghans (855/1451-932/1526). The historian Badâuni saw his son Mir Saiyed Mâhrû, and a disciple, Mir Saiyed 'Ali, when the latter was ninety years old, living in the neighbourhood of Sambhal, North India. Mir Saiyed 'Ali's death occurred in violent encounter with thieves, 998/1589. 'Alâ ud-Din Awadhi possessed aesthetic training and composed poetry under the pen-name 'Ala. He was also an expert of Indian music. As spiritual guide, he enabled a large number of young men to reform themselves and some of them gained fame for devotion to God and scholarly habits. But, he was chiefly remembered, in the centuries that followed, for one of his small poems having been introduced in the elementary school syllabus. In every *madrasah*, children chanted its rhymes in their loud and sweet tones. The poem is known by its initial words : *Mâ maqûman*.

'Ali b. Hûsâm ud-Din, lived during the time of the Lodi Sultans and was acknowledged as a sufi of Qâdiri order. He translated from Arabic into Persian the letters of Shaikh 'Abd ul-Qâdir Jilânî, founder of the Qâdiri order, who emigrated in young age from his place of birth, Gilân, North Iran, and settled in Baghdad (d. 561/1166). The Shaikh did not address these letters to any individual. Just, he wrote eighteen short discourses explaining the salient features of sufistic teachings for moral instruction of his disciples. The translation was entitled *Maktûbat-i-Ghausiyah*.

‘Abdul-Qāddūs Gangohi (d. 945/1537) was a sufi contemporaneous with the Lodi Afghān kings and witnessed the invasion of Bābūr, who inaugurated a new era in Indian history. Originally, he belonged to Rūdauli, a town in Awadh, and was the spiritual descendant of Shaikh Ahmad ‘Abd ul-Haq, the saint of that place. Many nobles serving under the later Lodi Sulāns, Sikandar and Ibrāhim, were his disciples. In old age he moved to Gangoh, a place in district Sahāranpūr, where a tomb was erected on his grave and his devotees gather annually to commemorate his death anniversary. He was an impressive letter writer and author of many treatises, the one praising the virtues of his teacher, Shaikh Ahmad ‘Abd ul-Haq, acquired popularity. It was entitled *Amwār ul-ūyūn fi Asrār ul-Maknūn*.

Farhang-Ibrāhīm Shāhi : An anonymous dictionary of Persian language. The author dedicated it to Sūltān Ibrāhīm Lodi and seemed to have enjoyed the patronage of that monarch (d. 933/1526).

Jamālī Dehlawī (d. 942/1536), better known as Darwesh Jamālī, was a typical sufi, who devoted a considerable part of his life to free-wandering across the Islamic cities. Notwithstanding his voluntary poverty and resignation from the world, Jamālī maintained connection with the sovereigns of his age; and they treated him with admiration and respect for his pious conduct, literary polish and scholarship. Jamālī was an accomplished poet and addressed poems in praise of contemporary rulers; although, obtaining patronage or worldly gain could not be his object. His span of life covered a long period from the reign of Sūltān Sikandar Lodi to that of the Emperor Hūmāyūn. He closely observed the drama of events, particularly, the transition from Sūltān Ibrāhīm Lodi to Bābūr, which Indian history unveiled during the period. His main contribution as author was a book dealing with the biographies of fourteen celebrated saints of the *Chishtī* order from Khwajah Mu‘in ud-Din of Ajmer down to his own spiritual guide, Shaikh Sama ud-Din. There are frequent digressions in each chapter, wherein Jamālī’s observations as a scholar and widely travelled man made it a significant work of Medieval Indian literature. Its title was *Siyar ul-‘Arifin*. Also, Jamālī left a sufistic poem : *Mir‘at ul-Ma‘ani* and a *Diwan* of verses.

Gul-Rukhi, Sikandar Lodi (d. 923/1517) was the second and most illustrious Sultān of Lodi Afghān dynasty. He was the patron and friend of a large number of scholars who flourished during his reign, and himself composed verses under the pen-name mentioned above. Writers of anthologies have preserved his verses.

Regional Dynasties

As a general rule, empires are dismembered if the central authority ceases to be strong. In India's specific case, Muhammad b. Tughlūq, an awkward sovereign tirelessly experimenting with adventurous and risky policies, was the main agent responsible for initiating disintegration. Timur's invasion struck the final blow. What happened was expected : the provincial governors became independent and founded their dynasties in different regions of the sub-continent. Viewed politically, their period was marked by mutual quarrels, bloodshed, and wars, causing large scale devastation and incessant anarchy. As regards literary and cultural activities the times were not so disappointing. For, the capital of every kingdom served as a nucleus where scholars were sheltered and encouraged. In the reckoning of Ferishta, the author of *Gulshan-i-Ibrahimi*, there were eight dynasties ruling simultaneously with their liquid boundaries and encroaching freely upon each other : 1. Gulbargah - Bidar, 2. Gujrat 3. Malwah, 4. Khandesh, 5. Bengal, 6. Jaunpur, 7. Sind - Multan, 8. Kashmir.

1. The Bahmani Kingdom of the Deccan

It emerged within the lifetime of Sultān Muhammad b. Tughlūq himself. The army generals of the Deccan, fed up with the Sultan's uncertain and harsh behaviour, elected one of their old leaders, Ismā'il Mūkh, as their independent lord in open defiance of the central authority, 747/1346. The news made the Sultān furious; he cursed and abused the conspirators one whole night. A year later Ismā'il abdicated due to old age in favour of

the more energetic commander, Hasan Ganga, who ascended the throne as Hasān Bahmani, 748/1347. His descendants ruled till 924/1518. Gulbargah served as the capital of nine Bahmani Kings; the remaining six had their seat of power at Bidar. As time passed, those two cities became important centres of art and culture and their fame spread to wider parts of the Islamic lands. Particularly, a large number of scholars from Iran and Central Asia were attracted to settle there. The Bahmani kings were ardent promoters of knowledge and possessed refined manners. One of them Muhammad Shah II left his name in history for extending invitation to Khwajah Hāfiz; he regularly sent gifts to the poet through the merchants of Shirāz. The other celebrated guests, who responded to the courteous gesture of the Bahmani kings, were the family members of Shah Nīmat ullah Wali, the Saint of Kirman. Most of the learned men who passed their lives in Gulbargah and Bidar were decidedly gifted with high degree of talents. The works produced by them exhibited their achievement in serious application of mind.

'Ain ud-Din Bijāpuri was a scholar living at the court of Hasan Kango Bahmani, Sūltān 'Ala ud-Din Hasan Bahman Shah (d. 760/1358), founder of independent kingdom in the Deccan after the death of Sultan Muhammad b. Tughlūq, whose policies caused the disintegration of Delhi's central authority. Initially, the capital of Bahmani kingdom was the city of Gūlbargah. Later on, the ninth sovereign of the line moved it to Bidar. 'Ain ud-Din came from Bijapur and settled at Gulbargah where he enjoyed the patronage of the Sultan and engaged himself in scholarly pursuits. He added a supplement to the history of *Munhaj-i-Siraj*. The latter left his *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* on the account of Sultan Nasir ud-Din Mahmūd, to whom the work was dedicated. 'Ain ud-Din carried on the narrative further down to his own times. Ferishta utilised it as a source and extracted facts from 'Ain ud-Din's now extinct *Zamimah-i-Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*.

Gesūdarāz, Khwājah Bandah Nawāz, Saiyed Muhammad (d. 825/1422) was the talented disciple of Shaikh Nasir ud-Din Mahmud Chirāg-i-Delhi, at whose command he migrated to South India and settled at Gulbargah, the capital of Bahmani Kingdom during his days. The Bahmani rulers treated him with respect, and in return, the saint prayed for

their welfare. Prior to choosing Gulbargah for his permanent residence, he passed a few years roaming through the cities of Gujrat. His mission as representative of the *Chishti* order in the Deccan was fully successful and he left a lasting influence of his long life, spanning over more than a hundred years. Khwajah Gesū-darāz imparted instruction to a large number of devotees and his *Khanqah* at Gulbargah became a centre of attraction for seekers of spiritual light. Like his Chishti predecessors, the Khwajah was a thoroughly disciplined scholar and wrote a number of books. Mentionable are : 1. *Asmār-ul-asrār*, 3. *Hada'iq-ul-Uns*, 3. *Wupūd ul-'Ashiqin*, 4. *Irshad us-Salikin*, and 5. Translation of *Risalah-i-Qushairi*, one of the earliest works on Islamic sufism written by Imān Abu'l Qāsim Qushairi (d. 465/1072). Of his many talented disciples, at least two, Muhammad 'Alī Samāni and Muhammad Husaini, had been careful enough to maintain the record of his *Malfūzat* - sayings, under the titles : *Siyar-i-Muhammadi* and *Jawami'ul-Kilām* respectively. Also, Gesū-darāz left his *Diwān* of verses.

Azari, Shaikh (d. 866/1461) belonged to Isfarā'in, a small town in Khurasan, and embarked on a wandering career in young age. He performed pilgrimage of the holy cities of Mecca and Medinah, and travelled to India. He passed from Delhi, and stayed for many years in Gulbargah and Bidar, capital cities of the Bahmani Kingdom. He finally returned to his native land. Azari combined piety and learning in his character and was simultaneously a brilliant conversationalist. Sultān Ahmad Shāh Bahmani was deeply impressed by the Shaikh and often enjoyed his company till late evenings. He was an accomplished poet; and literary critics have rated him highly in their estimate. In later life, he developed the reputation of a saint. Men and women of his town still venerated him and paid their visit to his grave. Shaikh Azari was the author of many books : 1. *Jawāhir ul-asrār*, 2. *Aja'ib-ul-Ghara'ib*, 3. *Sa'ī us-Safa*, 4. *Tughra-i-Hamayān*, 5. *Bahman-namah*, versified chronicle of the Bahmani dynasty of South India, in fact, a token of gratitude for the good treatment the Shaikh had received at the court of Ahmad Shāh Bahmani, and 6. *Diwān* of verses.

'Abd ul-'Aziz b. Sher Malik (d. unknown) was a noble at the court

of Ahmad Shāh Bahmani, ruler of Deccan (d. 862/1457) and had close relationship with members of the royal family. Customarily, the kings of Bahmani dynasty showed deep respect towards men of learning and piety and the same example was followed by their nobles and subjects. They left their memory in history for inviting Khwajah Hafiz of Shiraz to India. And, when the sufi, Khwajah Gesū-darāz, came from Delhi via Gujrat to settle at Gulbargah, the above-named Ahmad Shah entered the circle of his disciples. As a mark of his devotion to Shāh Nī'mat ullah Walī of Kirmān, he sent him an earnest request to visit the Deccan. The saint's grandsons responded from Kirmān and were treated with honour. Abdu'l-Aziz wrote a treatise in praise of the saint and named it *Munqib-i-Hazrat Shah Nī'mat ullah Walī*. A similar work was composed by him extolling the spiritual merits of Khawajah Gesū-darāz Bandah-nawāz, which appeared under double title : *Tarikh-i-Habibi wa Tazkirah-i-Murshidi/Khawariq-i-Bandah Nawaz*.

Dāwūd Bidari, Mullā witnessed the days of Sūltān Firūz Shah (d. 826/1422) and his successor, Ahmad Shāh (d. 840/1436), the Sultans of Bahmani Kingdom, whose patronage the Mullā enjoyed. He was the author of a lost history narrating the account of his Bahmani masters. Ferishta, Shaikh Azari, and others drew material from the work. Its title was : *Tuhfat-us-Salatin*.

Naziri Tūsi belonged to Mashhad, Iran, and was employed at the court of Sūltān Ahmad Shah II Bahmani (d. 863/1458) at Bidar, Deccan. In his *qasidas*, Naziri praised Shāh Khalil ullah, son of the saint of Kirmān, Nī'mat ullah Walī, who responded to the invitation of the Bahmani King, and came to live in the Deccan with his two sons. His chief patron was the prime minister, Khwajah Mahmūd Ganwan. As Shaikh Azari left his *Bahman namah*, versified history of the Bahmani dynasty, incomplete due to death, Naziri and his associate, Mullā Sami'i, attempted to complete the work. The portion added by Naziri and Mullā Sami'i, now destroyed by time had the distinct title, *Malhaqāt-i-Bahman Namah*.

Qādiri, Shams ud-Din (d. unknown) lived in the city of Bidar, the Deccan, although his ancestors originally belonged to Mūltān. His family carried the traditions of sufism and he was himself trained in the same

discipline. As a token of his attachment to Shaikh 'Abd ul-Qādir Jilāni, founder of the Qādiri order (d. 561/1166), he wrote a treatise in praise of spiritual qualities possessed by the Shaikh. Its title was *Makhzan ul-Qādiriyah*, completed ca. 975/1567.

Muhammad Shāh II (d. 800/1397) was the fifth in ruling line of Bahmani dynasty. The seventeen successors of Hasan Kango Bahmani, initially provincial governor of Sultān Muhammad b. Tughlūq, ruled over the Deccan for one century and nine decades (748/1347-945/1538) with the two cities of Gulbargah and Bidar as their capitals in succession. Most of the Bahmani Sultans being men possessed with scholarship, made persistent effort to promote art and culture in their realm. Particularly, they welcomed talents from Iran with open arms. Muhammad Shāh II left his reputation in literary history for extending invitation to Khwajah Hafiz of Shirāz. The other sovereign, who shared the honour with him, was Sultān Ghiyās ud-Dīn 'Azam Shāh (d. 812/1409) of Bengal. To the latter, the great poet complimented by mentioning his generosity in one of the lyrics. But, Muhammad Shah's invitation lured Hāfiz to leave Shiraz, temporarily at least. Having travelled to the sea-port of Hūrmūz, the Khwājah changed his mind and preferred not to sail for India. Muhammad Shāh's teacher was Mir Fazl ullah Injū, an emigrant from Iran known for his intellectual merits and worldly experience. Injū's training made the Sultān an adept in poetry and calligraphy. He composed fluent *ghazals*.

Firūzi (d. 826/1422) was the eighth king of Bahmani dynasty ruling in the Deccan, and before accession to the throne, composed under the pen-name 'urūji, which he changed as above. During his reign, Gulbargah, his capital, rose to fame as a seat of art and culture. As Timur's armies devastated many places of Central Asia and Iran, his court became a welcome refuge to men of letters from those regions. A contemporary of Timur, he implored friendship of the tyrant by despatching an embassy loaded with precious gifts. Firūzi's *Diwān* of verses did not survive. Only, the historian, Ferishtah, preserved two of his *ghazals* and a *rubā'i*.

Muhammd b. Husain (d. unknown) lived at the court of Sultān Mahmūd Shah II, the Bahmani ruler, whose seat of power was Bidar, the Deccan. He was the author of I. a general history from Adam down to the

death of Sultān Muhammad b. Humayun Shah Bahmanī (887/1482). Its later portion contained original information. He brought it under the title *Safwat ul-Akhbar* and 2. another work of history which has not survived. Its name was *Siraj ul-Akhbar*.

‘Abd ullah b. Safī (d. unknown) was an Iranian emigrant and lived at the court of Sultān Ahmad II, the Bahmanī king of the Deccan (840/1436,-863/1458). Having arrived in India, ‘Abd ullah succeeded in gaining adequate knowledge of Sanskrit. He translated from that language a book on horse and presented it to his patron. Ancient Indian literature was remarkably rich in Farriery Science = *Salhotra*, and the learned men of India paid keen attention to study the qualities, habits, and diseases etc. of horse in view of the usefulness of that animal. ‘Abd ullah’s work appeared under the title, *Tarjūmah-i-Salhotra*, ca. 862/1457.

Mahmūd Gāwān, Shaikh ‘Imād ud-Dīn (d. 886/1481) served as prime minister in the government of Sultān ‘Ala-ud-Dīn Bahmanī and his successors, kings of the Deccan. He came from Gilan, Iran, and due to his abilities, Bidar, the capital of Bahmanī rulers, became famous as a seat of learning and culture. He built a *madrasah* in that city, where scholars from Islamic world came as seekers of knowledge. His literary taste revealed itself in the field of letter writing; and among his friends with whom he had regular correspondence there were Maulana Jami and the great teacher Jalāl ud-Dīn Dawānī of Shirāz. The collection of his letters has survived under the title : *Riyāz-ul-Inshā*. Also he wrote a tract on rhetoric, *Manāzil ul-Inshā*, and left a *Diwān* of verses.

Bājan, Shah Bahā ud-Dīn was a *Chishtī* sufi of Burhānpur, Deccan. During his travels, he had passed through all the important cities of the Islamic world. An excellent bi-lingual poet, he composed songs in Hindi under the pen-name mentioned above. Among Shah Bajan’s disciples was the scholar and saint, ‘Alī Muttaqī, who passed many years in Burhānpūr and Gujrat before going to settle at Mecca (d. 975/1567). A regular listener of *Samā* = sufi music, Shah Bajan’s Hindi songs and Persian *Diwān* were available to the later generations of Indian sufis.

Mirānji, Shams ul-‘Ushshāq, (d. 902/1496) lived as a sufi in Bijapur,

Deccan and was acknowledged for possessing high degree of learning. He was a *Khalifah* = spiritual successor, of Khwājah Gesū darāz, the *Chishtī* saint of Gulbargah. A bilingual poet composing both in Dakani Urdu and chaste Persian, Mirānji, like other sufis, played active role in raising the standard of Indo-Islamic scholarship. Besides, a *Diwān* of verses, he left a tract in prose mixed with verse, *Irshād-ut-Talibin*.

Jānūm, Shah Burhan ud-Din (d. 990/1582) was the son of Shāh Mirānji, the sufi-poet of Bijapur, Deccan. By their service to the development of Urdu language, the so-called Dakani, at its early stage, both the father and the son left their permanent impact as pioneers of Indo-Islamic culture. Jānūm was a sufi like his father and lived the ideal life of piety and poverty. Important among Jānūm's many works were the sufistic treatises : 1. *Kashf ul-'Awālin* and 2. *Makhzan us-Salikin*.

'Ali Muttaqi b. Hūsām ud-Din (d. 975/1567) was famous for his saintly qualities and scholarship of religious sciences. He was initiated into spiritual discipline by Shāh Bājan, a *Chishtī* Sufi of Burhanpur, and spent many years in company of his Shaikh before departing finally to the holy city of Meccā. 'Ali Muttaqi became prominent in the realm of learning due to his encyclopaedia of traditions, an improvement on Sāyūtī's *Jām'ul-Jawāmi'*. In his work 'Ali Muttaqi arranged the traditions in alphabetical order, naming it: *Kanz ul-'Ummal*. Of his thirty-three works, the most popular among the Sufis were: 1. *Salak ur-Riyal*, 2. *Aqrab ut-Tariq*, 3. *Kifayat-i-ahl-i-Yaqin*, and 4. *Risalah dar 'Alamat-i-Mahdi Akhir uz-Zaman*, etc.

I'yāni lived at the court of the Bahmani kings of Bidar, Deccan, and witnessed the reign of Sultān Mahmūd Shah, the last important ruler of the dynasty (d. 924/1518). I'yani prepared a versified account of his patron's military achievements, *Fath-nāmah-i-Mahmūd Shahi*, and left a *Diwān* of verses.

Tauzih ul-Illhān was an anonymous work on music. Its author served at the court of Sultān Muhammad Shah d. 924/1518), 14th ruler of Bahmani dynasty. The Bahmani kings of the Deccan were patrons of the fine arts and some of them achieved fame as poets and connoisseurs of music

themselves. The author praised his patron Muhammad Shah, in the introduction and acknowledged his mastery over many subjects, particularly, mathematics, which he applied to the construction of his buildings, and the science of *adwār* = rotation of sounds, that is, music. Furthermore, he said that the king inspired him to write the above mentioned *Tauzih ul-Ilhan*. Having arranged his material in four sections, the author continued discussion of the subject in the *Khatimah* = termination.

2. The Kingdom of Gujrat

As Timūr returned after plundering Delhi, Zafar Khān, the then provincial governor, controlled the law and order of Gujrat practically as an independent ruler. In a few years, he assumed the royal title, Muzaffar Shah. His dynasty retained its glory till the time of the eighth successor, Sultān Bahadur Shah, whom the Portuguese treacherously killed by drowning in the sea, 943/1537. Among the Sultāns of Gujrat the most accomplished and successful was Mahmūd Begarah (864/1459 - 917/1511). It may be remembered that during his reign Vasco da Gama discovered the new sea route from Europe to Asia via the Cape of Good Hope, 904/1498. The landing of the Portuguese on the coast of Malābār was a significant and epoch-making event. For, it transformed the destinies of the two continents. Only six years earlier, (898/1492) Columbus had reached America. Soon, the world was going to realize the importance of sea power.

However, Sultan Mahmūd Begarah was a great patron of learning. His court was flocked by brilliant people in every field of art. He and his nobles had a keen sense to appreciate genius representing diverse fields. So were the scholars, who had full awareness of the traditions of taste which their respective spheres demanded. Mahmūd Begarah founded a new city as his capital : Champāner.

Qawām, Shaikh Shihāb ud-Dīn (d. 794/1391) lived in Nagaur, Rajasthan, during the days of Zafar Khān, the first Independent ruler of Gujrat, and earned his living as physician. Essentially a scholar of Islamic medicine, he possessed knowledge of *Ayurvedic* system as well. His books dealing with medical science were 1. a versified description of

diseases and their treatment, *Shifa ul-Maraz*, also known as *Tibb-i-Shihabi* after the author's name; its metre being *mūtaqārib*, and 2. a similar work dedicated to the above mentioned king, *Shifa ul-Khānī*. Also, a dictionary ascribed to his pen was *Farhang-i-Shihabi*, 790/1388.

Ahmad-i-Maghribi, Shaikh (d. 849/1446) was also called Ah-mad-i-Khattā in memory of the village that had been his teacher's seat of residence; his own place of birth was Delhi. Babā Abū Ishāq Maghribi, the Shaikh's spiritual preceptor, originally belonged to the North African region of Algeria and Morocco, called by the Arabs as 'Maghrib'. After great wanderings, he finally came to settle in India, and chose Khattā, a village near Nāgaur, Rajasthan, as his resting place. An interesting legend explained how the link was established between Baba Abu Ishāq and his illustrious *Khalifah* = spiritual successor : Ahmad, the child, once playing in front of his house in Delhi, was blown away by a high velocity wind, and when the storm subsided, he found himself in the lap of Babā Abū Ishāq, many miles remote from Delhi. The Baba undertook his upbringing and trained him in sufistic discipline. The story reflected the psyche of the typical Sufi, who readily believed in the events of mystery and miracle. Every Sufi's memory was the store-house of a thousand and one tales of wonder; and invariably they were excellent listeners with credulity as their common characteristic. Shaikh Ahmad lived for about one hundred and eleven years. As a young man, he witnessed the reign of Firūz Shah, the last great Tughlūq (d. 790/1388), and again, the Shaikh was in Delhi when Timūr-i-Lang destroyed and burned it (801/1398). He marched as a prisoner of war with Timūr's army, and convinced the tyrant of his piety and miraculous power, who at last set him free. Having travelled over a large part of the Islamic world, he returned in old age to Gujrat, where Sūltān Ahmad I, the independent king of the area, came under his influence and served him as a disciple. Both the Shaikh and the Sultan being Ahmad, the capital city founded by the latter was named Ahmadabad (814/1411). Needy people enjoyed the saint's generosity and called him *Ganj-bakhsh* = giver of treasures, for, he instantly gave away as charity what he received as gifts. His utterances *Malfūzāt* have survived under the title : *Tuhfat ul-Majālis*. Another disciple, Muḥammad b. Abū'l Qāsim, preserved them as *Malfūzāt-i-Ahmad-i-Maghribi*.

Muhammad b. Abu'l Qāsim (d. unknown) lived as a sufi in Ahmadābād, Gujrat, and was the spiritual disciple of Shaikh Ahmad-i-Maghribi. He collected the sayings = *mafūzāt* of his Shaikh under the title : *Mafūzāt-i-Ahmad-i-Maghribi*.

Yahyā Gujarati, Maulanā was a scholar and poet of the reign of Sūltān Ahmad I, founder of the city of Ahmedabad. He composed a chronogram when the congregation mosque of the capital was completed in 817/1414.

Qawām ud-Din Muhammad Būkhārī : His ancestors emigrated from Būkhāra and settled in Ahmadabad, Gujrat, where he was respected for his religious scholarship. He wrote a treatise on *taḥwīd*, the science of reciting the Qur'an and named it *Zubdat ul-Qir'at*.

Mahdi: Saiyed Muhammad Jaunpuri : (See Abdul Malik Sajawandi p. 274. Also see Muhammad Qadir Khan Munshi p. 723)

Muhammad Jalil Shāhi Rizawī was spiritual successor of Saiyed Muhammad b. 'Abd ullah Shāh-i-'Alam, a sufi of Rasūlabād, Deccan. He wrote a book for the guidance of people interested in moral improvement. It appeared as *Din ul-Māridin*, completed ca. 829/1426.

Hulawī Shirazī lived as a poet at the court of Sūltān Ahmad I, and his successors, the kings of Gujrat. He wrote a versified history of his patrons, particularly, narrating interesting details about the beauty of their capital founded by the above named Sultan in 814/1411. No copy of its manuscript has been traced; but, long extracts of verses from the book were cited by the author of *Mir'āt-i-Sikandari* and other writers of anthologies.

Shahidi Qūmmī (d. 935/1528) belonged to Qum, the centre of religious education near Tehran, Iran, and started his career as a poet at the court of Sūltān Yāqūb (d. 996/1490) of Tabriz, representing the Aq-Qoyunlu dynasty. Later on, he came to India and travelled across Gujrat and the Deccan. Ismā'il 'Adil Shāh, Sūltān of Bijapur, conquered the fort of Bidar (936/1529) and permitted his servants to plunder away the treasure of the

Bahmani kings hoarded in that fort. Shahidi's ready wit pleased the monarch, who on hearing that the poet had double energy at the time of leaving Gujrat, ordered him to go twice into the treasury vault. He swept twenty five thousand *hans* = gold coins, as booty. He died at Ahmadabad and found a grave in Sarkij, the famous burial ground of the saints and sultans of Gujrat. Taqi Auhadi and Amin Ahmad Rāzi preserved Shahidi's verses in their *tazkirahs*. Also, his *Diwān* has survived.

Ibn Afrash was an Arab scholar and lived at the court of Sūltān Mahmūd Begarah of Gujrat (d. 917/1511). At the instance of the Sūltān, he translated into Persian the work of Qāzi 'Iyaz (d. 544/149) on the virtuous qualities of the Prophet, peace be on him, and the duties of a Musalmān. The *Qāzi*, a Maliki jurist, traditionist, historian, man of letters, and poet, was one of the most important personalities of *Andalusia* (Spain). The title of his book was *Shifa*.

'Abd ul-Karim Hamadani started his career in the service of Turān Shāh, ruler of the Iranian sea-port of Hūrmūz (d. 875/1417), who sent 'Abd ul-Karim as his diplomatic agent to India. He stayed for many years in Ahmadabad, Gujarat and Gulbargah in the Deccan. Inspired by the Intellectual atmosphere at the court of Sūltān Mahmūd Begarah of Gujrat, he attempted a history on the familiar *tabaqat* model. In nine *tabaqat* = layers, each dealing with a century from the Prophet to his own times, he prepared a sketch of the past. But, the last *tabaqah* and the *Khatmah* = termination, describing contemporary events of South India till the year 905/1500, were full of interesting details. In acknowledgement of the king's kindness, the scholar named the work after him as *Tabaqat-i-Mahmūd Shahiyah*. The other great man, whose hospitality he enjoyed, was Mahmūd Gāwān, the prime minister (d. 886/1526) of the Bahmani Sultāns of Bidar and Gulbargah. Abd ul-Karim's account of the life of Mahmūd Gawān was incorporated into his book by the historian Ferishtah.

Yūsuf b. Ahmad Sijzi was a scholar at the court of Sūltān Mahmūd Shāh Begarah, ruler of Gujrat (863/1458-917/1511). At his royal patron's instance, he translated into Persian the famous Arabic work of Ibn Khallikān (d. 681/1282) and named it *Manzar ul-Insān fī Tarjūmat Wafayāt ul-A'yān*, completed in 895/1489.

'Abd ul-Khâliq Balrâmi (d. 895/1489) was called *Sarbirahnah* by his contemporaries, meaning bare-headed, a practice usual among certain sufis. He lived in Gujrat and was treated with kindness by Sultân Mahmûd Begarah. His contribution was a history of his times, which he dedicated to his patron; its title being *Ma'asir-i-Mahmûd Shahi*. Later on, some unknown author added an appendix to the above work, naming it : *Zamimah-i-Ma'asir-i-Mahmûd Shahi*.

Zirak, Shams ud-Din Muhammad came from Shiraz and enjoyed the patronage of Sultan Mahmûd Begarah of Gujrat (d. 917/1511). According to Ghausi Shattâri, the sufi scholar of the days of Akbar, Zirak obliged his royal benefactor as the latter requested him to write a history of his reign. Many critics, later on, doubted the authenticity of Zirak's authorship, and the work was treated as anonymous. Its title was *Ma'asir-i-Mahmûd Shahi*, ca. 930/1523.

Abû Bakr Bharochi was a native of Bharoch, Gujrat, and lived as a scholar at the court of Mahmûd Shâh Begarah, king of Gujrat (d. 917/1511). At the instance of his royal patron, he made a Persian translation from Arabic of Ibn ul-Jazri's prayer book : *Hisn-i-Hasin*, 910/1504. Muhammad ibn Jazri (d. 833/1429) was a scholar of Syria and one of the great reciters of the *Qur'an* who had witnessed the horrors of Timûr's invasion. He was inside the city when the invader laid siege to Damascus. Inspired in dream by the Prophet, he prepared a collection of prayers, mostly traditions, naming it: *Hisn-i-Hasin*.

Faiz ullah Binbani was a scholar whom Sultân Mahmûd II of the Bahmani dynasty employed as his counsellor. Later on, he shifted from Deccan to Gujrat and passed the rest of his life in the service of Sultan Mahmûd Begarah, the popular ruler of the area. Faiz ullah's chief contribution was a universal history written on the pattern of earlier classical scholars. From Ibn Jarir Tabari (d. 311/923) Muslim historians learned the scheme of surveying human scene in continuity from Adam, the progenitor of mankind, down to a hasty or detailed description of men and events around them according to their own taste or as their circumstances allowed. Indiscriminate and prosaic borrowing was

unavoidable in case of later writers who persisted in following the method. Nor could Faiz ullah be an exception in arranging the vast material. He adopted three sub-divisions *qism*, *maqalah* and *tabaqah*. But, at the end of his book he infused an appeal and originality into the account while describing the India of his times. There were revealing observations made by him about the dynasties of his benefactors, the Bahmani rulers of the Deccan and, particularly, the kings of Gujrat. The work has been known simply as : *Tarikh-i-Sadr-i-Jahan*. Also, he prepared a collection of interesting anecdotes, the "Mirror for the Princes" type of work, with a view to impart moral instruction; its double title was : *Khulasat ul-hikayat / Majma' un-Nawadir*, 907/1501.

'Abd ul-Husain Tūnī belonged to Tūn, a town in Khūrasān, and started his career under the renowned prime minister of Bahmani kings, Mahmūd Gāwān (d. 886/1481). After his patron's death, he moved to Ahmadabad and found employment in the court of Sultan Mahmūd Begarah of Gujarat, famous for his kindness towards men of letters. 'Abd ul-Husain was the author of a detailed history of the ruling dynasty of Gujrat, which he dedicated to the above-named king, naming it as : *Ma'asir-i-Mahmūd Shahī*.

Sharaf ud-Din Muhammad (d. 921/1515) was a scholar of the time of Sūltān Mahmūd Begarah, king of Gujrat, and enjoyed the patronage of his son, Prince Muzaffar II. His ancestors emigrated from Bukhārā and settled in Ahmadabad. He wrote a history of the independent rulers of Gujrat in three sections, *tabaqāt*. Zafar Khan Muzaffar Shah I, founder of the dynasty, was placed in the first section. The second *tabaqah* dealt with the four kings, who followed Muzaffar I. They were Ahmad Shah, Muhammad Shah, Qutb ud-Din, and Dāwūd Shah respectively. His contemporary monarch, Mahmūd Begarah, received the author's attention in the third and only surviving *tabaqah* of the book. The account came down to the year of the Sūltān's death, 917/1511. Interestingly, Ferishtah and all the later historians of Gujrat seemed to have used the work as their source without mentioning the author's name by way of acknowledgement. As planned by Sharaf ud-Din Muhammad, the book must be the *Tarikh-i-Gujrat*, although the suggestive title

arbitrarily given to the existing portion has been *Tārīkh-i-Mahmūd Shāhi*.

Zain ul-'Abidin, Mulla Mir Tabib served as physician at the court of Sultān Bahādūr Shāh, the ruler of Gujrat. He translated Najib ud-Dīn Samarqandī's medical treatise, *Khamsah*, from Arabic and named his work, *Risālah-i-Faiziyah*, 943/1536.

Bakhshū Nāyak was one of the few great musicians born in India. Initially, he started his career at the court of Rajah Man Singh of Gwalior (d. 924/1518), an expert of the science of Indian music himself. Later on, he was invited by Bahādūr Shāh, king of Gujrat (d. 943/1536), and moved to Ahmadabad, where his master's encouragement soon enabled him to attain perfection. Bakhshū wrote a treatise on music : *Rāg-mālā*. After about a century, the work attracted the notice of Shāh Jahan, the Mughal emperor (d. 1077/1666), who ordered it to be translated into Persian. The version appeared under the title : *Hazār-dhrupad*.

Husām Khān was a noble of Sultān Bahādūr Shāh of Gujrat (d. 943/1537). His grandfather, Jamāl ud-Dīn Mūhāfiz Khān, enjoyed the confidence of Sultān Mahmūd Begarah, who appointed him *Shahnah* = Police Chief of his capital. Mūhāfiz Khān supervised the construction of palaces and gardens as the Sultān laid down the foundation of his new capital at Champaner. Hūsām Khān was a military officer and trusted courtier of Bahādūr Shāh. Earlier, he served under Muzaffār II, and was present on the occasion of the coronation ceremony of Bahādūr Shāh, 932/1526. Later on, he witnessed Hūmayun's invasion and defeat of the armies of Gujrat, 941/1535. Hūsām Khān was the author of a general history of India in which regional dynasties particularly, the Muzaffarids of Gujrat, received ample highlight. It was dedicated to his benefactor and named after him : *Tārīkh-i-Muzaffar Shāhi*, ca. 940/1533.

Tārūmī (d. 941/1534) emigrated from his home town, Tārūm, in the neighbourhood of Samarqand, and came to Ahmadabad, where Sultān Muzaffār II of Gujrat (d. 932/1526) treated him with kindness. At the instance of his royal patron, he wrote a commentary on *Sūrah VI (Ina'm)* of the Qur'ān, and named it : *Risālah-i-Firdawsiyah*.

Múhyi Lâri lived as a poet at the court of Sultân Muzaffar of Gujrat (d. 932/1525). He went on pilgrimage to Mecca and Medinah and wrote a *masnawi* in praise of the holy cities, dedicating it to his royal patron. It was named *Futûh ul-Haramain*.

Qâni'i, Mir Saiyed 'Ali was a poet and historian at the court of Sultân Muzaffar II, king of Gujrat (d. 932/1526). In response to the desire expressed by his royal patron, he wrote a history of his dynasty, narrating in particular, Sultân Muzaffar's military expedition, 923/1517, to extricate his friend and ally, Sultân Mahmûd Khalji of Malwah, from the clutches of his ambitious prime minister, Medni Râi. The latter had reduced Sultân Mahmud to the miserable position of a puppet. Qâni'i accompanied his master and depicted eyewitness report of the events that followed. He arranged the work into an introduction and ten chapters. Its title was *Tarikh-i-Muzaffar Shahi*, ca. 924/1518.

Mûti'i was a poet of the court of Sultân Bahâdûr Shâh of Gujrat (d. 943/1536). He composed a *masnawi* in praise of his patron. Its title was *Ganj-i-Ma'ani*. The deposition of last Mâlwah-Sultân, Mahmûd Khalji, and annexation of his kingdom into Gujrat, has been narrated, together with other details of his master's reign, in the above-mentioned *Ganj-i-Ma'ani*.

Arâm Kashmiri was a poet at the court of the last kings of Gujarat and enjoyed the patronage of Saiyed Mubâarak Bukhârî, an influential nobleman, who played active role in the politics of Gujarat before the kingdom was merged by Akbar into the Mughal empire. At his master's instance, Arâm narrated a history of the reign of Sultân Muzaffar III (d. 961/1537). Ample space was devoted by the author to the services his patron rendered and efforts he made as a loyal servant to save the kingdom from eclipse and final downfall. The title of his work was : *Tuhfat us-Sa'adat*. Later historians of Gujarat, chiefly, Hâji ud-Dabir and Sikandar, borrowed information from it, although no intact copy has been discovered hitherto, of the original *Tuhfat us-Sa'adat*.

Zain ul-'Abidin b. Saiyed Abu'l Husain Hashimi was a scholar enjoying the patronage of Sultân Muzaffar Shâh of Gujrat, 917/1511-933/1526. Having arrived from Iran, Zain ul-'Abidin applied his mind to various

branches of knowledge including the study of Sanskrit. As he found interesting material in ancient Indian literature regarding the kinds and qualities of horse, he obliged his royal patron by writing a book on that subject. The work gained popularity as *Faras Namah-i-Hashimi*, completed in ca. 926/1519.

Wajih ud-Din Alawi, Shaikh (d. 997/1588) lived in Ahmadabad, Gujrat, as spiritual successor = *khalifah*, of Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus Gwaliari, the scholar-saint of the days of Humayun and Akbar. Like his teacher, he was also known for his scholarship and wrote glossaries on textbooks of philosophy and jurisprudence, which were avidly studied by young students. One of his disciples collected his sayings under the title : *Bahr ul-Haqā'iq*.

Mahmūd b. Munawwar (d. unknown) lived in Ahmadabad and was the author of a history of the kings of Gujrat from Sultan Ahmad (d. 846/1442) to Sultan Muzaffar III (d. 980/1572). Its title was : *Tārīkh-i-Salatin-i-Gujrat*.

3. The Kingdom of Mālwah

Dilāwar Khān Ghori, the last Tughlūq governor, became the first independent king of province when Timūr left Delhi. The dynasty founded by him, 804/1401, exercised power despite many vicissitudes till their kingdom was again integrated into the Mughal empire, 969/1562. The Mālwah kings and their neighbouring rulers hardly remained at peace with each other. Intrigue, jealousy, conflict and war determined the pattern of their policy. They squandered away major portion of their resources in mobilizing the armies and crushing the might of each other. None the less, the land of Mālwah was fertile and prosperity returned during every short respite of peace. Another bounty of nature was healthy climate : the people were pleasure-loving : most of them liked folklore, classical music, dance and romance. It must not be surprising that the history of independent Mālwah kingdom ended in the love tale of Bāz Bahādūr and Rūpmati.

To their credit, the ruling classes were not impervious to the value of

culture and knowledge. The scholars who wandered into their capital cities, first Dhār and next Māndū alias Shadibād, as seekers of employment and livelihood, received warm welcome. Although the number of books written under their patronage was not large, quality distinguished both the writers and their works.

Badr ud-Din Dehlawi was born in Delhi and received his early education in that city. On the invitation of Dilāwar Khān, the founder of the ruling dynasty of Mālwah, he shifted to the city of Dhār, where his royal patron offered him the post of *qazi*. His life long association with the place made him famous as 'Dhāriwāl'. He was the author of a dictionary: *Adat ul-Fūzala*, completed in 822/1419.

'Abd ullah, Shāh (d. 890/1485) was the founder of Shattari order in the sub-continent. Originally, he belonged to the neighbourhood of Bukhara, and after much wandering across the cities of Islamic world, at last came to settle in Māndū, capital city of the independent Sultāns of Mālwah claiming descent from Khalji clan, the Turko-Afghan mixture. Shah 'Abd ullah's contemporary rulers: Ibrāhīm Sharqī of Jaunpūr, Ghiyas ud-Din of Bengal, and Sultān Mahmūd Shah of Māndū, all respected him for his scholarship and pious character. Prior to the Shāh, the order was familiar by the names of *Bastamiyah* / *'Ishqiyah* in Ottoman Turkey and Trans-Oxiana respectively. The members of the order were famous for their intense devotion to prayers and spiritual exercises. As defined by the Shah himself, there were three categories of the seekers of Divine knowledge: *akhyār* = best, *abrar* = pious and *shuttar* = swift-footed. The latter constituted those who crossed the stages of spiritual path reaching Divine nearness at a swift speed. Shāh 'Abd ullah favoured that distinction for his order. Hence, the fraternity assumed the said title. He wrote a book which his later followers, particularly, Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus, made a testament of their creed. Its title was: *Lata'if-i-Ghaithiyah*.

Bahā ud-Dīn, Shaikh (d. 921/1515) was a sufi of the *Shattari* order, who settled in Māndū, capital of Khalji Sultāns of Mālwah, after completing the necessary Sufi exercise of free-wanderings. He was the author of a tract, in which he discussed the rules of his order and prescribed ten, instead of usually seven, stages = Muqāmāt, for spiritual

enlightenment leading to *fana* = annihilation, and attaining *baqa* = everlastingness. These were 1. Repentance, 2. Renunciation, 3. Trust, 4. Contentment, 5. Retreat, 6. Contemplation, 7. Patience, 8. Satisfaction, 9. Remembrance, and 10. Rapt Attention. His work was widely read and acquired much popularity; its title was *Risalah-i-Shattariyah*.

Muhammad b. Dāw'ūd Shādiābādī was a scholar at the court of Muḥammad Shāh Khaljī, king of Mālwah (839/1435-873/1468), and resided in his capital, Māndu alias Shādiābād. He was the author of 1. A dictionary: *Miftah ul-fuzala*, completed in 873/1468; 2. A commentary on the *qasidahs* of Khāqānī: *Sharh-i-Diwan-i-Khaqani* and 3. A similar commentary on difficult verses of Anwari: *Sharh-i-Qasa'id-i-Anwari*.

Shihāb b. Muḥammad was an emigrant scholar from Iran and lived at the court of Sultān Maḥmūd Khaljī (d. 880/1475), King of Mālwah. Possessed with the knowledge of veterinary science, he wrote a book on horse, naming it *Manafi' ul-Faras*.

'Alī b. Maḥmūd Kirmānī known as Shihāb-i-Hakim, was a scholar living in the times of Maḥmūd Shāh Khaljī and his son, Ghiyās ud-Din Khaljī, the rulers of Mālwah (805/1402-907/1501). He wrote a history of the Mālwah dynasty and named it after his patron: *Ma'asir-i-Maḥmūd Shāhi*.

Tārīkh-i-Nāsiri was an anonymous work of history narrating the account of Sultān Nāsir u-Din Shāh of Mālwah, whose reign lasted from 906/1500 to 917/1511. The book was utilized by later historians, who obtained material from it concerning the Mālwah dynasty, of course, without caring to acknowledge the author.

Maḥmūd Ayāz belonged to Shādiābād, Māndu, the capital of the Khaljī Sultāns of Mālwah. As their power declined, the scholars of their court dispersed to various places in search of livelihood. Maḥmūd moved to a place, not mentioned, where the cruelty of infidels made life miserable and he fled for safety to Būrhānpur. Soon after, he was employed as physician at the court of Yūsūf 'Adil Shāh, founder of the ruling dynasty of Bijāpūr (d. 916/1510). He reached there, as mentioned by him, in the

year 922/1516. During the days of distress, Mahmūd Ayāz thought of writing a book on sex education and present it to the above named king in order to gain his favours. The plan succeeded exactly as he desired. He collected in the work prescriptions of aphrodisiacs borrowed from Ayurvedā and other extraneous sources. It appeared under the title *Miftah us-Sūrūr-i-'Adil Shahi*, 922/1516.

4. The Kingdom of Khandesh

Malik Rājah Fārūqī was initially an ordinary soldier and rose to high position by personal merits. He and Dilāwar Khan Ghori were great friends and behaved like brothers. Both married their daughters to the sons of each other. So, when Dilāwar Ghori, the governor of Malwah, declared his independence, Malik Rājah tightened his grip over the principality of Khāndesh, an area situated between Gujarat and Malwah. The dynasty lasted, as remarked by Ferishtah, "A little less than two centuries." 972/1564. During the days of Malik Rājah's son, Nasir Shāh Fārūqī, the prestige of the kingdom touched its height. He invited a large number of learned scholars to his court. Whenever a neighbouring adventurer invaded Khāndesh, these holy men interceded to save the Fārūqī kingdom. The sufi, Shaikh Zain ud-Din, spiritual successor = *Khalifah*, of Būrhān ud-Din Gharib, was Nasir Fārūqī's contemporary and exercised much influence over the ruler. Like his Chishti predecessor, Shaikh Zain accepted no maintenance grant at all. Conceding his devotee's insistence, he suggested that a city might be founded in memory of his Shaikh. So, Nasir Shāh Fārūqī founded the city of Burhānpur. And, at the same time he laid the foundation of another town, Zainābad, as a token of his devotion to Shaikh Zain. Būrhān ud-Din Gharib passed his last days, as *Khalifah* of Nizām ud-Din Auliya, in Daulatabad. However, by founding the city named above, Nasir Shāh Fārūqī created his permanent connection with the Shaikh.

Muhammad Hakim Gilāni was employed as a physician by Mirān Muhammad Shāh Fārūqī, ruler of Khandesh (943/1536). He wrote a book on sex education and dedicated it to his patron under the title: *Matlab ul-Mubashirin*, ca. 943/1536.

‘Abd ul-Latif, Hāji (d. unknown) served as secretary to Rājā ‘Alī Khān Fārūqī of Khāndesh, Būrhānpur, whose kingdom was annexed by Akbar. The Rājā was a scholar himself and maintained correspondence with literary men of his age. ‘Abd ul-Latif, an expert of secretarial profession, could write excellent prose and was a poet as well. He prepared a work in mixed prose and verse dealing with contemporary men and events and dedicated it to his master. Its title was: *Nafa’is ul-kalam wa ‘Arā’is ul-Iqlām*, completed ca. 984/1576.

5. The Kingdom of Bengal

During the later period of Tughluq dynasty when the central authority showed obvious signs of weakness, a nobleman named Hāji Ilyās exercised complete sovereignty over the province of Bengal. Although his dynasty was deprived of power in course of time, no firm control over Bengal could be re-established till Akbar displaced the Afghāns, and their leader, Dāwūd, b. Sūlaimān Karrāni, was defeated and died, 983/1575. Among the kings of Bengal whose period coincided with the Saiyeds and the Lodis, the most outstanding was Ghiyās ud-Din A‘zam Shah b. Sikandar Shah. Ghiyās ud-Din’s court was famous as a galaxy of scholars; and the Sūltān keenly attended their learned discussions. He despatched invitation to Khwajah Hāfiz of Shirāz requesting the poet to visit his court. The Khwajah sent a *ghazal* and paid his thanks to the Sūltān. The following were the authors of the period :

Nūr Qūtb-i-‘Alam (D. 818/1415) lived as a sufī in Pandwā, Bengal, when the Tughluq Sūltāns maintained their sway over Delhi. In Bengal, he witnessed the period of Ghiyās ud-Din A‘zam Shah (d. 812/1409) and his successors. Nūr Qutb-i-‘Alam was the author of two books explaining the essential teachings of sufism : *Anis ul-Gūraba* and *Dalil uz-Zakirin*.

Husain-i-Mū‘iz Balkhi was the son of Shaikh Mū‘iz and nephew of Shaikh Muzaffar, the two disciples of the eminent sufī, Shaikh Sharaf ud-Din Ahmad, b. Yahyā Maneri of Bihār. Their family emigrated from Balkh and finally settled in Bihar as representatives of the *Firdawsīyah* order, a branch of the Suhrawardis. His father and uncle stayed a long time in Delhi, receiving theological and spiritual education; and the family’s

contacts with the scholars of the imperial capital were intimate. Shaikh Mūzaḥḥār addressed letters full of moral and political exhortations to the last great Tughlūq, Sūltān Firūz Shāh, and Sūltān Ghiyās ud-Dīn A'zam Shāh. (792/1389-812/1409). The latter paid his respects to Shaikh Husain when the Shaikh went on pilgrimage to Mecca via sea port of Chittagong, a centre of trade and source of revenue to Sūltān A'zam Shāh's government. Like his father and uncle, Husain-i-Mū'iz was trained in mystic path by Shaikh Sharaf of Maner. He compiled his spiritual mentor's discourses = *malfūzāt*, under the title : *Ganj-i-la Yafnā*. Nī'mat ullah, another sufi disciple of Shaikh Hūsain, issued forth his own version : *Ganj-i-la Yakhfā*. Shaikh Hūsain was the author of a liturgical manual in ten sections : *Aurād-i-dah fasli*. As a poet, he composed a *masnawī* of about four thousand verses on Rumi's pattern, naming the poem : *Ifrikhar-i-Hūsaini*.

'Abd ur Rahim b. Ahmad Sūr Bihari belonged to the ruling Afghān race, but renounced the world and adopted a sufi's life of piety and poverty. He settled in Bengal, where many disciples gathered around him for seeking spiritual knowledge. In course of his lectures he collected the phrases from sufistic textbooks which carried esoteric meanings and arranged them alphabetically, naming the dictionary : *Kashful-Lūghat*, ca. 929/1519.

Muhammad Būdḥ 'Alawī lived in Bengal during the days of Sūltān 'Alā ud-Dīn Husain Shāh, the independent ruler of the province (899/1493 to 925/1518), whose period coincided with the reign of Sūltān Sikandar Lodi at Agrā and Delhi. Muhammad Būdḥ combined with his scholarship the training of soldierly profession. The field, in which he possessed specialized knowledge, was archery, a favourite subject of the Turks in their scheme of warfare. Essentially, bow and arrow being weapons of a foot-soldier manoeuvring on the ground, the Turks developed their own device of shooting three arrows at a time from the saddle of their horse galloping at top speed. Their deadly shafts discharged in the course of wheeling motions, filled the 'columns' of the Crusaders with dismay in spite of the crusading knight's superior lance and straight lengthy swords, and caused, as Edward Gibbon estimated, "the depopulation of Europe". Muhammad Būdḥ wrote a small treatise, naming it *Hidayat ur-Ramī* = A

Guide to the Archer, which was dedicated to the king, 'Alā ud-Dīn Hūsain Shāh. In the preface, he stated the purpose of his writing : "There are many books on this subject, a few of them very famous, but I learned some wonderful tricks from various masters which I could not find recorded by earlier authors. I was, therefore, moved to preserve them in this brief tract." He divided the contents into twenty-seven chapters and many of them were further sub-divided into sections. A single legend may reveal that the author's method of writing was full of interest : "Adam, the progenitor of mankind, peace be on him, was the first archer, indeed. Our common ancestor started cultivating the land, and crows, nasty birds as they are, tormented him and destroyed his crop. Adam prayed; and God Almighty in His mercy sent the Angel, Gabriel, with a bow and quiver full of arrows. The Angel demonstrated and Adam learned the art of shooting arrow. The first shot went off the mark and Adam felt unhappy. Garbriel descended again from Heaven and disclosed that his sons would always fight fiercely amongst themselves. Now, that the first arrow had missed the target, there was a hope that his race would survive in spite of bloodshed. The words spoken by the Angel made Adam glad". Nations of the world : Arabs, Turks, Persians, and Indians, and their distinct methods of archery corresponding to climate, topography and other factors have found separate chapters in the *Hidayat ur-Romī*, ca. 925/1518.

6. The Sharqi Kingdom of Jaunpur

Malik Sarwar, a eunuch, obtained the titles of Khwājah-i-Jahan and Malik ush-Sharq, and was appointed governor of Jaunpur by the last Tughlūq Sultān. Ambitious and competent, the eunuch assumed independence like other governors. But, as the historian Ferishtah pointed out, circumstances took adverse turn and dragged him from *takht to takhtah* = throne to scaffold, after six years and a few months. His adopted son and heir, Mubarak Shāh, survived only about one year. Ibrahim Sharqi, the third in the line, proved himself the most successful ruler; he ruled for over forty years. Possessed with intelligence, he organized his power carefully and gathered wise advisers around him. Similarly, the army under his command had been strong enough to deter the unscrupulous and

war-mongering neighbours. His lavish patronage of scholars made him a very popular monarch. During his reign Jaunpūr became the centre of learning : its fame continued undiminished till the time of his third successor and last king of the dynasty, Hūsain Shāh Sharqī, 881/1476. The important scholars and writers under the Sharqī kings were the following :

Ashraf Jahāngir Simnāni (d. 840/1437) was a sufi born at Simnān, North Iran, who left his home at an early age and travelled widely through many important places of the Islamic world. Another saint, Mir Saiyed 'Alī Hamadāni, was his companion in the free-wanderings. Although 'Ala ud-Dawlah Simnāni was an elder sufi and his fellow-townsmen, Ashraf did not perfect his discipline under him. Another sufi, Shaikh 'Abd ur-Razzāq Kāshāni, undertook his formal initiation. During the course of his journey from Trans-Oxiana, Turkey and Syria to Delhi and Pandwa in Bengal, he met so many important sufis living in various towns, and finally, came to settle at a small place, Kachochah, not very far away from Jaunpur. His *Khānqah* soon became the centre of attraction for seekers of mystic path. He was an ardent defender of Ibn 'Arabi's theory of Unity of Existence = *Wahdat ul-wājūd*, and advised his disciples to study the Andalusian saint's classic, *Fūsūs ul-hikam* and other books. Primarily a darwesh, nonetheless, he maintained relations with the rulers of his day. Sultān Ibrāhim Sharqī of Jaunpūr (804/1401-850/1446) and Sultān Hūshang Shāh of Mālwah (809/1406-839/1435) were regular recipients of his letters, whom he advised to be just and diligent in worldly matters. Interestingly, Ashraf Jahāngir was the contemporary of Khwājah Hafiz of Shiraz, in whose letters and sayings we find an eye-witness account of Iran's great poet. Out of a number of works ascribed to his pen, only two have survived : 1. A collection of his letters, *Maktūbat-i-Ashrafī*, and 2. As usual among the sufis, his utterances = *malfūzat*, were preserved by his disciple, Nizām Yamani, under the title : *Lata'if-i-Ashrafī*.

Husām ud-Din Mānakpūri (d. 853/1450) : His home-town Mānakpūr, was situated near Allahabad and had acquired distinction as a centre of learning and spiritual training. He learned sufi practices under the guidance of Shaikh Nūr Qātib-i-'Alam, a saint of Bengal, whose

Khanqah was situated in the city of Pandwā. His life passed in Manakpur. Initially a Chishti, he supported Ibn 'Arabi's theory of *Wahdat ul-Wujūd* enthusiastically. His disciple, Farid b. Sālār, collected his conversations = *malfūzāt*, under the title : *Rafiq ul-'arifin*. As author, his own work was *Anis ul 'Ashiqin*.

Arzāni Shihāb was a disciple of Shaikh Hasām ud-Din Mānakpūrī (d. 853/1450) who honoured Arzāni by appointing him as his *khalifah* = spiritual successor. He collected his Shaikh's letters : *Maktūbat-i-Mānakpūrī*.

Ibrāhīm Qawām Fārūqi, Shaikh, lived in the town of Maner, Bihar and was the disciple of the great sufi, Shaikh Sharaf ud-Din Ahmad b. Yahyā Manerī. He seemed to have stayed for some time at the court of Rūkn ud-Din Bārbak Shāh, the king of Bengal (863/1458-879/1474), whose desire was to leave his name as a patron of scholars. Later on, Ibrāhīm Qawām travelled to Lucknow, where his last days were passed. He compiled a dictionary, and as a token of gratitude to his spiritual guide, named it *Sharaf-namah-i-Manerī*, completed in 877/1472.

Shihāb ud-Din Daulatābādī (d. 849/1448) lived at the court of the Sharqi Sultans of Jaunpur and served as qāzī of the Sharqi kingdom for about forty years. He wrote 1. A book in praise of the descendants of the Prophet : *Manāqib us-Sadat*, 2. A commentary on the *Qur'ān*, famous as : *Tafsir-i-Daulatabādī* / *Bahr-i-Mawwaj*, 3. A tract on rhetoric, *Ḳīmī' us-Sana'i*; 4. Another on grammar, *Irshād fi Nahv*; 5. Prepared a collection of legal digests dedicating it to his royal patron, *Fatāwa-i-Ibrāhīm Shāh*; and 6. Another work of jurisprudence, *Taisir ul-Ahkām*.

Sho'aib, Shaikh (d. 834/1430) was a sufi belonging to the *Firāwānī* order, its centre of activities being the town of Bihar Sharif, near ancient Nālandā. He was the author of a *tazkirah* of sufis, paying special attention to those who flourished in the region of Bihar, and named its *Manāqib ul-Asfiyā*.

Tāj ud-Din Maliki, Mūfti (d. unknown) lived during the time of Sultān Mahmūd Shāh, ruler of the Sharqi kingdom of Jaunpūr (d. 862/

1457). His patron was the Sultān's nobleman, Nasir ud-Din, b. Baha ud-Din, whom his master appointed *muqta'* = governor, of the province of Bihar. Nasir ud-Din was an efficient administrator and promoted religion and culture during his tenure of governorship. The congregation mosque at Bihār Sharif, ancient Nālandā, and another in the same neighbourhood, were built by him in 867/1443, and 857/1454, respectively. Taj ud-Din Maliki served as *Mufti* = judicial authority, of the area under Nasir ud-Din's control. At the latter's instance, Taj ud-Din, a scholar of Sanskrit, translated *Hitopdesa*, the Indian classic of fables used in ancient days for moral and political instruction of the princes. He dedicated the work to his friend, the governor of the province, and named it: *Mufarrah ul-Qulub*, completed c. 860/1455.

Zābitah-i-Tasrif was an anonymous tract explaining the rules of grammar, by a scholar, who lived at the court of Sultān Ibrāhīm Sharqi at Jaunpur. He dedicated the above-named work to his royal patron, Ibrāhīm Sharqi (d. 844/1440).

Yūsūf Būdh (d. 834/1430) belonged to Erich, a town near Kalpi (Jhānsi) in Bundelkhand, Central India. His teachers were Saiyed Jalāl Bukhārī, *Makhdūm-i-Jahāniyān Jahan Gasht*, the sufi of Uchchah, Sind (d. 785/1384), and Saiyed Rājū Qattāl (d. 827/1423). Shaikh Yūsūf Budh translated into Persian Imām Ghazālī's book: *Minhaj ul-'Abidin*. Prior to Shaikh Yūsūf Budh, it seemed, an unknown scholar had prepared a free version of the same which acquired popularity in sufi circles. Interestingly, the existing Aligarh manuscript bears a seal of the Mughal emperor, Shāh 'Alam Bahādūr Shāh I, son and successor of Aurangzeb, together with a note by Mirza 'Abd ur-Rahim (must be royal librarian) saying: "This book was once in the library of Shaikh Nizām ud-Din Auliya. The great saint had made his initials in the end. During the tumultuous days of Humayun Sher Shah, it suffered depredation and the colophon bearing autograph of the Shaikh was destroyed." Shaikh Nizām ud-Din Auliya (d. 725/1324) preceding Yūsūf Būdh by almost a century, the above mentioned manuscript was the earlier translation. Nonetheless, Yūsūf Budh's work also appeared repeatedly in lithograph with the advent of printing press in the sub-continent. Indian sufis consistently retained their interest in

Ghazali's *Minhaj ul-Abidin*.

Muhammd b. Bihāmid Khān served as a military officer under the ruling dynasty of Kālpi, whose semi-independent position lasted from 797/1394 to about 842/1438. He possessed land-grant at Erich, Bundelkhand, and was influenced by the teachings of a holy man of the town, Shaikh Yūsūf Budh. He renounced official career and turned to the life of piety and devotion according to the instructions of his spiritual mentor. As the sufis were lucky enough to be free from worldly distractions, reading and writing became part of their habits and they could save enough time from their daily routine of prayers and spiritual exercises. Muhammad b. Bihāmid Khan chose for himself the subject of history for mental cultivation and started his scholarly project from the life of the Prophet. Having brought the work down to his own times, he infused it with original information about the house of his masters, the rulers of Kālpi. He had succeeded his father in their service and therefore, heard many reports besides observing the events personally. His work, in the beginning, intended to trace the life and career of the Prophet, came out as a regional history full of revealing details not preserved elsewhere. Its proposed title being *Tārikh-i-Muhammadi*, scholars usually mentioned it by the author's name : *Tārikh-i-Bihamid Khani*.

Mim, Shāh lived as a sufi in Jhunsi, a village in the neighbourhood of Allahabad, where Māh-i-Sha'bān-i-Bayābani (see Sha'bān ul-millāh), an emigrant sufi from Sind, established his spiritual centre. Shah Mim composed poetry and left a *Diwan* of verses. He wrote a biography of his spiritual guide belonging to the above-mentioned saint's line. Its title was *Halat-i-Shah 'ūsman Akbar* (d. 821/1418).

Mū'in ul-Haq was a sufi living at Jhūnsi, a village near Allahabad, where his ancestor came to settle and made it their monastic centre. In the course of his sufi wanderings, he went to Bhakkar, Sind, and obtained a certificate of his pedigree from his relatives of ancestral line, who lived in that city. He composed a *Nasab-nāmah*, affirming his descent from the Prophet, and further extended the work to include the genealogy of the Prophet and his family. Also, he accommodated an account of Saiyeds of Bhakkar and the essential teachings of sufism in that book. It appeared as

Manba'ul-Ansab, completed in 830/1427.

'Aziz ullah Bastāmi (Malik), lived as a poet at the court of Mubārak Shāh Sharqi (d. 804/1401). A few poems of Malik 'Aziz ullah have survived in literary collections. Saif Jām Harawi, a contemporary, prepared a *bayāz* = collection, accommodating Malik 'Aziz ullah's verses in it under the title : *Majmu'ah-i-Lata'if wa Safinah-i-Zara'if*.

Abū Sa'eed Qūraishi (Ali Quraishi) lived in Jaunpur and enjoyed the patronage of Sultān Husain Shāh Sharqi (d. 905/1499). He compiled a treatise dealing with simple religious matters of everyday practice in the form of questions and answers. The book was dedicated to his royal master and gained popularity under double title : *Tūhfah-i-Husain Shahi / Hairat ul-Fiqh*.

Minā, Shah, Muhammad b. Shaikh Qutb ud-Din (d. 874/1469) was a sufi in Lucknow and witnessed the days of the Sharqi Sultans, Mahmud Shah and Husain Shah. Impressed by his piety a large number of devotees gathered around him. A disciple, Muhyi ud-Din Rizawi Husaini, collected his utterances under the title, *Malfūzat-i-Shah Mina*.

Muhyi ud-Din Husain was a Husaini Saiyed and lived as a Sufi in Lucknow. He was a spiritual successor = *Khalifah*, of Shaikh Muhammad b. Qutb alias Shāh Minā, whose biography survived from his pen : *Manaqib-i-Shah Mina / Malfūzat-i-Shah Mina*.

Sa'd ud-Din Khairabādi (d. 882/1477) was a spiritual disciple of Shāh Mina, the sufi of Lucknow. His father was *qāzi* = jurist of Khairabad, Awadh, but he spent all his life in religious pursuits and imparting of instruction to devotees and young students. He wrote a book on the essential teachings of sufism in which he made ample references to the sayings of his Shaikh, Shāh Mina. Its title was *Majma'us-Saluk*.

Nizām ud-Din Qalandar was a sufi scholar who wandered freely across the cities of the Islamic world. Finally, he settled in Jaunpur, North India, where Sultān Husain Shah Sharqi (d. 911/1505) treated him with respect. Nizām ud-Din depicted topics of interest to the sufis, in a large

poem, which survived as *Qasidah-i-Kubrā*. Also, he wrote in prose dealing with moral and religious matters in five sections and dedicated it to his patron, Sultān Hūsain Shāh. Its title was *Sirat-i-Mustaḡim*, completed ca. 881/1476.

7. The Kingdom of Sind-Multan

Jām Nizām ud-Din b. Salāh ud-Din was the ruler of Sind at the time of Timūr's invasion. Since the advent of the Muslims, two clans, namely, Sūmmirah and Sammah, held their sway over Sind. Subsequently, they were converted to Islam. The dynasty of the Jāms ruled till about 927/1520. They were overthrown by the Arghūns, who were of Mongol race. The founder of their dynasty was Shāh Beg Arghūn. Mūltan passed on to the control of another local clan, the Lankāh. Their domination was terminated by Shāh Hasan, son of Shāh Beg. Shah Hasan Arghūn handed over the territory of Mūltan to Babūr. As the Safawid monarchs established themselves in Iran, a large number of Hanafī religious scholars left their homes and migrated to the cities of Sind. The works produced by them were mostly in Arabic covering the subjects of traditions, commentary, and jurisprudence. However, some of the Persian scholars who lived in Sind during and a little after that period deserve mention: -

Shams ud-Din Gilāni came from Gilān, Iran, to Uchchah, Sind and settled as a scholar in that city. It seemed that he was the disciple of Mullā 'Alī Qūshji (d. 879/1474), the mathematician of early Timūrid era, who lived in Samarqand, the intellectual capital established by Timur's grandson, Sultān Ulūgh Beg. Shams ud-Din desired that his son should lead successful and virtuous life, and therefore, he informed the young man about diverse professions and engagements, which could subscribe to make man's life happy on this earth and raise him to dignified position in society. The title of the book of knowledge was *'Ajib wa Gharib*.

Qādiri Gilani, Saiyed Muhammad Ghaus Hasani (d. 923/1517) was born in Aleppo, Syria, where his parents settled as emigrants, and passed early life in free wanderings, the usual practice of the sufis. Later on, he came to Uchchah, Sind, and made the city his permanent

home. He composed poetry and left a *Diwan* of verses.

Jahāngir Hāshimi (d. 946/1539) belonged to Hamadan, Iran, and was the grandson of the famous saint, Shāh Ni'mat ullah Wali. He emigrated to Tattah, Sind, and visited many other cities of the sub-continent. During the reign of Sher Shah Suri, the Afghan monarch, Jahāngir Hashimi passed a few years in Delhi, the imperial capital, and was treated with respect for his pious background. He composed a *masnawi* on the model of Shaikh Nizāmi and named it *Mazhar ul-Asār*.

Būrāni, Abū Sa'id Muhammad b. Bāyazid (d. unknown) was a scholar of Sind and enjoyed the patronage of Mirzā 'Isā Tarkhān and his son, Mirzā Sālih Tarkhān Bahādūr. He desired to attempt a history of the dynasty of his benefactors and showed a few pieces of his writing to Mirzā Sālih Bahādūr. The prince was very much pleased and encouraged him to undertake the work more extensively. Burani divided the material into an introduction and four sections. The *Muqaddimah* carried the history of the prophets and a fleeting and legendary account of the Mongols, ancestors of the Arghun and Tarkhān potentates, down to Timūr. In the four succeeding sections devoted to 1. Amir Zūnnūn Beg, founder of the dynasty, 2. Shuja' Beg and Mirza Muhammad Muqim, 3. Mirzā Shāh Hasan (d. 962/1554) and 4. Mirzā 'Isā, the author revealed information of interesting nature. The account terminated at the early phase of Mirzā 'Isā's career, when he was clashing with his kinsman, Mir Muhammad Bāqi; it did not cover the diplomatic negotiations of Khān-i Khānān, who persuaded Mirzā 'Isā to accept Akbar's allegiance. Būrāni's work appeared under the title: *Nāsrat namah-i-Tarkhān*, completed in 976/1565.

Idrāki Tattawi lived in Tattah, Sind, during the days of Mirzā 'Isā Tarkhān. He depicted the history of Sind at the instance of Amir Qāsim Beglar, a nobleman of that province, and named it *Beglar-namah*, ca. 1010/1601.

Fakhri Harawi Sultan Muhammad (d. unknown) came from Herat, Khurasan, and was entertained by Shāh Hasan Arghūn (d. 962/1554), the semi-independent ruler of Sind, whose capital at Tattah had acquired the

reputation of a cultural centre. Fakhri acknowledged the kindness of his patron by dedicating him two books : 1. A biographical account of royal poets, particularly, the Timùrid princes, wherein he included his remarks about the career of Shāh Hasan as well : *Rauzat us-Salatin*; 2. A tract on rhetoric, *Sana'ī' ul-Hasan*; and 3. A *tazkirah* of poetesses, earliest of its kind in Persian Language, was presented to Shāh Hasan's talented queen. Māh Begūm, its title was *Jawāhir-ul-ajā'ib*. Thereafter, Fakhri shifted to Akbar's court at Agrā. He made further improvement on the above named *tazkirah* and re-dedicated it to Akbar's foster mother, Maham Begūm. Among other works of Fakhri were : 4. a *Bayāz* = notebook, containing *ghazals* of poets composed in uniform metre and rhyme, *Tuhfat ul-Habib*, 5. A volume of historial anecdotes for moral instruction and enlightenment, *Haft-kishwar*, and more important than the rest, 6. Persian translation of Mir'Ali Sher Nawa'i's Turkish *tazkirah* of poets, *Majalis un-Naf'is*, which appeared with relevant additions as : *Lta'if namah-i-Fakhri*.

Hāshim b. Muhammad Hūsaini was an emigrant scholar living in Sind, where his patron was Mirzā Muhammad Baqi, son of Mirzā 'Isa Tarkhān, the semi-independent ruler of Sind. Hāshim Hūsaini wrote a concise handbook of general knowledge dealing with items of immediate interest and benefit to the kings. These were, according to him, chiefly horses, elephants and hawks etc. The work pursued discussion : "What the kings desire" : *Maram ul-Mulūk*, completed in 993/1585.

Jamāl Hūsaini resided at the court of Mirzā Sālih b. Mirzā 'Isa Tarkhān, who served as *faujdar* of many districts in Sind and Gujrat during the reign of Shāh Jahān. Later, he was promoted as governor of Tattālī. Responding to the request of his master, Saīyed Jamāl Hūsaini wrote a history of the Tarkhān and Arghūn dynasties, whose power and influence lasted in Sind for centuries. The work acquired popularity under double title : *Arghūn-namah / Tarkhān-namah*, ca. 1060/1650.

8. The Kingdom of Kashmir

Sultān Sikandar's name was read in *Khutbah* = congregation sermon, and minted on coins when the ninth century of Hijrah = fifteenth A.D. began.

Sikandar personally met Timūr's envoys in Jammu as the invader was advancing towards Delhi. Naturally, their exorbitant demand of gold and horses was beyond his capability to satisfy. Fortunately, however, Kashmir was saved from the wrath of the blood-thirsty tyrant. During Sikandar's reign a large number of Muslim refugees came to settle in Kashmir: they fled from their homes in Iran and Central Asia dreading the havoc created by Timūr. Prominent among them were the Baihaqi Saiyds. Baihaq was the old name of Subzwār, Khūrāsān. Their leader, Saiyed Mahmūd Sabzwāri, settled them in Kashmir and returned to Jārichah near Delhi. The said village was gifted to him as *madad m'ash* grant by Saiyed Mubarak Shāh. Later on, Sultān Bahlul Lodi added another adjacent village, Chholas, to the earlier grant. Saiyed Mahmūd was a *darwesh* and lived in celibacy. His descendants, the sons of his two brothers, still live in those villages.*

Sikandar was a devout person: he forbade music, gambling and other frivolities. Also, he frowned at idol worship. Thanks to his Brahman prime minister, Sūhā Bhat, a convert and therefore, zealot proselyte, Sultān Sikandar earned the exaggerated title of *Bātshikan* = idol breaker. On the other hand, his son and successor, Sultān Zain ul-'Abidin, was quite tolerant and liberal in his policy. He set up a paper factory, first of its kind in the sub-continent, and his efforts ended in raising the cultural standard of Kashmir. The people gratefully addressed him as *Bādshah* = great king. After the reign of Zain ul-'Abidin, Kashmir lapsed into instability and turmoils lasting many years. Finally Akbar annexed it into the Mughal empire, 995/1586. From cultural point of view, the period under review abounded in brilliant scholars:

Saiyed Mahmūd Sabzwāri, came as leader to the Baihaqi Saiyeds, who left their hometown after it was invaded and ruined by Timūr. Initially, he reached Delhi, but turned to Kashmir and arranged to settle his party in Srinagar. Sultān Sikandar treated him and his followers with kindness. Seemingly, Saiyed Mahmūd was a typical *darwesh* and had wandering habits common to his fraternity. He returned to Delhi where Saiyed

* *Baharistan-i-Shahi and : A Comprehensive History of India*, Vol. 5, p. 748 (ed. Habib and Nizami).

Mubarak Shah gave him a village, Jarichah, as *madad ma'ash* = maintenance grant. From Delhi he wandered away to Bengal. Sultān Ghiyās ud-Dīn A'zam Shah was impressed by his learning and piety. As it was the practice of many Muslim kings to marry their daughters to Saiyeds, Sultān Ghiyās ud-Dīn proposed the marriage of his daughter to Saiyed Mahmūd. He declined as he bound himself with the vow of celibacy customary among many sufis. However, on his suggestion the princess was married to his nephew, Saiyed Hasan. Saiyed Mahmūd passed his last days in Delhi, but the link with Kashmir continued. He was a poet and composed *qasidahs* praising the pious habits and religious zeal of Sultān Sikandar. Also, an elegy mourning the death of that Sultān has survived in the anonymous *Baharistan-i-Shahi*.

Hamzā Kashmiri (d. 984/1576) was the follower of *Sahrawardi* order and received spiritual training under the guidance of Saiyed Jamāl ud-Dīn, a wandering sufi of Delhi, who once made a short visit to Kashmir. In one respect, Shaikh Hamzā resembled the earlier sufis of Baghdad, Junaid (d. 298/910) and Hūsain b. Mansūr Hallāj (d. 309/922). For, like them, he often went into the state of ecstasy for longer periods. Transcendental experiences beyond the world of matter were familiar to all the sufis, more or less. Shaikh Hamzā's pupil, Dāwūd Khaki, recorded his *malfūzat* = sayings, in the sufistic tract : *Dastūr us-Salikin*, and in the poem : *Wird ul-Muridin*.

Haidar Gujrati, was born in Ahmadabad, Gujrat, and enjoyed long life, more than one hundred and ten years, as a sufi. Summoned by Shaikh Hamzā, the saint of Kashmir in a dream one night, Mir Haider, a boy of fifteen, took permission of his uncle, who was his guardian, and proceeded from Gujrat to Kashmir, where he soon accomplished his spiritual education under the guidance of the above-named Shaikh. He undertook many journeys, but finally returned to Kashmir. A few years before death, Mir Haidar once enjoyed the vision of Owais-i-Qarani, the earliest sufi, who lived during the time of the Prophet and lost his life supporting the cause of 'Alī against Mu'awiyah in the battle of Siffin (37/657). The great saint encouraged him to write a book on sufism. Accordingly, Mir Haidar attempted in five chapters the *Hidayat ul-Mukhlisin*, ca. 993/1585.

Unable to face their aggressive hostility, Mir Shams ud-Din had to leave Kashmir, temporarily at least. He moved towards Baltistán, Ladakh, where success came easily. The Buddhist inhabitants of the area embraced Islam, albeit, *Shi'ah Isna 'Ashari* sect, in response to his call. As Mūsā Raina became prime minister of the Kingdom, he returned to the Valley once again and pursued his programme without hindrance. His enthusiasm led to the conversion of a sizable section of local population. Particularly, he influenced the nobles of Chak clan to enter the fold of Shi'ah faith. Mir Shams ud-Din 'Iraqi translated a book on jurisprudence, written in Arabic by his teacher, Mir Saiyed Muhammad Nūr Bakhsh, *Fiqh-i-Ahwat*.

Muhammad 'Ali b. Maulana Khalil ullah, Mullā belonged to Kashmir and was the sufi disciple of Mir Shams ud-Din 'Iraqi, earliest Shi 'ah preacher in the valley of Kashmir. He wrote an anthology of the saints of the *Nur Bakhshi* order, its founder was Saiyed Muhammad (d. 869/1464). The latter's spiritual guide was Khawajah Ishaq Khatlani, who proposed to Saiyed Muhammad the appellation, *Nur Bakhsh*. And, in turn, Khwajah Ishaq's teacher was Mir Saiyed 'Ali Hamadani (d. 786/1385). The title of Mullā Muhammad 'Ali's anthology was *Tahfat ul-Ahbab*.

Qutbi, Sūltān Zain ul-'Abidin (d. 874/1469) was the popular ruler of Kashmir whose reputation has survived due to his policy of broad-mindedness and tolerance. His achievements were remarkable as a patron of learning and culture. He imported the technique of paper making and made Kashmir the centre of that valuable industry. At his instance, important works of Sanskrit, particularly, *Mahabharat* and *Rajtarangini* of Kalhan were translated into Persian. During the period of his rule, which lasted for over half a century, Kashmir reached the high water-mark of prosperity. A large number of learned men flourished under the Sultan's patronage, and he was a poet himself composing under the pen-name mentioned above.

Nādimi, Mullā was the court-poet of Sūltān Zain ul-'Abidin of Kashmir (823/1420-874/1469). As the Sūltān established a paper factory, the first of its kind in India, by inviting expert paper-makers from Qazwin, Nādimi commemorated the event in a poem, which has survived. Later on, during

the days of the Mughals, the paper made in Kashmir vied in quality with that of Samarqand.

Mansūr b. Muhammad served as a physician at the court of Sūltān Zain ul-'Abidin, ruler of Kashmir. Earlier, it seemed he enjoyed the patronage of Timūrid princes, chiefly, Mirzā Pir Muhammad (d. 809/1407), grandson of Timūr, who controlled a small principality in Trans-Oxiana. In honour of the said prince, Mansūr b. Muhammad wrote his work dealing with astrology, *Kitāb-i-Mansūri*. Further, he dedicated his compendium of medical sciences to Sūltān Zain ul-'Abidin, naming it *Kifayah-i-Mujahidiyah*.

Ahmad Allāmah, Maulanā lived in Kashmir during the days of Sūltān Zain ul-'Abidin, the popular ruler of the land (823/1420-874/1469). He followed the teachings of Shaikh Nūr ud-Din Wali, a sufi who preached his disciples in the local Kashmiri dialect. One of Shaikh Nūr ud-Din's devotees collected and compiled his sayings under the title *Nūr-namah*, which came down as one of the earliest documents of Kashmiri language. Maulanā Ahmad 'Allamah translated the above-mentioned *Nūr-namah* into Persian and named his version *Mir'at ul-Auliya*.

Ahmad, Mullā was the court poet of Sūltān Zain ul-'Abidin of Kashmir whom the Sūltān honoured by conferring the title of *Malik ush-Shu'ara* = poet-laureate. At the instance of his patron, he translated from Sanskrit the historical works *Ratna Pūrān* and the more celebrated *Rajatarangini*. Also, a Persian translation of the *Mahabharat*, the earliest by a Muslim scholar, has been ascribed to the pen of Mullā Ahmad.

Waisi Mantiqi, Bābā Mir Saiyed Muhammad Amin Baihaqi (d. 889/1485) lived in Kashmir and was respected for his spiritual life and literary talents. He was the son of Mir Saiyed Husain Baihaqi. Waisi Mantiqi's *Diwan* of verses has survived.

Hūsain b. 'Ali Qāri was a reciter of the Qur'an and lived in Kashmir during the days of 'Ali Shāh, the Chak ruler, before the dynasty was overthrown by Akbar, 994/1585. He wrote a book on *tajwid* = recitation of the *Qur'an* naming it *Tūhfāt ul-Qurra*.

CHAPTER 5

The Change (Babur and Humayun) (932/1525 ---963/1555)

It was a fateful day when Daulat Khan Lodi addressed an inducing letter to Babur, the lord of Farghanah having gained temporary foothold at Kabul. The Afghan noble complained against his kinsman, the sovereign, whose arrogance and rashness no self-respecting dignitary of the empire could bear. Babur seized the opportunity and easily manoeuvred a brilliant victory over Sultan Ibrahim Lodi at Panipat (932/1525). The scene changed altogether and a new era began.

At the time, the Central Asian theatre was dominated chiefly by the Uzbeks. They were good fighters; and if overpowered in pitched battle, their age-old occupation of predatory activity afforded ample scope to satisfy their interest. In view of Babur's tenacity and patience for bearing hardships and other charming qualities, Shah Isma'il, the founder of Safawid dynasty, developed strong sympathy for that prince. Both of them made common cause to suppress their formidable adversary. The decisive show of strength between Babur and the Uzbeks took place practically with the help of the Iranian Qizilbash soldiers supplied by Shah Isma'il. Luck did not favour him in that battle (918/1512). However, the

policy of extending active support passed on to the next generation of Shah Isma'il Safawi; and its benefit was reaped by Babur's son.

Interestingly, all Timurid princes followed the uniform rule: that relief found from mutual fighting would be diverted to pleasure. No territorial arrangement could reconcile their ambitions. Babur himself faced endless disputes with his cousins. After every victory or defeat, as the case may be, he usually engrossed himself for a while in merry making, reading classics, and writing poetry. Besides other lessons, old sages had impressed upon his mind the transitoriness and changeability of time; the irreversibility of the arrow's flight through eternity; and the compensatory value of joy achieved from wine drinking in company of fair creatures during vernal equinox.*

Henceforward, the rulers called themselves *Badshah* instead of "Sultan". It was significant change and deserves a brief explanation: Since the disintegration of the Abbasid Caliphate, Islamic world was ruled by regional sovereigns. None the less, the legal fiction of acknowledging the *Khalifah* as their supreme lord persisted among them. They pretended to be his viceroys and styled themselves 'Sultans' which carried the same ostensible sense, more or less. Actually, the caliph, devoid of temporal authority, helplessly witnessed the regional claimants deciding matters by sword. In the end, he issued the *Manshur* = decree of confirmation, and robe to the winner. The de facto ruler sent costly gifts to the caliph. Sometime, bribe and threats were also tried to obtain the *Manshur*. For, it was the certificate of legitimacy: it made the ruler's position secure in his area of jurisdiction. In India, Iltutmish was the first ruler to receive the *Manshur*. Later rulers did not care much for the honour. But, they punctually adhered to the title. The tradition lasted till the time of the Lodis. Babur arrived with the consciousness of being the descendant of Timur and a Chaghatai Turk. During his days the mantle of caliphate had passed on to the Ottoman Turks, whose seat was Constantinople. Babur, the descendant of Timur could not tolerate the idea of their superiority.

* *Nau-roz o nau-bahar o mai o dil-ruba khush ast; Babur ha 'aish kosh ke' alam dobara nist.*

The course open to him was to give up the title of *Sultān*. He preferred to proclaim himself simply as *Badshah*. The custom was followed by his successors.

The climate of Agra and the new situation with its exhausting involvements were too much to be sustained. Five years after the battle of Panipat, Babūr passed away at the age of fifty (937/1530) and his eldest son, Hūmayūn, ascended the throne. The latter somehow managed his position for a period of ten years (947/1540). Thereafter, troubles created by his quarrelsome brothers and the implacable Afghans spilled out of his control. Actually, he inherited some of the habits of his father as a worthy son. Shaikh Kabir, the historian of the Afghans, related an amusing anecdote in his *Afsānah-i-Shāhan*. Sher Khan, the arch rival, rolled back to Bihar and Bengal and Hūmayūn made hot pursuit. There, the crafty Afghan planned a stratagem. At his secret instruction a local zamindar presented a *dolā* = 'palanquin' to Hūmayūn. Its occupant was a matchless beauty: the real enchantress of Bengal. Hūmayūn completely succumbed to her fascinating graces. During those memorable days he forgot all harsh realities of the world around him. His poetic imagination was spurred to compose a thrilling *ghazal*. It frankly expressed his licentious mood on the occasion.*

Like a hawk constantly watching its prey, Sher Khan hovered in the vicinity. He could hardly falter in his judgment of the appropriate moment to strike. Soon, opportunity came and he inflicted two crushing defeats (Chausa and Qannauj) in quick succession. Humayun found himself face to face with total ruin. His counsellors advised him to quit. Bairam Khan, the chief noble, handled the crisis with extraordinary ability. His diplomatic skill enabled Hūmayūn to enter Iran as guest of Shāh Tahmāsp Safawī. At the Shāh's command the governor of eastern region extended royal welcome to Hūmayūn. One night singers began a *ghazal*

* *Yārān dilam rabūd Za man tūrfah dāhakey*
Dāhak mago be auj-i-malāhat chu mādakey
Maqsūd-i' Ashiq ast bahar sūrat-i-ke hast,
Dilbar agar safaid būwad Yā siyāhakey

of Amir Shāhi Sabzwari, the poet of Timūrid period. To the consternation of all audience the assembly had to be abruptly dispersed. For, tears began to roll down from Humayun's eyes as he heard the verse.*

The Afghan leader, Sher Khan, originally Shaikh Farid, an ex-scholar accomplished in *madrasah* education, inaugurated his reign by adopting the title, Sher Shah (947/1540). Generally mild in temperament, on occasions he could take recourse to ruthless rules of practical politics. Attention to build road system and realization that it brought prosperity to mankind, entitled him for a place among great administrators of India. The *al-Masalik*, as the Arabs called them, enabled past civilizations to expand and flourish. On the other hand, Tacitus identified neglect and dilapidation of roads as one of the causes of the decline of Roman empire. Accidental death (952/1545) did not allow Sher Shah respite to rule more than five years. His son and successor, Salim Shah, displayed a typical Afghan's rudeness and cruelty in his character. The quality of leadership being conspicuous by its absence, he failed to infuse the men of his race with a sense of discipline. Nor could he stall their tribal feuds often leading to bloodshed. Moreover, he himself had considerable share in killing the talented and experienced leaders of his community. The end of Afghan glory seemed to be clearly in sight at the time of his death 961/1553.

The prompt help of Shah Tahmasp secured Kabul for Humayun, which served as his perch for the next fourteen years. Since the victory of Panipat, Babur had merged Kabul as a province of his Indian empire. So, Humayun did not feel the wilderness of an exile. He gathered scholars of diverse fields around him and spent long hours in their company. His taste for astronomy impelled him to pursue detailed study of that subject. A creative writer and poet, he could more fruitfully enjoy time in the solitude of his library. Admirable no doubt, these qualities revealed only one side of his personality. The real merit directing his hidden faculties was the constancy of will. Usually, all men of history are endowed with strong and unshakable sense of purpose. However, not many of them succeed in

* *Za ranj o rahat-i-giti maranjan dil masha khurram,
ke a in-jahan gahey chunan gahey chunin bashed.*

achieving full object. Humayun waited with remarkable patience and firmness of mind for the lucky hour to recover the lost empire his father had left him. At last, the lucky hour came when news of Salim Shah's death reached Kabul. He consulted *Diwān-i-Hfiz* to seek omen. Happily, the green signal waved by the Khwajah of Shiraz encouraged forward march. In the middle of the month of *Zil hijjah* 961/1553, he departed from Kabul completely prepared for the attainment of his mission. A few months afterwards Humayun was emperor of Hindustan once again.

The army generals who accompanied Humayun at the head of their contingents were mostly despatched by Shah Tahmasp of Iran. None the less, they stayed in India and served their new master with unconditional loyalty. Their administrative efficiency produced fast results in restoring law and order. They were dedicated to the welfare of the empire and had awareness of its advantages. To develop fair understanding of Indian situation became their sincere desire. Discipline was the gift which the generations of Babur and Humayun readily possessed. Their schooling in the hard conditions of homeland made them sober and intelligent. Apparently, matters moved in hopeful direction when suddenly they were overturned by a tragedy. One evening, hearing the prayer call, Hūmayūn came out of his library situated on the upper story of the palace, *Din Panah*, in Delhi. He accidentally fell down from the stair-case and died of fatal injuries (7 *Rabi'1*, 963/1555). The second term of his rule lasted only one year and about three months. In spite of that, the foundations of the empire had been firmly laid down.

Panipat was the starting point. Three decades covered the period till Hūmayūn's death. These decades exercised far-reaching influence in shaping the cultural life of Hindustan. The highly developed intellectual taste of the two emperors awoke the people to a new sense of refinement in all spheres of life, particularly, literature. Their close link with the Safawid monarchs gave a push to Iranian genius for its free display in the Indian environment. Encouragement to men of talents from Iran, more than other places, became almost a tradition of the Mughal ruling classes. The share of Persians in administration of government registered a considerable increase. Consequently, the practice of mutual

social adjustment seemed to be a real possibility in the coming future. Hitherto, the orthodox *Ulama* were uncompromising in their *fatwa* = religious decree, against the Shi'ahs or those whom they deemed as heretics. If detected, brutal punishment, usually death by flogging, awaited them. Even the Sultān could not protect or pardon the victims from the verdict passed by the guardians of religion. Practically, the *Shi'ahs* took refuge in widespread *taqiya* = concealment or subterfuge, and the state took scanty notice. Others were less fortunate. During the days of Sher Shah and Salim Shah, one of the leaders of *Mahdawi* movement was a pious man, named Shaikh 'Alāi. Originally, the movement was started by Saiyed Muhammad Jaunpuri (d.847/1443). Sultān Salim Shah was impressed by Shaikh 'Alāi's scholarship and became his admirer. To the embarrassment of the Sultān, Shaikh 'Alāi was marked out as a fit case for *fatwa*. Salim Shah exerted utmost effort to save the Shaikh's life. In presence of the 'ulama, the Sultān implored the Shaikh: "whisper in my ear, at least, if you do not like to declare loudly, that you have nothing to do with *Mahdawi* non-sense, that is, from now onwards." The Shaikh replied that for the sake of a few days life he would not practise hypocrisy, and preferred to perish by the executioner's whip. Being very old, three lashes sufficed to liberate his soul from physical bondage. The outrage had long history; and orthodox majority condoned its happening as nothing unusual. This brief period of three decades heralded the desirability for the change. Peculiar circumstances faced by Babur and Humayun in their personal lives, led them to adopt tolerant and accommodating spirit. Mixing violence and brutality with religion was not acceptable to their temperament.

As regards belles-letters, the generations of these decades prepared ground for literary renaissance. Persian language, specially poetry, was soon going to touch new heights in Mughal India. Although on a limited scale, the contemporaries of Babur and Humayun, tried literary experiments, which carried the seeds of extremely rich harvest.

Many writers of this period might not be reckonable for their lasting influence; but they prepared the taste of their readers to appreciate works of much advanced degree in the time to come. Most of them, with few

exceptions, were of Persian extraction. They still adhered to the traditions of Timurid period. That is, the idea of manifesting an independent genius, the mixed or Indo-Persian genius, had, upto this stage, not crossed their mind.

In the prose and poetry of this period, there seemed to be an even balance of richness and charm. As we notice: if the father was a prose writer, indeed, of Chaghatai Turki, the son was a poet, the only member of Mughal royalty, who left a Persian *Diwan* of verses. Besides them, two more examples may be easily cited. The achievement of Qāzi Samarqandi was a stupendous work of prose. On the other hand, Khan-i-Khanan Bairam khan won distinction as a brilliant poet. His domain was *ghazal*, the most outstanding genre of contemporary fashion, which he composed in amazingly attractive style. The use of simple and mobile rhyming endowed him with definite superiority over other well-known poets, who occupied the scene later on. Let us recall the entire generation of literary masters in a concise order:-

PROSE WRITERS

Babur, Zahir ud-Din Muhammad (d.937/1530) was the son of 'Umar Shaikh Mirza, a scion of the house of Timur and ruler of a small principedom, Farghanah, in Central Asia. Possessing versatile qualities and wielding sword and pen with equal confidence, Babur fought battles, composed poetry and collected books all his life. Trained on the sermons of 'Umar Khayyām, he welcomed the joys of life believing that time would not offer them again. A package of troubles and disputes generated by his Timurid cousins, was the only legacy left by 'Umar Shaikh Mirza, and in turn, the son utilized the situation to build up a grand empire for his descendants in India. Power did not intoxicate him, nor did he brood over its casual and cyclic loss. For him, forty nine years were enough to say farewell to the world; and just four years earlier, he had won the first battle of Panipat (932/1526), which was a turning point

in Indian history. His lasting service to literature was his *Tuzuk* = memoirs, written in his mother-tongue, Chaghatai Turki. He deliberately chose it in order to reveal his natural gift, the frank and cheerful temperament. Perhaps, he wanted to give respectability to the dialect of his nomadic ancestors. The magic of his personality contributed in raising it to the status of a literary language. His plan succeeded and posterity recognised him among the masters of Turkish prose. The work was rendered into the more familiar and fashionable medium of Persian at the command of Babur's grandson, Akbar. And, it was done by an equally great genius, 'Abd ur-Rahim Khān-i-Khānān in 998/1590. The translation at once gained currency as *Tuzuk-i-Babūri*, but its other and popular title in Persian was *Babur-namah*.

Khwānd Amir, Ghiyas ud-Din b. Humam ud-Din (d.942/1535) was grandson of the celebrated scholar and historian, Mir Khwand, whose work of history, *Rauz us-Safa*, acquired much popularity. Khwand Amir's birth-place was the city of Herat, where he witnessed in his youth the fading glory of the Timūrids. His early life passed through the tumultuous period of conflict, which began between the rising power of Shah Ismā'il, founder of the Safawid dynasty, and the equally impetuous Shaibāni Khān, leader of the Uzbek Turks. Khwānd Amir emigrated to India in pursuit of peaceful career after Babur displaced the Lodis and inaugurated a new era. The emperor and his successor, Hūmayūn, showed him kind treatment and acknowledged his merits by giving him the post of secretary. According to his last will, he was laid to rest beside the grave of Shaikh Nizām ud-Din Auliay. Khawānd Amir was the author of many books: 1. *Khulasat ul-Akhbar fi Bayan ul-Akhyar*, notices of persons who impressed the author when he lived as a young man in Herat; 2. *Insha-i-Ghiyas ud-Din/ Namah-i-Nami*, a guide book for the instruction of prospective civil servants; 3. *Makarim ul-Akhlaq* on the subject of ethics; 4. *Ma'asir ul-Muluk*, rambling anecdotes about famous kings; 5. *Dastar ul-Wuzara*, biographical account of important ministers, their ideas and achievements; 6. *Hūmayūn-namah/ Qanān-i-Hūmayūni*, social and cultural sketch of that emperor's reign and 7. *Habib us-Siyar fi Akhbar-i-Afrād ul-Bashar*, a general history from pre-Islamic past down to the author's own days, 930/1524.

Zain Khān Khwāfi (d. 940/1533) was a contemporary of Babur and lived at his court as a poet composing under the pen-name, *Wafa'i*. He attempted to translate his sovereign's *Tuzūk* into Persian, but could not complete it. Commemorating Babur's victory in the battle of Kanwah, he wrote a *Fath-namah*. And, on his master's tract concerning the Hanafi jurisprudence, he added a commentary *Sharh-i-Mubayyan*.

Pāyandah Hasan Ghaznawi, Mirza, was a nobleman of the days of Hūmayūn and witnessed the early decades of Akbar. He attempted a Persian version of Babur's Turkish autobiography *Waqi'at-i-Baburi*.

Muhammad Qūli Mughal Hisāri (d. unknown) was a scholar of the court of Hūmayūn and lived till the days of Akbar. He joined with Pāyandah Hasan Ghaznawi in translating Babur's *Tuzūk* into Persian. The two brought their task down to 935/1528.

Nūr ud-Din b. Qutb ud-Din Khwāfi, Shaikh, was a religious scholar of the time of Bābur and enjoyed the emperor's patronage. His early life as a student passed in Herat. He wrote a book of Hanafi jurisprudence dedicating it to his master. Its double title was *Fiqh-i-Baburi / Ftāwa-i-Baburi*, ca. 925/1519.

Pir Miram Siyāh Qazwini was a sufi of the *Malamti* order and contemporary of Babur. The emperor and his son, Hūmayūn, acknowledged his spiritual and scholarly merits. Later generations showed keen interest in his works: 1. a collection of historical letters, *Insha-i-Miram Siyāh*, and 2. a *Diwan* of verses.

'Alī Tāhir was a scholar associated with the court of Babur, the empire-builder. He made an abridged translation of Zakariya Qazwini's *Suh'at ul-aqalim*. Qazwini (d. 682/1283) was a geographer and author of many works related to the subject, chiefly, *Asar ul-Bilād*. 'Alī Tahir dedicated his translation, bearing wonderful reports of seven climes, to Babur, and named it: *Tuhfat ul-'Aja'ib*, completed in 928/1521.

Ikhtiyār al-Husaini was a scholar of the time of Babur and survived till the days of Hūmayūn. He wrote a book on ethics and political

philosophy and dedicated it to his royal patron. Its title was *Akhlaq-i-Humayūni*, completed in 912/1556.

Ghiyās ud-Din b. Kamal ud-Din, Saiyed was in the service of Mirza Muhammad Kamrān, son of Babur. All Timurid princes being lovers of art and culture, Mirza Kamrān composed poetry and gathered talented men around him. Political ambitions, nevertheless, kept him always busy in rebellions against his elder brother. Fed up at last, Humayūn blinded Kamrān and sent him to Mecca, where he spent four years before death, 964/1556. In compliance to his request, Saiyed Ghiyās ud-Din wrote a book in fourteen chapters dealing with *tajwid* = recitation of the *Quran*. Its title was *Maqṣād ul-Hafīzin*.

Bāyazid Bayāt belonged to the Bayāt tribe of the Turks. Both he and his elder brother, the sufi poet, Shah Birdi Bayāt, popular as Bahrām Saqqa, initially served under Babur's son, Mirza Kamrān, but came over to Humayūn. Bayazid survived till the later years of Akbar's reign and was assigned to write a history of Humayūn. He took up the narrative from Humayūn's exit after the Chausah tragedy, 949/1542, and briefly surveyed all the later events personally witnessed by him till 999/1591. Although covering the period of Akbar, he named it: *Tarikh-i-Humayūn*.

Haidar Dughlāt, Mirza (d. 958/1551) belonged to Chaghatai clan of the Turks and was a cousin of Babur, founder of the Mughal empire in India. As the city of Kashghar was captured by a rival Timurid prince, 'Abd ur-Rashid, he fled from there and took refuge with Humayūn at Agra. Having witnessed the battles of Chausa and Qannauj (947/1540), in which Humayūn was overpowered by Sher Shah, there was again before him the dilemma of an honourable existence. In Humayūn's flight from India, Mirza Haidar accompanied him upto Lahore, whence he took his own way toward Kashmir. Bold and adventurous like every member of the house of Timur, Mirza Haidar succeeded in carving out an independent territory for himself: it included Kashmir and part of the region of Tibet. He was not without scholarly habits, for, he narrated a history of his kinsmen, whose seat of power was Kashghar, dedicating it to the memory of 'Abd ur-Rashid Khan, the contemporary king of that place. Mirza Haidar possessed full awareness of history and was well-informed about the topography of

North India and Kashmir. There are autobiographical details of interesting nature in the last portion of the book. Its title was *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*.

Ibrāhīm ibn Jarir was a scholar of the time of Hūmayūn, whom he dedicated his general history. The work contained abundant information about the emperor's reign. Its titles, arbitrarily mentioned by various sources, are: *Tarikh-i-Hūmayūni/Tarikh-i-Ibrahimi*, ca. 957/1550.

Jauhar Aftābchi, Mihtar was a household servant of the Mughal emperor, Hūmayūn, performing the duty of ewerbearer. Later on, the functions of civil servant were assigned to him. He wrote his memoirs describing the events of the reign of his master; its title was *Tazkirat ul-Waqi'at* ca. 995/1586.

Muhammad Beg served as a physician at the court of the Mughal emperor, Hūmayūn, and was the author of a number of medical books. Some of them were utilized as texts by teachers of medicine and their fame lasted for centuries that followed. Among them were, 1. a treatise on surgical bleeding, *Dastār ul-Fasd* and 2. another work discussing the properties of organic and inorganic substances, *Khwas ul-Ashya*, 944/1537.

Yusūfi, Yusūf b. Muhammad was a native of Herat and held the position of secretary at the court of Humayun. His special field of scholarship was medical science and he possessed experience as a successful physician. His works gained popularity as textbooks of medical studies. Noteworthy among them were 1. *Riyāz ul-Adwiyah*, 2. *Jami'ul-Fawa'id*, 3. *Fawa'id ul-Akhyār*, 4. *Tibb-i-Yūsūfi*. And, as professional secretary, he left an important collection of documents: letters of appointment of office, and official memoranda, *Insha-i-Yūsūfi/Badi'ul-Insha*, ca. 940/1533. Also ascribed to his pen was the treatise on sufism, *Anwar-i-Hikmat*.

Shifā'i, Muzaffar b. Muhammad Husaini (d. 963/1556) lived as physician in the reign of Humayūn. His work, a pharmacopia, which inspired many others to write books of the same category, is well known

under the title *Qarabadin-i-Shifa'i*. Also, he was the author of another popular handbook of medicine, *Shifa ul-'alil*.

'Abd ul-Fattah b. Ismā'il Husaini (d. unknown) belonged to Lahore and earned his living as a physician in the days of Humayūn. He was the author of a medical textbook: *Ahqāq ut-Tajribah*, completed c. 945/1538.

Sher Khān Sūr was a learned man of Afghan race and lived during the days of Sher Shāh (d. 952/1545) and his son, Islam Shāh (d. 960/1552). The title, 'Bar-mazid' appended with his name, indicated his privileged status. For, it was conferred exclusively on the nobles comprising the Afghan ruling class. Unlike his kinsmen, who had been proud of being professional warriors, he dedicated his life to the more lofty purpose of study, spent large amount in collecting books and developed a degree of erudition, which displayed itself in the compilation of dictionaries. First, he prepared a voluminous work, naming it *Fawa'id us-Sana'i*. As it was cumbersome to handle, he made its abridgment himself under the title *Zubdat ul-Fawa'id*. Possessing the typical genius ideally suited for lexicography, he conceived the plan of another and simpler version for popular use, mentioning all the important books which he used as equipment for gathering words. Fortunately, its manuscripts have survived in libraries. It was entitled *Farhang-i-Sher Khani*, completed about 955/1548.

'Abd ul-Awwal Husaini Zaidpuri, Saiyed (d. 968/1560) lived in Gujrat, where his family had shifted from their place of origin, Zaidpur in the District of Jaunpur. After Humayūn had re-established his position and again seized power from the Afghans, 'Abd ul-Awwal developed contacts with Bairam Khān Khān-i-Khānan, who treated the scholar with generosity, and at whose invitation he came from Gujrat to Delhi. He wrote a biography of the Prophet, *Siyar-i-Nabawai*. Its source was an earlier work: *Sufar us-S'adah*, written by Majd ud-Din Firūzabadi (d. 817/1414), more famous for his Arabic dictionary, *al-Qamūs*. Firūzabadi selected a set of traditions and placed them under five headings, which showed the Prophet in action. 'Abd ul-Awwal doubled his arrangement devoting ten chapters to the range of his *Siyar-i-Nabawi*. His other serious contribution, besides many smaller treatises, was a commentary on *Sahih-Būkhari*, one of the six

canonical books compiled by Muhammad b. Ismā'il Bukhari (d.256/869); its title was *Faiz ul-Bari*.

Chând b. Baha ud-Din, Mulla, served as astronomer at the court of Hūmayūn and enjoyed his master's confidence due to their common interest in the field of astronomical science. As the emperor fled for safety after having been defeated by the Afghan leader, Sher Shah, in the battles of Chausa and Qannauj, Shaikh Chând marched in his company. On the way, Akbar was born at Amarkot, 949/1542, and Hūmayūn left a few trusted servants, including Mulla Chând, to look after the queen, Hamidah Bano, personally hastening towards Qandhar. Mulla Chând had the emperor's instruction to calculate the horoscope of his new-born son. It seemed that old age, or perhaps death, did not allow Shaikh Chând to participate fully in the computation of Akbar's famous calendar, the *Jalali/Ilahi* era. For, the said project was finally accomplished under the supervision of Mir Fath ullah Shirazi. Nonetheless, he proved himself a worthy representative of Samarqand school in India by applying his genius, thereby, preserving and promoting the legacy of Mirza Ulugh Beg (d. 853/1449) and the brilliant astronomers of his court. Mulla Chând prepared a simplified recension of Ulugh Beg's calendar, calling it: *Tashil-i-Zij-i-Ulugh Beg*. His other surviving remains is a tract: *Maqalah dar 'ilm-i-nujum*.

Muhammad Ghaus Gwāliāri (970/1562) was a sufi of the days of Hūmayūn and Akbar. Both the emperors recognized him for his scholarship and pious character. He was initiated into sufi discipline by two holy men, Shaikh Zuhār and Haji Hamid, who belonged to Shattari order. Supposedly, its founder was the early sufi, Bayazid Bastami (d. 261/892). The founder of the order believed in ten instead of the well-known seven stages - *Maqamat* (Baha ud-Din : *Risalah-i-Shattariyah*); but added that the whole duration of spiritual progress may be reduced by recourse to intense exercises: prayers, fasting, night vigils, meditation, and physical mortification. Accordingly, Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus applied himself to all the requirements of Shattari order in early age. Emperor Hūmayūn's friendly treatment enabled him to live in Agra peacefully. Sher Shah and his son, Salim Shah, did not conceal their

repugnance: so the Shaikh left for Gujrat, where he trained a number of disciples. The most prominent among them was Wajih ud-Din 'Alawi. As Humayūn won back the empire from the Afghans, he returned to the capital. In the year 996/1587, the historian Bada'ūni "saw him from a distance in the bazar of Agra. His horse passed through the crowd of devotees and every time he replied to their salutations, his forehead touched the front piece of the saddle. With similar humility the Shaikh welcomed his visitors to the *Khanqah*. He stood up to offer *ta'zim* = salute as a mark of respect. Needless to say, most of them were people of humble station. Impressed by his saintliness, they spread the fame of the Shaikh's supernatural powers. He received ten million tankā as *Madad ma'ash* = maintenance grant, from state treasury and gave away the entire amount to the poor. He was the author of : 1. a tract containing basic teachings of spiritual purification: *Kalid-i-Makhazin*, 2. a devotional treatise: *Jawahir-i-Khamsah*, and 3. translated from Sanskrit the most authentic book of yoga: *Amrit Kūnd*, naming it: *Bahr-ul Hayat*. (The same book was translated earlier by Qāzi Rūkn un-Din Samarqandi during the time of Iltutmish, but, the translation did not survive. See Rukn ud-Din Samarqandi).

Jamāl ud-Din Abu Bakr (d. unknown) was the brother and spiritual successor = *Khalifah*, of Shaikh 'Abd ul-Jalil Hārīsi, a sufi of Lahore. He wrote a biography of the above-named Shaikh containing anecdotes of the Shaikh's miraculous powers. But far more interesting portion of the book must be the author's discussions about the topography and society of Lahore during his time. He named the work *Tazkirah-i-Quthbiyah*, completed in 957/1540.

Muhammad b. Ashraf Husaini belonged to Kabul and served under Babur and Humayūn in succession. He carried forward the tradition of Al-Birūni and pursued researches in the field of precious metals and minerals, particularly, ascertaining the qualities of diamonds. Babur's conquest of India and his possession of the treasury of the Lodis enabled the scholar to fulfil his object. The studies appeared under the title: *Jawahir-nāmah-i-Humayūni*.

Qāzi Samarqandi, Muhammad Fāzil (d. unknown) was a scholar at the court of Humayūn, who treated the Qāzi as his friend and enjoyed his

learned discussions during the days of leisure, a long span of about fifteen years, when the emperor lived as an exile in Kabul. Interested in scientific knowledge himself, Humayūn inspired the Qazi to prepare an encyclopaedia on the model of earlier works representing the same category. The outcome of Qazi Samarqandi's attempt was *Jawahir al-'ulūm-i-Humayūni*.

In fact the year 657/1258, when Baghdad was destroyed by the Mongols, was the dividing line in the history of Islamic civilization. Before and after that date, we notice the impressive record of intellectual achievements and the miserable decline of the graph respectively. To early Muslims, the concept of education was not bound with amusement and leisure. It was a serious exercise of labour and they struggled exhaustively to coordinate and classify all the available knowledge under the caption to definite subjects. Briefly, we may say, their compass of understanding was encyclopaedic in character and the result of the tendency towards extensiveness was the appearance of a number of books of wisdom which had been voluminous and all-embracing in their range. A fully educated man made it incumbent upon himself to study their contents carefully, for those books enriched the general scale of his mental atmosphere. The earliest attempt to produce an encyclopaedia was made by Abū Zayd Balkhī (d. 322/933) whose *Aqṣam al-'ulūm* is no more extant now. He was the pupil of al-Kindī, the pioneer of philosophy among Muslims, and was in turn, the teacher of Abū Bakr Muḥammad bin Zakariyā Rāzī. Next, Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī (d. 339/950) wrote his *Ilḥāq al-'ulūm* on the same pattern. Its Latin translation, although not the Arabic original, is still available. One work of that category, which has survived till our times, was the *Mafatih al-'ulūm* by Abū 'Ubaydullāh Muḥammad Ibn Aḥmad Ibn Yūsūf al-Khwārizmī (d. ca 366/976). None the less, the tradition did not altogether break down after the fall of Baghdad and we have on our reckoning the names of Imām Fakhr-i Rāzī (d. 607/1210) and Muḥammad bin Maḥmūd al-'Amulī (d. 753/1352), the authors of *Hakīq ul-Anwār fī Hada'iq ul-Asar*, and *Nafa'is ul-fānīn fī ara'is ul-'ayyūn*. These works provided encouragement to the author of *Jawahir al-'ulūm-i-Humayūni*.

Qāzi Samarqandi categorized all knowledge accessible to Muslim scholarship till his times, under 120 subjects and wrote the same number of independent and diverse chapters. Each chapter is lengthy enough to the size of a concise treatise. Thus, following the scheme of Imām Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzi, he carried his project ahead of his predecessor and doubled his chapterization: Imām al-Rāzi's book contained only 60 chapters —the number sixty was perhaps responsible for its mere suggestive and popular title, the *Sittin al-āsār*, given by intelligent readers later. Qāzi Samarqandi's organisation of the material will be clear after a little explanation. Beginning with a brief introduction, the *Muqaddimah*, in praise of learning and the learned men, he divided the bulk of *Jawahir al-'ulūm* into three main sections and gave each section the name of *Maqalah* (Discourse). In turn, each discourse has two sub-sections, *Qism* (division). Under each division there are chapters, *Bab*, varying from 12 to 33 in number. Further, each chapter has been spread over to more than one *fasl*, signifying articles. None the less, according to the author's own reckoning, we must treat the chapter and not the *fasl*, as the final and consolidated unit of the book for our subject-wise study.

Characteristically, a Muslim encyclopaedist first cast his eyes on literature, history and the disciplines of religious importance including jurisprudence and sufism, which were purely indigenous and cultivated by his own social environment. Thereafter, his attention turned to philosophy, cosmology, medicine, mathematics and all other related subjects that comprised the broad category of sciences in the modern sense. In fact, Muslims had initially obtained them by translating from Greek, Indian and other extraneous sources. They made remarkable improvement in every branch of science and their collective genius achieved excellent results. But the bulk of the sciences continued to bear the label of Greek heritage and the ruling authorities representing most of the fields were the Greek masters for a couple of hundred years. Qāzi Samarqandi arranged his matter on the same broad pattern and did not deviate from the familiar principles except taking a few liberties in classification.

About 25 chapters covering more or less one third space of the book deal with purely scientific topics. Physical sciences received priority in the

scheme of arrangement (Ch.200, Div.1, Discourse 1). This chapter is lengthy enough to be fairly treated as a dissertation. As a basic point, the discussion unfolded itself with matter, the first principle, and its essential properties: space, motion, rest, and attraction. That material bodies possessed three dimensions was a known phenomenon. Similarly, it was intelligible that there were three kingdoms of nature: animal, vegetable and mineral. Arguments of those who held that matter was infinitely divisible and of others who rejected it, have been impartially placed on record. An important problem manifest in matter was the constant and unceasing cycle of formation and decay from which no terrestrial object was exempt. All the natural phenomena, such as earthquake, clouds of rain and storms in ocean seemed to have their connection with the same cycle. Then, the notice of heavenly bodies became inevitable as they possessed physical form: although their detailed account occurred under the subjects of astronomy and astrology. It was prevalent belief in the time of the author that the planets moved in circular orbits. And also, there was no doubt or dispute that the earth occupied the central place in planetary system. We may amusingly recall that Qāzi Samarqandi was busy in writing his book at the same time when Copernicus pursued his researches in Italy and Poland. The *Jawahir al-'ulūm* appeared in 946/1539 only four years before the death of Copernicus, A.D. 1543. Indeed, Qāzi Samarqandi proposed an interesting view that the heavens were neither hot nor cold. For, he argued, the world of elements, being directly related to them, will be influenced by their high or low temperature, and that in turn, will lead to total inactivity of the process of composition and decomposition alternately occurring in the world of elements. To be sure, a space without temperature was a revealing information. There was a fancy that the seven metals, *Ajsad-i sab'uh*, (literally seven bodies) were under the control of seven planets, that is, each planet exercised influence over a particular metal. In conclusion, let us note, that the study of the chapter on physical science revealed two points. First, the Muslim men of science had not grasped the idea of relationship existing between matter and energy, which is the key-note of modern physics. Second, they failed to learn that the development of physics was dependent chiefly on the utilization of mathematical discipline. Not one equation, formula or simplified law struck attention to the end of the

chapter.

Information about magnet and its properties occur in the chapter dealing with precious stones (Ch. 11, Div. 1, Disc.2). The quality and variety of diamonds, rubies, emeralds and jades of pure and mingled lustres, and similarly, of cornelian and turquoise with a diversity of colour and peculiar names, like, *Hajar al-yahūd*, *Sang-i-yarqan* and *Sang-i-'uqab* etc., explained in such a fashion that only a queen of the genius of Cleopetra could fairly appreciate the account. As regards magnet, said the author, its mines occur in the Red Sea, and therefore, the sailor used lead fittings instead of iron in the boats meant to sail in its waters. Of various experiments made upon magnet, the reactions of garlic and vinegar were keenly tried by the earlier scientists. Ibn Sina was cited as having recommended it for so many purposes e.g. ophthalmic ointments, opening of the locks, and more curiously, placing its piece on the thigh of a woman in pangs of child-birth. However, there is no mention of the mariner's compass: nor did the author show awareness that earth possessed magnetic force or field.

There are two chapters representing the animal world (Ch. 12, Ch. 14, Div.1, Disc. 2); but the study did not create the impression of detached research. The author's special emphasis on the horse and the falcon revealed his practical motive, for, both the animals were favourites of the kings. The horse being indispensable in warfare, a thorough knowledge of its breeds, its habits and qualities and the prescriptions of the common ailments from which the animal suffered, formed necessary curriculum of a gentleman's education. Similarly, falcon-flying being a universal habit of the kings, it was justified to discuss the subject in a full-length chapter. As regards other living beings, Qāzi Samarqandi did not follow Aristotle's famous classification called the "Ladder of Nature", which was known to the Muslim scholars interested in Greek sciences. Nor could he apply to his categorization the simple rule of habitat, i.e. water, ground, and air. He depicted just arbitrarily about 30 species of animals and confined himself to recording his information about them. They were, for example, camel, giraffe, leopard and monkey etc., a few birds and a few other beings living under water, chiefly hippopotamus. The interesting feature of his biological

scheme was that some of the fabulous and merely imaginary birds, like the auspicious Huma and the wonderful 'anqa, favourites of the Eastern poets, also found a privileged place in his description.

It may not be possible to discuss eight solid chapters dealing with the science of medicine (Chs. 15-22. Div.1 Disc.2)

Next to medicine, it was the science of astronomy that demanded extraordinary attention from the scholars of antiquity. The Muslims having inherited the old tradition, followed it faithfully. In Qazi Samarqandī's book, there are 6 elaborately written chapters (Chs. 1.2.4.6.7.8. Div.2 Disc. 3) and that showed the importance attached to the subject. We may remember that the Qazi's birth place was the Centre of astronomical studies under Ulugh Beg (son of Timur); and the city rose to the same position of fame which had been attained by Alexandria during the days of Claudius Ptolemy, the author of *Almagist* (d. 140 A.D.). Frankly enough, the Qāzi made clear that the pursuit of original discovery was not his object. He had studied all the astronomical researches made from the time of al-Māmūn to that of Ulugh Beg and he desired to present their critical summary for the benefit of intelligent students. In fact, it indicated the degree of command that a properly educated man of those times acquired in the subject. The author, in his usual manner and with a view to simplify the discussion, subdivided the initial chapter into as many as 15 *fasl*. Every *fasl* gave a relevant account of the heavens and their mansions. For example, let us take an extract from the fifth *fasl*. "Know that the eighth heaven has 28 houses (*Manāzil*). The moon passes in one day from every house and often it stays for two days in one house. Of them some houses are auspicious and others are evil", and so on. Thus, the consciousness of the author insensibly merged pure astronomy with astrological superstitions. In the author's reckoning there were one thousand twenty nine (1029) stars, seven of them in motion and the rest in fixed position. Of astronomical instruments, the modelling of plane astrolabe and its extensive use may be taken as a contribution of the Muslims to that Science. Indeed Ptolemy possessed an instrument called *astrolaban*; but the principle adopted for the designing of plane astrolabe was altogether different. Naturally, the Muslim astronomers succeeded in making easier and more

exact calculations with the aid of astrolabes. From the description of Qāzī Samarqandī it comes out that their genius made a substantial contribution to the development of that instrument. Similarly his notice of the observatories built in past centuries gave an idea of practical interest displayed by our ancestors in that field.

Closely related to astronomy is the discipline of geography. Our earth is a member of the planetary system, and its position was more important to our ancestors who assumed it as centrally located between the revolving celestial bodies. Qāzī Samarqandī devoted two chapters to demonstrate the problems falling within the purview of geographical subject (Chs:5.9. Div.2 Disc.3) The discussion began with the size and circumference of the earth and continued at length taking into account the seven climes. In fact, Ptolemy's geography was the basic syllabus on which the Muslims educated themselves; none the less, their own contribution to the subject began from the time of al-Māmūn (786-833) and continued till that of al-Bīrūnī (973-1048). Significantly, few Islamic sources prior to this book should have referred to the word "Europe" for introducing that continent, as hitherto the familiar term among the Muslims was "Farang". Another salient point occurring here, is the measurement of all the seas known to the Muslim sailors. Initially, the credit for navigational information must go to the Arabs and the Persians. Ever since the Turks emerged on the scene of Islamic history, no maritime activities were in evidence, for, their home was the land-locked Central Asia. The practical necessity of locating the direction of *Qibla*, the turning point for five times obligatory prayers at a given place, impelled the Muslims to calculate exactly the longitude and latitude of various locations of earth; and they had attained this knowledge at the early stage of their civilization. An important branch of their geography consisted in the preparation of manuals indicating the routes for travellers. These manuals appeared under the familiar title *Masālik wa'l-Mumalik*. The earliest author to introduce that field was Ibn Khurdādhbih, the Postmaster General under the government of Caliph Mutawakkil at Baghdad (c. 244/858). Essentially, Muslim society was mobile in character and travelling was a frequent practice. It was a functional demand that concise guide books under the same title were written by more than one author; although each one of them contained additional and sometime

quite fresh material. There is no evidence that the Qāzi was an experienced globe-trotter himself; but, let us concede, by reading his chapters, one could get a clear idea of the routes connecting major cities of the Islamic world.

A specially interesting chapter of the book is that which deals with alchemy (Ch. 16. Div.2. Disc.3). It is subdivided into no less than twenty *fasl*. All organic and inorganic compounds originally belong to three sources: clay, vegetable and animal. Then, those of the first source have further differentiation under three heads: spirits, metals and pulverized substances (*arwah*, *ajsad*, and *ahjar*). The spirits include quicksilver, camphor, sal ammoniac and sulphur. The metals are exactly seven: but the number of pulverizable substances is quite large. In fact, there are two striking features to convince that the mind of an alchemist possessed really creative qualities. First, he devised a large number of apparatus and instruments, which the modern chemist has inherited as a valuable legacy. Without having scales, flasks, filters, phials, crucibles, stills, retorts, tongs, and hundreds of such equipments, the concept of a modern laboratory will be incomplete. Second, he demonstrated the patience and confidence necessary for the handling of complex and lengthy chemical reactions. For example, in usual course his chemical process passed through twelve stages: *taqtir* (distillation), *tashmī* (waxing), *tahlil* (solution), *ta'qlid* (congeletion), *talqīm* (mixing or amalgamation), *tashwīyah* (roasting), *tas'id* (sublimation), *ishtirāk* (?), *tasdiyāh* (rusting), *tathbīt* (stabilisation), *taklīs* (calcination), *taswīl* (?). Thus, due to these two features the alchemist could be accepted as the legitimate precursor of the chemical scientist of today. We must remember that there was nothing secret or mysterious in the methods of a Muslim alchemist. He freely revealed, discussed and recorded his experiments. Only when alchemy passed from the Muslims to the Latin West, the element of mystery, or the so-called occultism, got mingled with it, as the Western world of Medieval times was obsessed with the superstition of witchcraft. There was nothing in the language of a Muslim alchemist which the student of modern chemistry could not appreciate, save that the two could frankly express their disagreement over some of the basic issues. Now, Qazi Samarqandi has given eight

different methods for the preparation of elixir, used for transmutation of baser metals into gold; and the details of weight, temperature, timing, and other necessary precautions are all clearly laid down under each method. Passing from elixir, he turned to more alluring and less complicated method by means of which precious stones of diverse varieties and pearls of big size could be artificially prepared on laboratory scale. The formulas are simple enough to be tried by anybody who desired to hoard easy wealth. In conclusion, it was no small achievement of Qāzi Samarqandī that he gained a position for himself in the class of writers like al-Fārābī and al-Khwārizmī.

POETS

Atishi Qandhāri, arrived in the company of Babur and fought at Panipat. After the battle was over, he approached his master and reminded him of the promise to return. Babur summoned his commanders and delivered a short speech. He announced his intention to stay; but allowed them full liberty to go back. Let everybody decide for himself. Atishi spurred his horse and took road to Kabul. Unluckily, he could not reach his destination and died in Lahore. He was a poet and composed tolerable verses.

Shihab Mú'ammā'i, had life-long association with Babur. His chief distinction was in the field of *mu'amma* = riddle, a literary device very much in fashion during the Timurid period. Also, he was a competent scholar of religious sciences. The chronogram of his death was *Shihab-i-Sa'iqh* = 942.

Baqā'i, Maulana, possessed mastery over diverse forms of poetry. One of his *masnavis* on the pattern of Nizami's *Makhzan-i-Asrar* gained much popularity among the literary men of Babur's court.

Khwajah Kalān Beg, was one of the nobles who remained always loyal to Babur during his vicissitudes. The Khwajah's hometown was Herat. Endowed with highly cultivated literary taste, his verses often won the applause of his master, on whose death the Khwajah composed an elegy (*Bāda'uni*).

Hūmayūn, Nasir ud-Din Muhammad (d. 963/1555) was the eldest son of Babur, the empire builder. On the eve of his birth at Kabul, 914/1508, the overjoyed father, hitherto Mirza Babur, assumed for himself the title of *Badshah* = King. Like all Timūrid princes, Hūmayūn received excellent education and developed fondness for literature, astronomy and mathematics. Despite personal woes, Babur did not ignore his upbringing and the loving father's care turned him into a warrior scholar. In the first battle of Panipat, 933/1526, the young Humayun, aged 19, was given a crucial command, and at the end of it, won his father's affectionate pat on the back. It was after the great man's rather untimely death that troubles gathered around Hūmayūn in quick succession, 937/1530. Their sources were: (i) the ungrateful brothers, whom no concession would stop from intrigues and insurrections; (ii) the intrepid Afghans, who could virtually sustain half a dozen defeats of the momentum of Panipat without loss of spirit; and (iii) his own succumbing to periodic indolence under the influence, perhaps, of the pleasures of flesh and opium. So, when the situation arose, as it was bound to arise, Sher Shah, the Afghan leader, settled accounts by inflicting defeat, Chausa 946/1539, and issued notice to quit, Qannauj 947/1540. At that juncture, Bairam Khan Khan-i-Khanan, the chief noble, took the affairs in his hands and proved himself a man of inexhaustible daring and diplomatic skill. His first worry: the emperor's safe exit with ladies and all the paraphernalia, was easily dispelled. Sher Shah was a chivalrous man. It was beyond his character to make dog-chase of a defeated foe. Actually, Qāzi Nasiran, one time mediator between the two contenders, had overtaken Humayun, who was eating melons under the shade of a tree. Offering a piece to his pursuer, he said: "Qāzi Nasiran: You will pay my salute to Sher Khan." Instantly, he and his friends jumped on their mounts and the intelligent animals, apprehensive of danger, galloped at top speed. As the Afghan general, Khwās Khan, reached there, his eyes and ears could hardly follow any thing save the clouds of dust and sound of galloping horses coming across those flying clouds. Bairam Khan was equally successful in his next objective: negotiating a treaty of military help with Shah Tahmasp Safawi, the monarch of Iran. With the timely assistance of Iranian contingents, Humayun gained his footing at Kabul and its adjoining territory. In the next fourteen years, when he

waited with tenacity and patience, the company of poets, astronomers, scholars and men learned in all sciences from jurisprudence to alchemy and Indian Yoga, made Humayun a different man. One day, at last, news of the death of Salim Shah, son of Sher Shah, reached Kabul, 961/1553. Humayun consulted the *Diwan* of Khwajah Hafiz for omen. The Khwajah's verse gave out very encouraging meaning, which infused Humayun with the bold plan of trying his luck again. He tried and wrested the throne of Delhi from the Indian Afghans. Nothing could be more romantic than Humayun's real life. To lose and regain kingdoms was familiar game of the Timurids. But, the case of Humayun was different: he lost and won back the empire. Death did not allow him time for a longer rule: and the accidental fall from stairs of the library cut short his life, 963/1555. An expert in the field of astronomical science Humayun made improvements in astrolabe and wrote a tract on the nature and use of that instrument, which seemed to have been lost. His *Diwan* of verses has survived.(ed.) Hadi Hasan.

Khân-i-Khanân Bairam Khân (d. 968/1561) was Humayun's chief counsellor during the latter's days of failure and hard luck. In planning safe exit from India after the eventful debacle of Chawsah and eluding a man no other than Sher Shah, in carrying favourable negotiations with Shah Tahmasp of Iran and at last in winning back the lost empire of Delhi after the lapse of over a decade the role played by Bairam Khan was most crucial. When Humayun's sudden and premature death brought Akbar aged thirteen, to the throne, he acted as regent and *Wazir*. After some time, Akbar was prompted by youthful ambition to assert independence, and Bairam Khan abandoned power. He announced his intention of going on pilgrimage to Mecca, the holy city and cherished abode of pious Muslims. On the way, a revengeful Afghan's dagger terminated his noble career in Gujrat. Bairam shared with his contemporaries in raising the intellectual and aesthetic standards of their age. All of them, the Emperor Humayun not excepted, were aware of the nature of delights that the domain of knowledge offered to human mind. Possessing wide range of interest, they applied themselves to a variety of subjects from astronomy and alchemy to poetry, which, in their estimate, was the queen of all arts. Bairam's own field being *ghazal*, he had discovered the secret of simple expression. Each verse in his concise *Diwan* is a specimen of excellence.

Nūri, Nur ud-Dīn (d. 994/1585) was a nobleman and poet living at the court of Humayun, who conferred on him the title of 'Tarkhān' for he was the emperor's boon-companion and enjoyed the privilege of free access to him, particularly, when Humayun lived as an exile in Kabul. Once offended by Tatar Khan, governor of Delhi, he ridiculed the city and its people in a lengthy satire, using the rhyme and metre of the great poet Jāmi, and of course, scandalizing the name of his old rival, Qāsim-i-Kāhī, for its authorship. In old age, Akbar appointed him custodian of Humayun's mausoleum. He collected his *Divan* of verses in his own lifetime.

Nādiri Samarqandi, was a poet and scholar of extra-ordinary qualities. His *qasidah* in praise of Humayun and some other verses have survived. Mir Amani Kabuli composed chronogram of his death: *Drop one from Sukhan waran* = 966

Fārighi, Shaikh 'Abd ul-Wāhid, impressed by his unworldly and humane character, Humayun employed him as poet in his court. His death occurred in Agra and he was buried in front of the *Khanqah* built by Shaikh Zain Khawafi, 940/1533.

Jāhī Bukhara'i was in the service of Humayun. As the emperor marched with his army to try his luck in India once again, he left Shah Muhammad Khan Shāpūr as governor of Kabul. Shāpūr did not treat Jāhī with sufficient respect and the poet cooled down his chagrin by composing an abusive lampoon against the governor and his whole family. Humayun invited Jāhī to recite the poem in private assembly of friends and the hall resounded with laughter.

Haidar Tūni, was well known for his poetry as well as mastery over music. He ridiculed the chief astrologer of Humayun's court and the satire was acknowledged as a witty performance. It greatly amused the emperor's literary circle.

Firāqī Khwajah Aiyub b. Khwajah Abu'l Barakāt belonged to Trans-Oxiana and was employed in the court of Babur and Humayun. Both he and his father were known for their carefree habits. Despite

Fīraqī's ribaldries, the emperor retained him in service.

Sabuhi Chaghata'i (d. 973/1564) belonged to Herat, modern Afghanistan and lived as a poet at the court of Hūmayūn. With the triumphant re-entry of his patron, Sabuhi came to India and witnessed the early decade of Akbar's reign. He enjoyed the literary company of Qasim-i-Kāhi, who obliged Sabuhi by composing a chronogram on his death which occurred at Agra: Sabuhi the drunkard, *Sabuhi-i-Maikhwar* = 973/1565.

Tārūmi, Mulla 'Alī Muhaddis (d. 982/1574) belonged to Tārūm, near Samarqand and was patronized by Hūmayūn for his scholarship. His contemporaries acknowledged him as a traditionist although he was successful enough in composing poetry. He visited India a second time in the reign of Akbar and Mulla 'Alim Kabuli, the court poet composed chronogram of his death, which occurred in Agra. He was the author of a commentary on Imam Abu Hanifa's *Fiqh-i-Akbar*.

Ghubāri, Qasim Ali Khan (d. unknown) was a poet at the court of Humayun and lived in Kabul. The emperor gave him administrative post and Ghubāri controlled Ghaznah and its adjoining areas after the death of Prince Hindāl (958/1551). As Humayun won back the empire of India from the successors of Sher Shah, all his old servants, including Ghubāri, were elevated in ranks (962/1554). Ghubari's *Diwan*, chiefly collection of *ghazals*, has survived.

Kāhi, Qāsim (d. 988/1580) was born at Miyankāl, a mountainous village near Samarqand, and passed considerable time of his life in the city of Kabul. Impressed by his personality and genius, emperor Hūmayūn enlisted him as his companion and court-poet. For the same reason, he was treated with much respect by Akbar. Kāhi lived upto unusually long age of over a hundred and ten years and established his reputation among the leading literary men of the times. His experiences of human diversities, accumulated through such a wide range of space and time, made him a latitudinarian of quite open mind. His contemporaries, particularly, the old fashioned fanatics, were baffled by his strange character. Badauni, the historian, gave free rein to his disgust: "These two have shared all the

world's wickedness half and half between them." The other was Ghazali, the poet-laureate of Akbar. Supposed to be the longest surviving disciple of the poet-saint, Jami of Herat, he had been welcome to all and everybody felt surprised by his exuberant cheerfulness and simplicity. His *Diwan* of verses has survived.*

Bekasi, Ghaznawi Amir Beg (d. 973/1565) lived in the court of Humayun at Kabul during the days of the Mughal emperor's exile after being displaced by Sher Shah. He came to Delhi as Humayun won back India's empire from the Afghans and his master treated the poet as his bosom friend. One day, as an ominous anticipation of approaching end, he saw the emperor writing a verse of Shaikh Azari and praising its meanings: "the end is all well." Soon after, he fell down from his library and died of injuries. Bekasi stood every morning in the emperor's robe for *Darshan* = public appearance, at the high balcony of royal palace, an age-old custom in India and very significant, for it assured the sovereign's presence all right, till Akbar arrived from Kabul and the Mughal nobles announced the event. Bekasi's *Diwan* of verses was much popular among his contemporaries.

Mir Bāqi was a general on the army staff of Babur. After the battle of Panipat his master appointed him governor of the Gangetic region: its centre being Ayodhya. The city was renowned as a place of pilgrimage since Buddhist period. It attracted Muslim settlers from the early days of their arrival, that is, the century of slave sultans. Many important scholars, like Shaikh Nasir ud-Din Mahmud Chiragh-i-Delhi, came out from Ayodhya, then called Awadh. As Babur extended his administrative control, a sizable Muslim population already lived there. Mir Baqi built a mosque in Ayodhya, of course with the approval of Babur, which attained the familiar name, *Baburi Masjid*. Muslim historians were keen observers and frank reporters. No contemporary writer mentioned the event of temple destruction at the time of its construction. The chronogram, *Buwad Khair Baqi* = 935/1528, gave its year of construction. Mir Baqi was a man of religious temperament mingled with the genius of a poet. Admittedly, stones are capable of speaking the

* (ed.) Hadi Hasan.

language of poetry and architecture in its ultimate splendour, elegance and perfection commands parity with literature. Thus, religious significance apart the *Baburi Masjid* stood as the first Mughal monument in the sub-continent. Its three domes represented the typical Mughal design on modest scale. Earlier, according to established tradition the roof was mostly covered with a single robust dome. Of course, exceptions were available in Delhi: Shah 'Alam's mosque, Wazirabad, Tughluq period, and Masjid Moth, Lodi period. On the whole, the style of three symmetrical and exquisite domes of light weight placed on slightly elevated drums got associated with the Mughals. The principle made its earliest appearance in the *Baburi Masjid*. Later on, the Mughal architects pursued the same plan in their majestic mosque buildings. They succeeded in imparting grand view and aesthetic sensibilities to the whole structure. On 6th December 1992 A.D. the Baburi Masjid was demolished.

In their plea the vandalizing Hindu extremists insisted that the mosque was built after wrecking a temple. On the other hand, an independent committee of historians and archaeologists dismissed the claim that a temple ever existed on the disputed site.*

* Sher Singh: *Archaeology of Baburi Masjid*

The Inscription bearing chronogram:

Ba farmûdah-i-Shâh Babur Ke adlash,

Binâyast ba kâkh-i-gardûn mûlâqî.

Binâ Kard in mahbat-i-qudsiyân ra,

Amir-i-Sa'adat nishân Mir Bâqî,

Buwad Khair Bâqî: cho Sâl-i-binayash

Ayân Shud ke guftam: Buwad Khair Bâqî - 935

(By the command of the emperor Babur, whose justice is an edifice reaching upto the very height of heaven, the good-hearted Mir Baqi built this alighting place of angels. May this goodness last forever.)

CHAPTER 6

The Literary Flowering (Part I) (Akbar's Period)

963/1556 — 1014/1605

The experimenting of novel ideas during the reign of Akbar fairly influenced the quality of literature, specially, poetry of the period. It was the age of universal renaissance, which awakened the minds of the people in many parts of the world, both in the East and the West. After Maulana Jāmi's death in Herāt (898/1492), the intellectual activity inaugurated by the descendants of Timūr had lost its vigour. A fresh environment for the flourishing of art and literature was provided by the India of Akbar. From his time the Mughal court became the centre of gravity to attract talents from Central Asia and Iran.

Time decreed unique advantage to Akbar: he ruled for fifty years. Another lucky factor was the presence of a large number of exceptionally brilliant men around him. Their collective wisdom subscribed to transform all his dreams into realities. Initially, two difficult tasks were achieved. Consolidation of the segmented empire created long term peace, and enforcement of a carefully worked out revenue system brought long term prosperity. Next, the active minds of the emperor's circle inspired him to take up more serious issues of metaphysical nature

which demanded their solution in the larger interest of human welfare.

The problems unfolded after the establishment of *'Ibadat Khānah* (Prayer Hall) and the debates held there. From the initial stage, the decorum of the *'Ulama* was highly questionable. Most outstanding amongst them were Shaikh 'Abd un-Nabi and Makhdūm ul-Mūlk Mulla Abdullah Sultānpuri. In matters of religion they exercised enormous authority, which was beyond the control of the state. For, they were themselves the interpreters of religious law. Their mutual hostility led to expose the follies and misdeeds, which both had committed during the performance of their high function. The slanders paraded by them against each other ruined the dignity of the whole class. None the less, the meetings of the *'Ibadat Khānah* continued. A respectful listener and generous to oblige by gestures of good will, personally the emperor gave impression as if he was a man of insatiable curiosity. A baffling race of religious scholars: Hindus, Jains, Christians, Zoroastrians, and others like them, began in the hope of converting the emperor. All of them returned with a sense of success, or near success, in their mission. To the end of his life, he remained willing to welcome gracefully whatever one came forward to offer.

Distresses, hardships and inequalities existed in India since Manu, the ancient law-giver, enforced his code over the people. A new dimension of tensions was added by the arrival of the Muslims, who brought their own sectarian hatreds and conflicts. Akbar and his band of counsellors had an ardent desire to bring all human beings, particularly, the prominent sections of society, close to each other. They thought: peace will prevail in the realm; the worries and burdens of administration will decrease. Put briefly and in the most simplified manner, the measures tried by the emperor may be enumerated in the following order:

1. *Jizyah* - Tax on non-Muslims. The abolition of *jizyah*, and also pilgrim tax on the Hindūs, exhibited Akbar's character as a man. His conscience did not allow discrimination against the multitude of subjects living under him merely because of religious differences. Modern historians defined it as a master stroke of policy on the part of a shrewd ruler; they attributed many possible reasons for it. These claims may be true. But the element of human

sympathy should not be under-estimated. The shrewd ruler could hardly reconcile with enormous loss of revenue. He was very young (972/1364) and it was his independent decision after summary consultation with the 'Ulama. The official spokesman, Abul Fazl, defended his master's action by advancing two logical points: "First, the spirit of *jezyah* was that the non-Muslims should renounce contemptuous and hostile treatment against the Muslims. Secondly, the Islamic state must have substantial income of revenue. These two conditions did not exist during the reign of our emperor. The non-Muslim subjects are extremely faithful to His Majesty. Next, the royal treasury is full. Hence, *jezyah* ceased to be relevant" (*Akbar Nama* II. 203). A brief reference to early historical background may be helpful to appreciate the law of *jezyah*. The Prophet of Islam and his family lived in poor circumstances. At last, he had to say: *Poverty is my pride*. Often, 'Ali, his cousin, laboured in the fields of the Jews to earn a meagre living. The most weighty argument of the pagan Quraish of Mecca was that, suppose, God deemed it necessary to revive the link of prophethood, there were so many noble and influential men in Arabia. The choice of a poor orphan for that momentous task was unthinkable. Similarly, all the pioneer converts, the 'Companions' tasted poverty. Physical persecution, insults and mockery had been the common fate, which they shared at Mecca with the Prophet (peace be on him). On the other hand, more than the pagans, the Jews and Christians were far advanced in worldly resources. They looked upon the new religion, its founder, and its votaries with utmost contempt and scorn. As the Prophet migrated to Medinah, situation gradually changed. The victimized brotherhood gained upper hand. The stage reached when they were in clear position to give what they had received. The verse for realization of *jezyah* was revealed: (5.29) "Humiliation" of those who paid *jezyah* was allowed at the time of collection. Later on, the leading jurists, who began codification in the days of the Abbasids, also retained the term 'humiliation'. The receiving officer will remain seated. The payer will stand submissively. He could not pay by proxy. The officer will shout: 'Oh *Zimmi* pay the *Jezyah*'. Historical memories prevented the jurists from introducing lenient modification. However, invalids, indigent, monks living on charity, children, and women, were made exempt from *Jezyah*. The tax-payers and accordingly the amount were divided into three categories: rich, neither rich nor poor,

clearly poor. In India, Akbar was advised by his minister plenipotentiary that equal treatment of the subjects was a moral responsibility. And, that rulership was actually guardianship (*Akbar Nama* II. 258.389).

2. *Mahzar* = Presence, assembly (of the learned) called in order to resolve necessary issues concurrently. After conclusions were formally adopted, the 'ulama fixed their signatures. Thus, *mahzar* assumed the form of a constitutional document. Akbar obtained such a *mahzar* from the 'ulama pertaining to his own position and that of his government. Some of the 'ulama signed willingly, others half-heartedly rather forcibly. Shaikh Mubarak, father of Abul Fazl, was the author of the draft. Bada'uni and Nizam ud-Din Ahmad preserved its text in their histories. "Hindustan has become the centre of security and the orbit of justice..... Now all the 'ulama have deeply thought the meaning of the Qur'anic verse: *Obey God and obey the Prophet and those who are in command among you* (IV.59) and they have concluded that the rank of *Sultan-i-'Adil* = just sovereign is higher, in the eyes of God, than that of a *mujtahid* = authority of religious law. And, that AKbar is the most just and wise king. Should, therefore, a religious question arise in future, and the opinions of the *mujtahids* = authorities of law, be at variance..... and should His Majesty issue a decree, that shall be acceptable to all, and obedience to it shall be binding upon the people for the welfare of mankind and proper functioning of the administrative affairs..... Further, should His Majesty promulgate a command, its compliance would be obligatory..... provided always that such an order does not contradict the explicit injunction of the Qur'an". (Bada'uni II. 271). The immediate beneficiaries of the *mahzar* were the minority sects, chiefly, the Shi'ahs, who carried permanent stigma of heresy, and against whom persecution was an acknowledged policy since the period of the Umayyads. They had contrived *taqiya* = simulation, but if the inquisition exercised inflexible severity and tyranny, *taqiya* did not work. Needless to say, the whole system tended to be unrelenting and harsh by nature. Next, very much in prominence at the time were the *Mahdawis*. It was implicit that the King's justice would protect them from the bigotry of the 'ulama and their dreadful *fatwa* = death decree. Immunity was equally conceded to the *Hurufis* or *Nuqtawis* who fled for safety from Iran. Since the beginning of Akbar's reign, Shaikh Abd un-Nabi and

Mulla 'Abd ullah Sultānpuri exercised their power most ruthlessly and behaved as a state within state. As mentioned by Badāuni (III.83) Akbar implored Shaikh Mubārak's favour to extricate him from that uneasy situation. The talented scholar designed an instrument thereby affirming the emperor's full control and reducing the 'ulama to secondary position.

3. *Din-i-Ilahi* = Divine Faith. In childhood Akbar's mother, Hamidah Bano had apprised him of the famous dictum of Muslim Sufis: "The paths leading to God are as many as the number of human hearts." The question to what ultimate limit a Muslim of liberal mind and a Sufi's purity of character may go in matters of religion, was answered by him with striking courage. Bada'uni, his contemporary, outright condemned him as apostate, and the school has survived. In summing up, *Kalimah* = "God is one and Muhammad is the Prophet of God", determined the definition of a Muslim. That is the minimum and maximum condition unanimously laid down by the jurists. Jahangir has left evidence on record that his father recited *Kalimah* on death bed (*Tizuk*). Actually, what happened was the disgust, which the orthodox 'Ulama aroused against their doings in Akbar's mind. Their standpoint, not permitting the slightest leniency or accommodation, was well known. Between the two, the breach was complete. Where the rival group should stand was a serious question. Faizi, in his first *qasidah* presented to Akbar at the time of his arrival in the Court, echoed the dismay: *Agar haqiqat-i-Islam dar Jahan n ast, hazār Khandah-i-Kufr ast har Musalmam*. "If this is Islam, infidelity will laugh a thousand times at it." So Akbar, already commanding the prerogative of *mujtahid*, proclaimed his own standpoint, naming it *Din-i-Ilahi*. Indeed, it was a faith which welcomed all honest people. Islam was not a condition for initiation into its fold. Members of all religions were freely welcome. Just, they will have to accept Akbar as their mentor, that is, chief spiritual guide, and their position will be that of a *murid* = disciple. The *murid* will be free to retain his original faith side by side. Thus, *Din-i-Ilahi* was very much like double citizenship, so to say. The formation of such a brotherhood was not new to the Muslims. They were familiar with the old division between two major camps: the *ahl-i-Shari'at* = Theologians, and the *ahl-i-Tariqat* = Sufis. The one laid emphasis on

letter and the other on spirit of religion. Both enjoyed equal social influence, more or less. Thus, the invocation of *Din-i-Ilahi* was more symbolical than real. No propaganda was organized to convert people. A Rajput noble on being invited raised eyebrows: "I am a Hindu; if you so desire I can embrace Islam; but what is this?" The noble must be aware that the Qūr'ān issued express injunction: "There is no compulsion in faith." (2.255). Quite early, the Sufi poets had invented an interesting symbol, *mai-khanah* = wine tavern, thereby denoting a good society, where people will love each other. Of similar nature was the object behind the launching of *Din-i-Ilahi*. Accidentally, divergence of views between two school-fellows caused to make it as much worthy of curious notice. Liking and disliking, both feelings combined to promote its popularity. They projected the matter beyond proportion investing it with unending interest for future generations. Abul Fazl tried to raise its edifice on philosophical foundation. Bada'uni smashed the whole case and exposed the arrangement as a bundle of absurdities. Especially, his disclosure of *Ikhlas-i-Chahargonah* = Four loyalties, namely, wealth, life, faith, honour, which the *murid* will proclaim to surrender to the mentor, cornered the brotherhood into most ridiculous position. Prostration = *Sajdah*, was already a cause of resentment. In the end, Bada'uni bitterly complained against Shaikh Abul Fazl as past - master of flattery and hypocrisy. As such, there was no dearth of pompous and subtle remarks in the *Akbar Namah*, which to a certain extent, substantiated Bada'uni's allegation. After the above two, came the author of *Dabistan-i-mazahib*, who added more colourful touches to the subject. Zūl'faqar Ardistāni or whoever he may be, was an awkward fellow. His reports were often fantastic bordering on absurdity. However, the writings of modern historians, some of them really brilliant, and attention they devoted to the problem, established the importances of *Din-i-Ilahi*. The word *Din* = Faith, led to create confusion. In fact it was meant to be a sort of fraternity following certain ethical principles. Its appeal remained confined only to high nobles. Their number did not exceed twenty including the Grand Master. Surprisingly, Akbar failed where men like Nanak and Kabir succeeded simply because he addressed his thoughts from a King's throne. It was a paradox indeed that a half educated person should leave his name among great thinkers.

4. *Sāḥ Kāl* = Universal peace, was the best conceivable solution in a multi-religious and multi-racial society. The various human segments could toler-

ate each other if they had a stable principle to adopt in practice. And, that stable principle was advanced to his subjects by Akbar. Shaikh Abul Fazl proposed its definition: "Our moral duty as human beings is to be at peace with all." Respect for all religions was the lesson which Akbar had learned in early age and adhered to it firmly. The ideology of *Din-i-Ilahi* was meant to be presented to the chosen elites. *Salh Kul* was its popular and broad based version. The poets of the court were also involved to give wider publicity to the emperor's programme. Faizi, being poet-laureate, was their leader. The poet, Mirza Manohar Tawasani, originally a Rajput prince brought up under Akbar's care, briefly summed up the sentiments of the enlightened circle in one of his lines: *Ba yumm-i-'ishq za Kaunain Salh Kul Kardaim* = By the grace of love, we made peace with the entire world. Thus, *Salh Kul* was propagated as a simple reality. In view of maintaining equal justice, thereby leading to trouble-free society, it seemed to be of greater value for the government. As a philosophy, its object was to explore political gains. Concord was the antithesis of social tensions. Also, it will help in removing disabilities. That is why Abul Fazl emphasized it as 'Divine blessing' (*Maktubat-i-'Allami*). The Shaikh defined the King's duty: "In case after assuming sovereignty, he does not inaugurate universal peace, and does not regard all classes of humanity, and all sects of religion with the single eye of favour, he is not fit for the exalted dignity of Kingship." (*Akbar Namah* II.285). In short, the Mughal state in Akbar's time strived to bring down the concepts of *Shari'ah*, as narrowly ascertained by the Orthodox (Hanafi) 'ulama, and replace it by the working principles of *Salh Kul*.

5. *Translations from Sanskrit* The question once became a subject of discussion in the free debates of *'Ibadat Khana*, whether the Hindus should be deemed as *ahl-i-Kitab* = people of the Book, that is, those who possess scriptures? The emperor and Shaikh Abul Fazl both raised their voices in support of the Hindus. Their argument was simple. God has sent messenger to every land. The Qur'an emphatically declared: "There is not a village but a warner has gone amongst them (35:24). Further, the earliest conqueror, Muhammad bin Qasim treated the Hindus of Sind as *Zimmis* = protected, and allowed them equality of status with people of the Book. Indeed, the later jurists pronounced that those in-

dulging in idol worship were infidels. The debates of *'Ibadat Khanah* always closed on the perplexing objection: If the status of *ahl-i-Kitab* be conceded to the Hindus, where was the Book? Belief in polytheism and incarnation were extremely repugnant to Islam. The emperor, therefore, ordered the major Sanskrit classics explaining matters of religion to be rendered into Persian version. A translation bureau was accordingly set up. Learned Brahmans were invited from various parts of the realm. Sometime, the emperor personally attended its deliberations. Among translators, the so-called 'teachers of wisdom', most noteworthy were Faizi, Naqib Khan, Shaikh Bhawan, a Brahman convert, Debi Misra, Madhusadan Misra, and the historian Bada'uni. Oddly enough, Bada'uni was the most reluctant member of the team. For, he hated the whole project. His aversion to the emperor's conduct was a known fact. So, instead of thanking for the labours of translation, the emperor complimented him with sarcastic remarks during discussions. Nor were the orthodox Hindus very much happy with the idea. They did not like that their sacred books should be touched by the *Malichhas*. Thus it was a very bold innovation. A fully insulated and closed system was going to be challenged from outside. Akbar and his Counsellors were firm in their programme, and they succeeded remarkably. The ground on which the Hindus were made to stand as a race of idolatrous infidels was shaken. On the part of the Muslims, such an opportunity of studying an alien system of thought in their own language arose after a lapse of many centuries. Earlier, they had made translations from Greek and other sources of knowledge during the Abbasid period (Harun and Mamun, 8th century A.D.) at Baghdad. The translations from Sanskrit obviously added to their mental vision. They learned for the first time to live in familiar company with the *gods of the Himalays*.

In the realm of literature, the outstanding characteristic of Akbar's period was the abundance of sophistication found among the writers. They were invariably mature scholars and displayed rare degree of intellectual competence in writing both prose and poetry. Although superiority of poetry over prose was obvious, none the less every prose work of the period was a specimen of flawless expression. The correct choice of vocabulary at the command of the writers left no doubt about their ability to communicate in easy manner. From the number of books covering various fields of knowl-

edge we may estimate their enthusiasm for writing. The Mughal emperors and their nobles paid unusually high regards to men of letters. Besides the poets, who enjoyed perfect liberty in their company, scholars of all disciplines were eagerly welcomed by them. That peculiar habit of the ruling classes was responsible for generating confidence among the writers and raising the standard of their works.

PROSE WRITERS

Gulbadan Begum (d. 1011/1603) was Bābūr's daughter; her mother being Dildar Begum. She was a child of eight years at the time of Bābūr's death. Humāyūn, her half brother, arranged her marriage with Khizr Khwajah Khān, his kinsman by blood and a high noble of his court. Akbar requested the old lady to record her personal reminiscences concerning the events of Bābūr and Humāyūn. She readily obliged her nephew and wrote an interesting monograph in chaste and charming Persian. It appeared under the title *Humāyūn-namah*.

Mubārak, Mulla Shaikh (d. 1001/1592) was the father of Shaikh Faizi and Abu'l Fazl and occupied prominent position among the scholars of Akbar's reign. He originally belonged to a small town, Nagaur, Rajasthan, where his ancestors had settled as emigrants from Yaman, south of Arabia. From his place of residence, Shaikh Mubarak moved as a young student to Ahmadabad, Gujrat, where he obtained instruction under Abu'l Fazl Astrabadi and Abul Fazl Gāzranī, the two disciples of the great teacher, Jalāl ud-Din Dawānī (d. 908/1502). They had moved from Shiraz to Ahmadabad and were employed as professors in the college of the city. Their teachings, particularly in the field of philosophy, left permanent impact on Shaikh Mubārak. In his time, the orthodoxy was very much agitated, and the reaction was strong in Gujrat, against the Mahdawi movement, initiated by Saiyed Muhammad Jaunpuri (d. 910/1504), and the Mahdawi followers were ruthlessly persecuted. Shaikh Mubārak's attitude towards them was mild like a true philosopher. Later on, the Shaikh came to Agra and found employment as teacher in a

madrasah where emoluments were customarily meagre. The source of livelihood proved all the more insufficient as the Shaikh had many children to support and feed. An accomplished jurist, his exceptional quality was open mind which involved him in serious controversies with men of his class, and he felt the executioner's sword almost close to his neck on many occasions. Circumstances changed altogether when Akbar ascended the throne. For, the emperor desired his assistance and Mulla Mubarak had the courage and courtesy enough to extend it. He drafted the historic document, *Mahzar* = act of supremacy, which authorized the emperor to exercise both religious and temporal powers. Also, he held that the sub-continent being *Dar-ul-Aman* = land of peace, where Muslims and non-Muslims lived on friendly terms and the latter were loyal subjects of their Muslim sovereign, in given situation, the usual *jezya* = tax on non-Muslims, had ceased to be relevant. Needless to say, his views were angrily debated by the orthodox, who accused him of opportunism and flattery. He was the author of many books in Arabic and Persian. Noteworthy among them were: 1. a commentary on the Qur'an *Manba'-i-Nafa'is ul- 'Uyûn* and 2. translation of a zoological work written by Kamal ud-Din Muhammad b. 'Isa Damiri (d. 808/1305): *Hayat ul-Haiwan*.

Murtaza Sharifi, Mir (d. 974/1566) was grandson in daughter's line of Saiyed Sharif Jurjani, the great scholar of Shiraz, whom Timur invited to travel in his company to Samarqand. During the course of his wanderings as a young student, Mir Murtaza Sharifi studied at Baghdad and Mecca. His teacher in the field of traditions was Shaikh Ibn Hajar 'Asqalani (d. 852/1449). In the beginning, he voyaged to the Deccan, and then, moved to Agra, where he was engaged in teaching and was acknowledged for his scholarship. He was one of the pioneers who raised the standard of regular curriculum in the Indian colleges before it was given fresh form by Mir Fathullah Shirazi. The exhumation of his bones from grave provided the initial cause for rupture between Akbar and the religious divines of his age. Soon, the stage was set for wider controversies. Mir Murtaza was buried beside Amir Khusraw in the courtyard of the shrine of Shaikh Nizam ud-Din Auliya at Delhi. The argument of the orthodox Mullas was: Amir Khusraw was an Indian and Sunni, Mir Murtaza was an Iranian and Shi'ah. His nearness must be causing torment to Amir Khusraw, and therefore, the bones of Mir Murtaza shall have to be removed from his grave. Yielding to their pressure,

Akbar consented. But, it was a painful decision and the young emperor felt deep remorse. He began to entertain serious doubts about the common sense of all theologians as a class. Mir Murtaza left, besides tracts on philosophy in Arabic, a *Diwan* of verses in Persian.

‘Abd ullah Sultānpūri, Mulla (d. 991/1583) held the title of *Makhdūm ul-mulk* and was an influential religious leader during the early years of Akbar’s reign. His *fatwa* - religious decree, was practically inviolate and no temporal power could suppress it. The rival of Makhdūm ul-mulk, who challenged his authority, was Shaikh ‘Abd un-Nabi. Their mutual hostility, as narrated by the contemporary historian, Bada’uni, was responsible for the emergence of Shaikh Abul Fazl on the scene and the subsequent change in Akbar’s state policy. Makhdūm ul-mulk wrote a number of treatises on juristic subjects. His more popular works were: 1. a commentary on Imam Tirmizi’s *Shamā’il un-Nabi*, and 2. a monograph discussing the infallibility of the prophets: *‘Ismat-i-Anbiya*.

‘Abd un-Nabi Sudr us-Sudūr, Shaikh (d. 991/1583) was grandson of the Sufi, Shaikh ‘Abd ul-Quddūs Gangohi. He possessed immense power for dispensing land-grant, *madad ma’ash* etc. to Saiyeds, Shaikhs, and other people engaged in running mosques, *madrasahs* and doing miscellaneous works of philanthropic nature. The decisions of the *Sadr us-Sudūr* in bestowing favours to the learned classes, not excepting members of the judiciary, could not be amended or altered by temporal authority. Hence, all the ‘*Ulama* looked towards him as their benefactor and unitedly extended him their support. His conflict with Mulla ‘Abd ulla Makhdūm ul-Mulk, another religious leader commanding equal status, proved most disastrous to the entire institution over which he presided. It was a significant event of Akbar’s reign. The two leaders traded insults and condemnations against each other, and the ‘*Ulama* of the country were divided into two rival camps. The ultimate result of this clash of ego between them was that both Shaikh ‘Abd un-Nabi and Mulla ‘Abd ullah Makhdūm ul-Mulk lost their prestige and influence.

Abu’l Fazl, Shaikh (d. 1011/1602) was the trusted courtier of Akbar and principal functionary of his empire. Born in poverty, for, his father, Shaikh Mubarak Nagauri, had a large family and meagre income from the

profession of teaching. Abu'l Fazl passed through shocking experiences in early life. Shaikh Mubarak was involved in religious debates and suffered at the hands of infuriated fanatics. Circumstances compelled the young brothers, Faizi and Abu'l Fazl, to seek shelter at the royal court, where they soon found themselves on the road to eminence. Shaikh Abu'l Fazl, by his innate intelligence, won the emperor's confidence and rose to the highest position in Akbar's inner circle. He based the policy of his master's government on the principle of *Sulh-i-kul* = universal peace. The logic of the Shaikh, raising storm of intellectual controversy, motivated the emperor to adopt more friendly and accommodating attitude towards non-Muslims, particularly, the Rajputs. Drawing inspiration from the broad thinking of the sufis, he emphasized that all religions were like lamps enlightening man's path to Ultimate Reality. His adversaries condemned the Shaikh as a free-thinker. During Akbar's last days, he incurred the wrath of the rebellious Prince Salim who hired a bandit chief to perpetrate his murder. As author, Abu'l Fazl's pen flowed with a force making indelible impression of his ideas. His unprecedented diction aided by careful choice of words demonstrated his genius and raised him to the rank of great writers. The works left by him were: 1. the account of his master's reign in chronological order and a record of monumental value: *Akbar namah*, 2. details of customs and regulations directing the administration and giving statistics of the empire: *A'in-i-Akbari*, 3. a concise dictionary, *Majma'ul-lughat*, 4. an improved version of *Kalilah wa Damnah* (the *Panchatantra*) known as *Iyār-i-danish*, and 5. a collection of letters, farmāns and miscellaneous documents written during the course of discharging official duties: *Seh daftar-i-Abul Fazl*.

Abu'l Fath Gilāni, Hakim (d.997/1588) belonged to the inner circle of Akbar and offered advice to the emperor in all important matters of policy. He actively participated in Akbar's favourite project, the compilation of the history of one thousand years of Islam: *Tarikh-i-Alfi*. All the poets of the age were inspired by him to try fresh artistic expressions and his guidance raised the level of their literary performance. As a scholar of medical science, his contributions were: 1. a commentary on *Qaninchah*, an abridgement of Avicenna's great work, *al-Qanun*, its title was *Fattah*, 2. a guide-book for physicians, *Mujarrabat*, and also 3. a collection of letters.

Ruqqa'at-i-Abu'l Fath.

Ahmad b. Nasr ullah Thattawi, Mulla (d. 996/1587) belonged to Thatta, Sind, and had a distinguished position among the galaxy of scholars gathered around himself by Akbar. His intensive study of early Islamic history made him a staunch Shi'ah, although he was born and brought up in Sunni background; his father being *qāzi* of Thatta. As a young man, he journeyed in pursuit of knowledge and stayed at many important centres of higher education, mainly Shiraz, Qazwin, and Yazd in Iran. Further, his desire for spiritual improvement carried him to the holy cities of Karbala, Jerusalem, Mecca, and Medinah as a wandering pilgrim. Having returned to India, he went in search of livelihood to Golconda, where the ruler, Qutb Shah, extended him warm patronage. After some time, he shifted to the court of Akbar and was treated by the emperor with honour. Mulla Ahmad made himself conspicuous in the bureau of writers set up for the compilation of *Tarikh-i-Alfi* (993/1585) which was the emperor's favourite project, for, he desired a fair scrutiny of Islam's one thousand years. The above mentioned book owes its existing shape to the care devoted by Mulla Ahmad. He drafted the major portion of its contents and picked up the thread from thirty-sixth year of the Prophet's death (46/666) down to Ghazan Khan, whose reign was a milestone in Islamic, particularly, Iranian history (d. 704/1304). Mulla Ahmad left the *Tarikh-i-Alfi* incomplete as a ruffian's dagger at Lahore suddenly cut short his life. His other work dealt with the biographies of philosophers and physicians. *Khulasat ul-Hayat*, completed in 993/1584.

Bada'uni, Mulla 'Abd ul-Qādir (d. 1024/1615) was a controversial writer whose narrative gave an additional significance to Akbar's reign by painting it as a drama of fantastic events. Narrowness and rigid orthodoxy were Bada'uni's chief traits of character, and naturally enough, his disliking for the emperor, and specially, for the enlightened circle of persons gathered around the throne, was quite genuine. The emperor, being a good judge of men, was aware of the situation and often paid the Mulla with good-humoured abuses. Perhaps, he secretly admired his adversary, for, in spite of many heated disputes over delicate issues of faith, the Mulla, to his own disgust, was always retained in the position which

had brought him close to the emperor. Formally, he was one of the seven *Imams*, leading prayers during the seven days of the week, his day was Wednesday. Bada'uni demonstrated his real worth when the emperor inaugurated his grand scheme of translations and desired to see the knowledge of Hindū philosophy and religion transferred into Persian. He was a quick-witted and efficient writer and contributed to the renderings of 1. the book of anecdotes, *Singhasan-battisi* as *Namah-i-Khirad afza*, 2. the *Mahābharat* as *Razm-namah*, of which Naqib Khan was the chief translator, and 3. the *Ramayān* as *Tarjūmah-i-kitab-i-Ramayān*, 4. Also, he contributed a chapter to the *Tārīkh-i-alfi*, 5. wrote an ethical tract, *Najāt ur-Rashid*, and 6. prepared a recension in simple and abridged form, of the *Tarjūmah-i-Tārīkh-i-Kashmir*, made from the original Sanskrit, *Raj Tarangini*. Similarly, he exercised his pen in translating and epitomising some of the Arabic and Persian works in which Akbar was interested, 7. Bada'uni's imperishable reputation is based on his work of history. In its second volume he recorded, secretly of course, the contemporary developments witnessed by him at the court of Akbar. Briefly, his assessment of the emperor was that of a simple fool misguided by clever rogues. The third volume, dealing with learned men of various branches including the sufis and poets, is sprinkled with spicy remarks of sarcasm, irony, and scandal, for, Bada'uni is bitter in his heart against most of his contemporaries. Its title was: *Muntakhab ut-Tawarikh*, completed in 1004/1595.

Fath ullah Shirāzi, Mir (d. 997/1588) came from Shirāz, Iran, in the reign of Akbar and gained the emperor's confidence due to his profound scholarship, particularly, in the fields of philosophy and mathematical science. He participated in all the schemes launched by Akbar and was a member of the bureau of writers, who discussed the framework of the history of one thousand years of Islam: *Tārīkh-i-alfi*. His share in the book was a chapter surveying the second year after the Prophet's death. In commemoration of his new religion, *Din-i-Ilahi*, Akbar desired to introduce a new calendar, and accordingly, Mir Fath ullah calculated the *Ilahi era*, also known as *Jalali era* after the emperor's name. With his mathematical knowledge, he assisted Rajah Todar Mal in the complicated task of land settlement and revenue assessment of the empire. He drafted a new syllabus for *Madrasah* education, which remained in use for over a century till

Mulla Nizam ud-Din Sihlawi (d. 1161/1748) modified it as *Dars-i-Nizami*. And, his memorable contribution was translation of the first part of Avicenna's great work, which appeared under the title: *Tarjumah-i-Kulliyat-i-Qamûn*.

Ibrahim Sirhindi, Hâji (d. 994/1586) made himself prominent in the controversies that arose around Akbar over the religious and political questions of his age. The Hâji was an outspoken opponent of Akbar's liberal views. He was gifted with rare intelligence and his power of ready repartee could hardly fail him in polemical discussions with the band of adversaries. The emperor openly disfavoured the Hâji, who, nevertheless, scored plus points due to the quality of conversation and brilliant sallies. He allowed the Hâji's presence in his private gatherings. And, the Hâji had the audacity to circulate satirical verses compromising the emperor's personal dignity. When the emperor authorized Shaikh Abu'l Fazl to issue *Farman* banning cow slaughter as a concession to Hindu sentiments, Hâji Ibrahim proceeded to his hometown, Sirhind, and from there launched movement in defiance of the imperial edict. He was a member of the bureau of writers constituted by Akbar for drafting a history of one thousand years of Islam. The first millennium was closing and a historical scrutinization of creative contribution made by that religion towards the betterment of mankind was an interesting idea imagined by the emperor. One of the early thirty-five years that followed the Prophet's death, was taken up by Hâji Ibrahim Sirhindi and he wrote a chapter for the officially sponsored *Tarikh-i-Alfi*, 993/1585.

Nasir ud-Din Lahori (d. unknown) was a religious scholar during the reign of Akbar. He lived in Lahore, and his book, a sort of introduction to the principles of Hanafi jurisprudence with a brief historical sketch of its development, gained wider popularity. Its title was *Fiqh-i-Barahnah*.

Naqib Khan, Mir Ghiyâs ud-Din 'Ali (d. 1023/1614) had the privilege of friendship with Akbar the Great and belonged to the emperor's inner circle. He was gifted with brilliant personality and the combination of learning with intelligence and good humour made him an ideal courtier.

His family members were famous in Iran for their scholarship and had to leave that country due to religious controversy which arose around them as Sunnis when the Safawis launched their Shi'ah propaganda. Shaikh Abu'l Fazl amusingly noted that Naqib Khan's father, Mir 'Abdul-Latif Qazwini, was looked with equal suspicion in Sunni circles of India for his accommodating views. Naqib Khan participated in two learned projects. He was virtually the chief of the committee of bi-lingual scholars entrusted with the translation of the *Mahabharat*. The Persian version of the existing *Mahabharat* was finally embellished by Naqib Khan's pen and he gave it the present shape. His next contribution was a chapter that went to make the *Tarikh-i-Alfi*. It was undertaken at the emperor's request in 993/1585, as a survey of the thousand years of Islam, for the millennium was about to close. Naqib Khan was one of the members of the bureau of writers formed by the emperor, who planned the book and discussed the diverse views of the Islamic sects in the emperor's presence. The history, as was proposed, commences with the death of the Prophet and the narrative of the first year, which forms a sort of inaugural account, has been written by Naqib Khan.

Asad Beg (d. 1041/1632) came from Qazwin, Iran, and served under Akbar and Jahangir. He was sent as ambassador of the Mughal government to Bijapur and Golconda in the Deccan. His contemporaries accepted him as a poet with a *Diwan* of verses to his credit. But, more interesting than poetry was a volume of memoirs left by him. It disclosed the drama of events that occurred during the last four years of Akbar's reign, particularly, giving details of the murder of his benefactor, Shaikh Abu'l Fazl. Its title was *Halat-i-Asad Beg*, or simply, *Waqa'i'*.

'Abd ul-Malik Sajawandi (d. 981/1574) was the leader of Mahdawi movement and a contemporary of Shaikh Mubarak Nagauri. They exchanged correspondence on theological and religious subjects. 'Abd ul-Malik, whom his followers called *'Alim-billah*, utilised his scholarship to establish in logical manner all the divergent views held by the Mahdawi factions. The main issue, insisted by them and repudiated by the orthodox, was concerning the validity of Mahdi, descendant of the Prophet, who would fill the earth with righteousness and justice and whose return was expected before the Final Day. Saiyed Muhammad of Jaunpur (b. 847/1443),

a scholar of unblemished character, having heard the Divine message, went on pilgrimage to the holy cities, and came back to Ahmadabad, Gujrat, where he proclaimed himself as Mahdi and a large number of people were convinced by his claim. Sultān Mahmūd Begarah, king of Gujrat, persuaded by the orthodox, banished the Saiyed from the limit of his kingdom. He moved via Sind and Qandhar to Farah, Khurasan, where his last days were spent in practising the pious routine of a saint (d.910/1505). All his beliefs and the comments added by his later adherents were consolidated by 'Abd ul-Malik Sajawandi in the book: *Siraj ul-Absar*,

Bāyazid Ansari, Shaikh (d. 980/1572) was a sufi famous as 'Pir-i-Rawshan' and had a large number of followers in the neighbourhood of Peshawar. They believed in his supernatural qualities and legends of his miracles were spread by them throughout the North-West Frontier region. Gradually, the influence of Shaikh Bāyazid gained political overtones and the Mughal government had to encounter a hostile movement, which lasted for many years. The revolt of the so-called *Rawshanaiyah* sect repeatedly engaged the attention of Akbar and Jahangir and proved a source of headache to the Mughal officials. Two books of Shaikh Bāyazid were specially popular among his devotees. 1. *Khair ul-bayan* and 2. *Hal-namah*. An anonymous writer made Persian translation of Shaikh Bāyazid's Arabic work on sufism: *Maqṣad ul-mū'minin*.

Sheri, Mūlla (d. 994/1585) was a scholar of Akbar's reign famous for his ready wit and served as qāzi in Punjab. He lost his life in company of Rajah Birbal, whom Akbar despatched as leader of military expedition against the rebelling Afghan tribes of North-West Frontier province. Sheri's satirical poem, composed anonymously, of course and creating much embarrassment to Akbar, gained wide publicity throughout the cities of the Mughal empire against the emperor and his religious policy. 'Our Majesty has advanced the claim of prophethood this year, and next year, he will raise himself to Divinity by the grace of God.' That was India's unanimoos response to *Din-i-Ilahi*. At the emperor's instance, Mūlla Sheri translated from Sanskrit Viyas Pandit's *Hari Vansha*, an account of Krishna, which appeared as *Harbans Puran*. Also, Mulla Sheri's *Diwan* of verses has survived.

Muhammad Sultān Thānesari (d. unknown) was a scholar of Akbar's reign and a member of the bureau of translation formed by the emperor. He assisted Naqib Khan and others in translating the *Mahabharat*.

Muhammad Husain Harawī (d. unknown) came from Herat, modern Afghanistan, and lived as a scholar at the court of Akbar. He translated into Persian Imām Muhammad b. 'Isa Tirmizi's *Shama'il un-Nabi*, one of the six authentic collections of traditions. The translation was dedicated to Prince Mūrād, son of Akbar and named *Nasr ul-Khasa'il*. Encouraged by its popularity, the author attempted a versified version of the same, which he dedicated to Akbar's only surviving son, Prince Salim. It appeared under the title *Nazm ush-Shamā'il*.

'Abd ul-Majid b. Qutb ud-Din (d. unknown) was an astronomer during the reign of Akbar. He wrote a tract, partly in verse, in which he described the researches carried out by Mir Fath ullah Shirazi for the improvement of the calendar, eliminating the leap year completely. It was a brief work with a lengthy name: *Risalah dar bayan-i-hay'at-i-'alam-i-sifli wa-'alwi*.

'Ain ul-mūlk, Hakim, Shams ud-Din 'Ali Shirazi (d. 1004/1595) lived as a physician at the court of Akbar and was a specialist in eye diseases. The emperor honoured him with the title mentioned above. 'Ain ul-mūlk wrote a general text-book of medicine, dedicating it to his patron. Its title, supposed to be suggested by the emperor himself, was *Fawā'id ul-Insān*.

'Ali Gilāni, Hakim (1018/1609) came from Gilān, Iran, and found employment as a physician at Akbar's court. In view of his knowledge and efficiency, the emperor conferred on him the title of *Jalīmus uz-Zamāni*, Galen of the age. Akbar sent him on diplomatic mission to Bijapur. Also, he was made a member of the bureau of writers appointed for writing the *Tarikh-i-Alfi*, survey of the one thousand years of Islam. A chapter, dealing with one of the early thirty-five years, was drafted by 'Ali Gilāni. His major contribution was a commentary on Avicenna's *al-Qanūn*.

Binā b. Hasan Chishti ‘Usmani, Hakim (d. unknown) lived in Sirhind during the days of Akbar and Jahāngir. He was a famous physician and author of a medical work. Its double title was: *Mujarrabāt-i-Binā ‘i-Khulāṣah-i-Binā ‘i*, 996/1587.

Rūh ullah Bharochi (d. unknown) belonged to Bharoch, Gujrat, and served as physician at the court of Akbar. A textbook of medicine has been attributed to his pen. Although, its authorship may be a question of dispute between Rūh ullah and another famous contemporary, Hakim ‘Ain ul-Mulk Shirāzi. Its title was *Fawa-id ul-Insan*, completed in 1004/1595. Jahangir and Nūr Jahan, both, were treated by Rūh ulla as the royal couple fell ill at Ahmadabad. By the emperor’s order, the Hakim was rewarded with his body-weight of silver. Nūr Jahan Begum issued a *farman* granting him four villages as *madad-i-ma’ash*, 1027/1618.

Shah ‘Ali b. Sulaiman (d. unknown) lived as physician in the reign of Akbar. He was an expert of eye diseases and wrote a book on the subject giving details of the symptom and their methods of treatment *Zubdah-i-Manzumah*, ca. 977/1569.

Abū Bakr Siddiq (d. unknown) belonged to Nagaur, Rajasthan, and was a physician during the time of Akbar. He acquired knowledge of Ayurvedic medicine, the Indian system, and prepared a versified account of the Ayurvedic methods of treatment. The title of his work was *Tibb-i-Siddiqi*, completed in 1024/1615.

Ja‘far Beg, Asaf Khan, Mirza Qiwām ud-Dīn (d. 1021/1612) combined in his character the qualities of a scholar and soldier and made himself prominent both as a man of sword and pen. He came from the city of Qazwin, Iran, and his family members had been nobles of high positions in Iran and India. Akbar conferred on him the title of ‘Asaf Khan’ after his uncle’s death, who held the same title. He continued to be an officer of rank till his death in the reign of Jahangir. But, the best period of his career passed under Akbar, who reposed great trust in his integrity and sound judgement. Asaf Khan subscribed to the emperor’s religious views and was a declared follower of *Din-i-Ilahi*, repudiated and laughed

away by the contemporary Muslims and Hindus as mere fantasy. Akbar included him in the bureau of writers for *Tarikh-i-Alfi* (993/1585). Next to Mulla Ahmad of Thatta, his contribution was the largest in having brought the work to completion. He picked up the thread from the point left by Mulla Ahmad and continued the narrative to the year 997/1589. A fluent poet, Ja'far Beg collected his *Diwan* and left a *masnawi* version of Shaikh Nizami's romantic tale: *Khusrav-Shirin*. As the poem was dedicated to the emperor, *Nurud-Din Jahangir*, its title proposed by the author was : *Nur-namah*.

‘Ināyat ullah b. Mir Hāj (d. unknown) was a musician at the court of Akbar. He wrote a book explaining the nature of music as a science, and discussed the rules that transformed the ingenious repetition of sound into enchanting melody. Its title was *Tuhfat ul-Adwār*.

Bāqi-billah, Khwajah (d. 1012/1603) was the founder of the Naqshbandi order of sufis in India. From Kabul, his birthplace, he left early on a wandering mission so essential for the training of a sufi, and visited all the centres of learning and the places notable for pious monuments, including of course, the holy cities of Mecca and Medinah, where he stayed for some time as a pilgrim. Finally, he settled in Delhi and gathered around him a large circle of devotees. Noteworthy amongst them was Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi, who later on rose to eminence as *Mujaddid* – renovator of the faith. He left: 1. *Kulliyat* = poems, 2. *Rubaiyyat* = quatrains, 3. *Maktubat* – letters, and 4. a sufistic tract, *Dah-asl*, etc.

Jalāl Thānesari, Shaikh (d. 989/1582) was a sufi of the Chishti order living in the reign of Akbar. The emperor, once touring across Punjab, halted at Thānesar and paid his respects to the Shaikh. Having emigrated from Balkh, modern Afghanistan, Shaikh Jalāl's ancestors settled in the city mentioned above. At the instance of *Madad-i-Ma'ash* holders, that is, the class of learned men, chiefly Saiyeds and Shaikhs, engaged in the performance of educational and religious duties, and in turn, getting land-grant from the state, Shaikh Jalāl wrote a juristic treatise and supported their claims by citing rulings from early authorities. Also, he was the author of a book on sufism: *Irshad ut-Talibin*.

‘Abd ul-Ghani, Shaikh (d. unknown) belonged to Bada’un, North India, and lived in voluntary poverty, the essential condition of a sufi’s life, during the days of Akbar. A cabin in one of the mosques at Delhi sufficed for his residence. He was the author of two treatises explaining the principles of spiritual education: *‘Ishqiyah* and *‘Ainiyah*, 1003/1594.

‘Abd ul Wāhid, Mir (d. 1017/1608) witnessed the time of Sultān Ibrahim Lodi and lived more than ninety years till the beginning of Jahangir’s reign. He belonged to Bilgram, a town in Awadh, and was respected for his religious scholarship and pious character, his fields of interest were poetry and music. Of his many works, the more important one was a book on sufism bearing seven chapters: *Sabī’ Sanābil*. Also, much useful was his commentary on Arabic grammar, *al-kafiyah*, by Ibn Hājib (d. 646/1249), *Sharh-i-Kafiyah*.

‘Abd us-Sattār Lahori (d. unknown) was the son of Muhammad Qāsim Ferishtaī, author of the popular history, *Gulshan-i-Ibrahimi*. From Bijapur, where his father lived, he came to settle in Lahore and passed his life under the patronage of Akbar and Jahangir. Akbar ordered him to learn the language of the Franks, especially Portuguese, so that he could translate books of western knowledge for the benefit of the emperor and his people. The Jesuit priests living at the Mughal court imparted him instruction and he developed a good understanding of the Portuguese language. Father Jerome Xavier and ‘Abd us-Sattār were close associates in their intellectual undertakings. The Father, being unable to write Persian independently, made him joint author of his works. His own contribution was a volume on the lives of the Greek and Roman thinkers, named *Samarat ul-Falasifah Ahwāl-i-Furangistān*, ca. 1037/1627.

‘Abd ul-Karim b. Qāzi Rājan (d. unknown) lived in Hamirpur, near Kalpi, during the days of Akbar and served under the provincial governor, Ahmad Khan b. Pir Khan Turkman. His father, Qāzi Rajan, emigrated from Ghaznah when the epoch of the Lodi sultans was closing. At the instance of his noble patron, a keen lover of literature and scholarship, ‘Abdul Karim collected 260 synonyms concerning the names of important persons and things. For, words in thier synonymous character required precise understanding as transmitters of meanings. The study began

from the name of God and passed on to miscellaneous things like horse, arrow and sword etc. In order to illustrate their use by the poets, the authentic masters of language, 'Abd ul-Karim picked up verses from a large number of sources, chiefly the lexicons. His study was acknowledged by literary men as a useful guide-book enabling them to ascertain the correct use of words. Also, it revived in memory the names of many forgotten poets. The author named the work: *Anis ush-Shu'ara*, completed in 1098/1589.

Abú Turab Wali, Mir (d. 1003/1595) lived in Gujrat when Akbar extended his authority over that province. The emperor was impressed by his personality and assigned him important duties on a number of occasions. Having visited the holy cities as *Mir-hajj* = leader of the pilgrims, he brought a stone tablet bearing impression of the Prophet's foot, 980/1572. He wrote a history of Gujrat narrating the events of about sixty years from Bahādūr Shah to Muzaffar Shah III (932/1526/992/1584). Its title was *Tarikh-i-Gujrat*.

'Ala ud Din Shihāb Húsaini (d. unknown) belonged to Kantūr, a small place in Awadh, and was famous for his pious character. Longevity being the boon enjoyed by so many sufis, he witnessed the days of the Afghan rulers and survived till the early period of Akbar. His teacher, Shaikh Yahya (d. 850/1446), obliged a large number of contemporaries by imparting them spiritual instruction. 'Ala ud-Din Shihāb wrote a tract explaining the four essential subjects of esoteric science: 1. *Kimya* = alchemy, 2. *Simya* = enchantment, 3. *Himya* = talisman, and 4. *Rimya* = control of time-place factor. Also, he discussed other mysteries, for example, meeting with the hidden and immortal prophet Khizar. Its title was: *Rahat ur-Rah wa Hikmat ul-Futūh*, completed in 970/1562.

'Ali b. Muhammad Husaini (d. unknown) lived in the reign of Akbar and Jahangir and obtained service under 'Abd ur-Rahim Khān-i-Khānān, the great patron of literary men. At the instance of his master, he wrote a *tazkirah* of poets, dedicating the work to Khān-i-Khānān. The work, comprising, seven chapters, an introduction and a termination, contained largely borrowed material. But, the last portion was noteworthy, for, its information was based on the author's personal observations. Its title was

Bazm arāy, completed in 1000/1591.

Baqā'i, Mulla 'Arif (d. unknown) belonged to Bukhara and arrived in India during the reign of Akbar. He passed many years in Agra and travelled freely to the Deccan and Gujrat, where the two nobles, 'Abd ur-Rahim Khān-i-Khānān and Mirza Nizām ud-Din Ahmad, offered him hospitality. Mulla 'Arif was the author of a *tazkirah* of poets recounting from early times to his own contemporaries; its title was: *Majma'ul-Fuzala*, ca. 1000/1591.

Bhikan, Bhikari, Shaikh Nizām ud-Din (d. 981/1573) was a sufi in the reign of Akbar, living in Kakori, near Lucknow. His ancestors came from Herat, modern Afghanistan, during the days of Sulāṭn Bahlul Lodi (d. 894/1488) and settled in the above named town. Amir Saif ud-Din, Bhikan's father, was a noble and held important position in the government of the Lodi Sultāns, Bahlul and Sikandar. Shaikh Bhikan was the author of a monograph on the science of traditions, *Minhij*, and a work on sufism, *Ma'arif*.

'Ali Yusufi Sherwani (d. unknown) lived during the days of Akbar and Jahangir and was the author of a dictionary. As indicated by him, he consulted about twelve sources concerning the same subject in order to obtain material for his work. Its title was *Farhang-i-Durr-i-Dari*, completed in 1018/1609.

Faizi, Shaikh Illah-dād Sirhindi (d. unknown) was the son of Mulla 'Ali Sher Sirhindi living in the reign of Akbar. Both the father and son were known for their learning and held *madad-i-ma'ash* = land-grant for maintenance, a concession reserved by the state for the holy men and for those who claimed descent from the Prophet and his companions, that is, the Saiyeds and Shaikhs, traditionally engaged in promoting the cause of religion. He attempted a contemporary history highlighting the rule of his sovereign, and named it: *Akbar-namah*, 1010/1601. But, the more important work left by Illah-dad Faizi was a dictionary: *Madar ul-afazil*, completed in 1001/1592.

'Anbarin Qalam. 'Abd ur-Rahim (d. unknown) came from Herat,

modern Afghanistan, and was employed as a painter and calligraphist at the court of Akbar, who honoured him with the title mentioned above. He retained his fame till the reign of Jahangir. A number of specimens from his pen have survived.

Shirin Qalam. Khwajah 'Abd us-Samad (d. unknown) came from Amul, North Iran, and was employed as a calligraphist at the court of Akbar. His son, Khwajah Sharif Amuli, rose to the position of premier noble under Jahangir. Specimens from the pen of Shirin Qalam have survived.

Zarrin Qalam, Muhammad Husain. (d. 1014/1605) belonged to Kashmir and was a leading calligraphist of the reign of Akbar. At the emperor's instance, he imparted instruction to the Mughal princes, for, calligraphy was the essential part of their education. A number of specimens from the pen of Zarrin Qalam have survived. He has been acknowledged as the greatest master of *Nastaliq* in the sub-continent.

Chaturbhuj Dās b. Mehr Chand (d. unknown) belonged to Sonapat, a town situated north of Delhi, and was Kayasth by caste. He lived in the days of Akbar and made an independent translation of *Singhasan-Battisi*, the Sanskrit book of anecdotes, their hero being Rajah Bikramajit. Simultaneously, it was taken up under official patronage by the historian, Badā'uni, and one of his Brahman co-workers, and appeared as *Namah-i-Khird afza*. Chaturbhuj brought out his work under the title: *Shah-namah*.

Muhammad A'zam Khartali (d. unknown) was a disciple of the famous sufi, Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus Gwaliari (d. 970/1562). At the instance of his Shaikh and other friends, he prepared a collection of letters containing an introduction, five sections, and a termination. It gained popularity as *Munsha at-i-A'zam*.

Hidayatullah (d. unknown) came from Shiraz, Iran, and lived in the reign of Akbar. He utilized various Arabic sources to compose a treatise on astronomy and geomancy and the work was dedicated to the emperor. Its title was: *Qarwa'id-ul-Hidayat*, 1001/1592.

Fanā'i, 'Abd ul-Wahhab b. Muhammad Ma'muri (d. unknown) lived as a scholar and poet in the reign of Akbar and had friendly relations

with Shaikh Abu'l Fazl. He compiled a collection of letters: *Gulshan-i-balaghāt*.

Husain Qādiri, Shaikh (d. 1008/1599) belonged to Lahore and had his links with the sufis of the Malāmātī order. His spiritual guide was Shaikh Bahlol Daryā'ī, a wandering saint (d. 983/1575). Husain Qadiri wrote a book dealing with spiritual matters in seven chapters under the title: *Tahmīyat*.

Khūb Muhammad Chishti (d. unknown) lived in Ahmadabad, Gujrat, and was famous as a sufi during the time of Akbar. He was the author of 1. a sufistic treatise, *Khūb Tarang*, 2. a similar work adding further notes on the above, *Amwāj-i-Khūbi*, 3. a book of moral discourses based on personal experiences, *Jam-i-Jahan-nūma*, 4. a manual of instructions for the disciples, *Sūkh-i-kūl*, and 5. *Miftah ul-Khaza'in*, ca. 1000/1591.

Maqsūd 'Alī Tabrizī (d. unknown) came from Iran in the days of Akbar and was patronized by Prince Salim, who succeeded his father as Jahangir. At the instance of his master, he translated from Arabic the *Tarikh ul-Hukama*, history of the philosophers, written by Shaharazūrī (d. ca 687/1288). The original title of the latter's book, containing the account of thirty-four pre-Islamic and seventy-seven post-Islamic philosophers, was *Nuzhat ul-arwah wa Rauzat ul-afrah*. Maqsūd 'Alī's version appeared as *Tarjumah-i-Tarikh ul-Hukama*, completed in 1014/1605.

Muhammad b. Tāhir (d. 986/1578) belonged to Patan, Punjab, and was renowned for his religious scholarship. Akbar invited him for a meeting at the time of his visit to Gujrat. As a mark of respect, the emperor made the offering of a turban and himself tied it around the scholar's head. Muhammad b. Tahir's special field was the science of tradition and other subjects related to it. He wrote 1. *Asma ur-Rijal*, names and notices of persons who transmitted the traditions of the Prophet, 2. *al-Mughni*, a work of similar nature giving correct spellings and arranged as in a dictionary, and 3. *Tazkirat ul-Mawzu'at*, subject-wise analysis of the traditions.

Sharif Muhammad alias Shah Sharif ullah (d. unknown) was

an emigrant sufi from Iran and lived in Nausari, Gujrat, during the days of Akbar. He belonged to the Qadiri order and wrote a book concerning miscellaneous topics of interest to the members of his fraternity. Its title was: *Matali'ut-Talibin wa Tariq us-Salikin* completed ca. 997/1589.

Hāshim 'Alawī (d. unknown) was the sufi disciple and nephew of Shaikh Wajih ud-Din 'Alawī, the saint of Ahmadabad, Gujrat (d. 997/1588). He came to settle in Delhi where he was respected for his piety and scholarship. The collection of his sayings has survived : *Malfūzat-i-Shah Hashim 'Alawī*.

Muhammad Chishti b. Miyān Jiyā, Shaikh (d. unknown) lived in Ahmadabad, Gujrat, during the days of Akbar. His ancestor was the great saint, Shaikh Nasir ud-Din Mahmūd Chiragh-i-Dehli. Having succeeded his father as the latter's *khalifah*, he imparted religious instruction to his devotees till the end of his life. As author, Shaikh Muhammad left many books. Important among them were 1. *Rahat ul-Muridin*, 2. *Adab ut-Talibin*, 3. *Ma'rifat us-Salūk*, 4. *Risalah-i-'Irfan*, and 5. *Afsanah-i-Diwanah*, ca. 1007/1599.

Muhammad Kashmiri, Hāji (d. 1006/1597) was a scholar and sufi living in the *Khanqah* of Mir Saiyed 'Alī Hamadani at Srinagar, Kashmir, during the days of Akbar. He translated Muhammad b. 'Isa Tirmizi's *Shama'il un-Nabi*. The work is one of the six canonical collections of traditions and deals with the person and character of the Prophet. Imam 'Abu 'Isa Tirmizi died in 279/892 at his home town, Tirmiz, Central Asia, and was one of the founders of the science of Tradition. Hāji Muhammad Kashmiri passed many years under the guidance of Ibn Hajar Makki, the theologian of the holy city and brought out his work under the title *Tarjumah-i-Shama'il un-Nabi*, 988/1580.

Mukmmal Khan Gujrati (d. unknown) enjoyed the patronage of Akbar, who recognized his scholarship by conferring on him the title mentioned above. He translated from Sanskrit a concise treatise on astronomy and dedicated it to the emperor. The title of the work was *Tajak*.

Múzaffar b. Saiyed Hāshim Husaini (d. unknown) served as an

ordinary scribe at the court of Akbar, and was the translator of a Sanskrit book of anecdotes: *Singhasan-Battisi*. Other scholars also attempted its translation independently. He dedicated his work to the emperor, naming it *Miftah ul-Akhbar*.

Muhibb 'Ali Khan (d. 989/15581) served as superintendent of the department of game and was appointed governor of Delhi at the end of his career in the reign of Akbar. The Emperor being specially fond of leopards, elephants, and falcons, had extensive arrangements for their maintenance. Traditionally, falcon had been the favourite bird of kings and enjoyed the privilege of perching itself on their gloved hand. So was its presence necessary in the paraphernalia of hunting, for, to the delight of its master, it instantly brought down every winged animal which flew away from the shooting range of the arrows. Muhibb 'Ali wrote, like other experts prior to him, a treatise on falconry giving relevant information about the royal bird, and dedicated it to Akbar. Its title was, *Shahbāz-nāmāh*.

Nizām ud-Din Pānipati (d. unknown) was a scholar during the reign of Akbar. At the instance of Prince Salim, he translated from Sanskrit into Persian Valmiki's book on yoga, naming it: *Tarjumah-i-Yog Vashist*, ca. 1014/1605.

Nāmi, Mir Muhammad Ma'sūm (d. 1015/1606): His father was Shaikh ul-Islam of Bhakkar, Sind. In early life, he left his home as he was keen to see the world. He stayed in Gujrat as a guest of Mirza Nizām ud-Din Ahmad, the Bakhshi of that province, and then, moved to the court of Akbar. The emperor sent him as envoy to Shah Abbas, the Great of Iran. He remained in service at the Mughal court till the beginning of Jahangir's reign, and then, finally, returned to Bhakkar. In old age he wrote the book on which his reputation is based, *Tarikh-i-Ma'sumi* or more directly, *Tarikh-i-Sind*. It portrays the conditions of that province from the advent of Muhammad b. Qāsim to the author's own time. Besides the above-mentioned history, he left a *Diwan* of verses and a few *masnawis*, foremost among them being the versified translation of the romantic legend, *Sasi-Pannū*, under the title, *Husn wa Naz*. Also,

ascribed to him was a textbook of medicine: *Mufradat-i-Nami*.

Nizām ud-Din Ahmad, Khwajah (d. 1003/1594) belonged to Herat and was promoted by Akbar as *bakhshi* = paymaster, of his empire. He was the author of a general history, *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, completed in 1001/1592, in which Akbar's account has been traced upto 38th year of his reign. Since its author began his survey from the entry of the Turks, the above-named work was the earliest of its kind written in India. All the subsequent writers of general histories, like Bada'uni and Ferishtah, have followed its pattern as a model. It has a *muqaddimah* = introduction, devoted to the Ghaznawids, and nine *tabaqat*, dealing with, apart from Delhi, all the regional dynasties which succeeded in establishing their rule from time to time in various parts of India. The first *tabaqah* on Delhi begins with the year 574/1178, and has been carried to the author's own time. The rest that follow are the Deccan, Gujrat, Malwah, Bengal, Jaunpur, Kashmir, Sind and Multan respectively. In the *Khatimah* = termination, the author intended, perhaps, to present a geographical account of India, but it was left incomplete as he died at a comparatively early age of forty-five years. Giving exclusive treatment to India and isolating it from the general vortex of universal order, familiar to the Persian writers of history, Nizām ud-Din showed a new path to Indian historians which they faithfully followed. Equally praiseworthy are the literary merits of *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*. It contains authentic information about eighty-four poets of the author's time. Incidentally, Nizām ud-Din was also associated by the emperor in the grand project of *Tarikh-i-Alfi*.

Prem Jiv Gujrati (d. unknown) was a painter at the court of Akbar. He wrote a history of the dynasty of his patron and embellished his work with miniature illustrations in bright colour. Its title was *Tarikh-i-Khandan-i-Timuriyah*.

Sirāj ud-Din 'Abd ullah (d. 1010/1601) belonged to Burhanpur, Deccan, and was spiritual disciple of the Shattari sufi, Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus Gwaliāri, who lived during Akbar's days. For further training he turned to seek the guidance of Shaikh Wajih ud-Din 'Alawi and 'Isa Jand ullah. Thereafter, Sirāj ud-Din wandered freely as a darwesh through many

cities of the Islamic world and the sub-continent and passed some time in Punjab and Kashmir. He died at Agra, where he delivered lectures to students in his own house. His books on sufism were: 1. *Siraj us-Salikin*, 2. *Aurad-i-Sufiyya*, and 3. *Anis ul-Musafirin*.

Arab Najafi, Saiyed (d. unknown) witnessed the reign of Akbar and Jahangir and was employed as superintendent of the department of royal game. His masters being very much fond of hunting, he had accumulated interesting experiences during his long career of service. He wrote a treatise for practical guidance of the men of his own rank, and named it *Risalah-i-Mir-Shikaran*.

Qasimi, Majd ud-Din Khwafi (d. unknown) belonged to Khwaf, a town situated in Khurasan, North Iran. He arrived in India during the days of Akbar and was enlisted among the scholars of his court. He wrote a book on the pattern of Shaikh Sa'di's *Gulistan*, naming it *Rauzat ul-Khuld*.

Sa'd ullah Kashmiri (d. unknown) lived in Kashmir during the days of Akbar and was respected for his religious scholarship. He was author of a treatise on *tajwid* = recitation of the Qur'an. Its title was *Wird ul-Qari*, 1002/1593.

Sarfi Kashmiri, Shaikh Yaqub (d. 1003/1595) lived the virtuous life of a sufi and was treated with esteem by Humayun and Akbar for his learning. In early life he wandered freely and visited many cities of Islamic Asia famous for their dead or living saints. He met Shaikh Husain Khawarizmi, an eminent saint of his time, who, before moving to Syria, gave him spiritual guidance at Samarqand and authorized him as his spiritual successor, *Khalifah*. Sarfi exercised his talents in poetry and wrote a versified biography of the Prophet with particular emphasis on the holy wars and conquests made in his time. The *Maghazi un-Nabi* as he named it, is a readable *masnawi* of literary charm and eloquence. Besides the above-mentioned work, Sarfi composed many lengthy poems on religious subjects, wrote a commentary on *Sahih* of Imam Muhammad b. Isma'il Bukhari (d. 256/869), and a few years before his death, turned to write a large scale commentary on the Qur'an, which was left incomplete.

Shah-i-'Alam, Saiyed Muhammad (d. unknown) lived as a sufi in Gujrat and belonged to the Suhrawardi order. His period of life coincided with the reign of Akbar. He delivered sermons after Friday prayers in the congregation mosque of Ahmadabad. One of his grandsons, Saiyed Ja'far Badr-i-'Alam, collected them under the title: *Jum'at-i-Shahiyah*. Another grandson, Saiyed Muhammad II, was also famous as a sufi and poet (see Jalali).

Shah Muhammad Shahabadi, Mulla (d. knknown) was a learned man of Kashmir living in the time of Akbar. He translated into Persian the famous *Raj Tarangini*, a versified history of Kashmir in Sanskrit composed by the poet, Kalhana, in the middle of twelfth century A.D. An abridgment of Mulla Shahabadi's translation was prepared at Akbar's command by 'Abd ul-Qādir Bada'uni.

Amin Ahmad Rāzi (d. unknown) came from the city of Ray, near modern Tehran, Iran, in the reign of Akbar and was treated with kindness by the emperor and his nobles. He travelled widely in the sub-continent and developed friendly relations with a large number of literary men. During the course of his stay in India, he prepared a book closer in pattern to a gazetteer. It cast light on geographical details, particularly, the Islamic lands of the eastern zone: the Tigris being the dividing line. Amin Ahmad collected biographical notices of saints, scholars, poets, princes, and rulers listing them under different regions. The title chosen for the work was: *Haft-Iqlim*.

Humām b. 'Abd ur-Razzāq, Hakim (d. 1004/1595) lived as a physician at Akbar's court. He originally belonged to Gilan, a northern city in the Iranian province of Mazandaran, and his name was Bakawal Beg. Akbar treated him kindly and Hakim Humām gradually found entry into the trusted circle of the emperor's bosom-friends. He was associated with the bureau of writers appointed at Akbar's desire to prepare a historical survey of one thousand years of Islam. Hakim Humām contributed a chapter to the famous but controversial *Tārīkh-i-Alfi*.

'Arif Qandhari (d. unknown) served under Bairam Khān Khān-i-Khānān (d. 968/1561) and enjoyed the rank of 'Mir Sāmān'. He witnessed the events occurring between Humayun's flight to Iran following the

debacle of Chawsah and his triumphal re-entry as monarch of India after about fourteen years. Finally, he watched the tragedy of his master's death, falling victim to an Afghan's dagger in Gujrat. He attempted a history with the intention of preserving the hitherto unknown facts. The work left by him gave the account of the early years of Akbar down to 987/1597. It has been known as *Tarikh-i-Akbari*/*Tarikh-i-'Arif Qandhari*.

Mushtāqi, Shaikh Rizq ullah (d. 989/1581) was a pious man of sufi background and a disciple of Shaikh Būddan, a saint of the Shattari order. Living in the Delhi of Lodi Afghans, he simply collected *Waqi'at* = happenings, and constructed history from piece-meal anecdotes. The method was favoured by certain writers of his class, particularly, those concerned with the Afghan period. Although Mushtaqi's work was completed in the reign of Akbar, it contained miniature portraits of the Afghan nobles and kings whose times had passed. The author was born in the days of Sikandar Lodi and possessed knowledge of all the circumstances till Humayūn's reconquest of the Indian empire. He brought out interesting details of the process of cultural synthesis taking place among the Indians under the patronizing guidance of Afghan rulers before Akbar. No chronological scheme has been adopted by Mushtāqi. Nonetheless, the reader will gather strong impression that only a disciplined sufi, inspired by deep human sentiments, could compose a work like *Waqi'at-i-Mushtaqi*.

'Abd ul-Haq Dehlawi, Shaikh (d. 1052/1642) was a scholar and author of many books. His family emigrated from Bukhara and settled in Delhi. He lived during the reign of Akbar. The historian, Bada'uni, had great respect for him. As a young man he went to Mecca and received instruction from learned men of the holy city. According to popular report, he wrote one hundred books during his intellectual career. Among the acknowledged contributions was a biography of the Prophet in an impressive Persian prose: *Madarij un-Nabuwah*. Another was a *tazkirah* containing the account of 238 saints of India, who lived before the author's time. *Akhbar ul-Akhyar*. And, he revealed the consciousness of a mature historian in the assessment of events from Muhammad Ghorī (d. 603/1206) to his contemporary sovereign Akbar. His information from

Bahlul Lodi (d. 844/1488) onwards was based on authentic reports or eye-witness evidence. The work, originally named *Zikr ul-Mulūk*, became famous as *Tārīkh-i-Haqqī*.

• **Abbās Khān Sarwānī** (d. unknown) belonged to the Afghan race and lived in the reign of Akbar. His grandfather, Shaikh Bayazid, enjoyed the confidence of Sher Shāh, the monarch of Sur dynasty. He was encouraged by Akbar to write a history of the Afghans, particularly, preserve memories of the days when Sher Shāh and his son, Islām Shāh, presided over the destiny of India. Many old Afghan nobles assisted him by way of supplying authentic information. The work was dedicated to the emperor and named *Tuhfah-i-Akbar Shahī*. As he had devoted much space in describing the career and achievements of Sher Shāh, it became famous as *Tārīkh-i-Sher Shahī*, completed in 990/1582.

Tāhir Muhammad Sabzwari, Mir (d. unknown) belonged to a talented family of writers and poets, who emigrated from Sabzwār, Iran and settled in the city of Thatta, Sind. He composed poetry under the pen-name, Nisyānī. His father, 'Imād ud-Din Hasan, occupied a high rank in the civil government of Akbar and served as governor of Cambay, Gujrat. He performed many jobs entrusted to him by the emperor. Later on, Jahangir's noble, Mirza Ghāzī Beg Waqārī, provided him employment. Tahir Muhammad was a scholar of history and wrote the *Rauz ut-Tahirin*, completed in 1014/1606 which is more familiarly known as *Tārīkh-i-Tāhri*.

Tān Sen, Miyān, Mirza (d. 996/1587) was master-musician of Akbar's reign. Shaikh Abu'l Fazl remarked about him: "Such a genius comes into the world after one thousand years." Originally a Hindu, he came under the influence of the saint of his city, Muhammad Ghaus Shattārī of Gwalior, and embraced Islam. From the court of Rājāh Ram Singh Baghela, Rewa, where he started his career, he went to Agra at Akbar's invitation and the emperor conferred on him the titles mentioned above. He dictated notes on music, which were preserved as *Budh-Prakash*. Muhammad Akbar Arzani, a scholar of Aurangzeb's reign, rendered them into Persian, *Tashrīh ul-Mausiqi*.

Todar Mal, Rājāh (d. 998/1589) held the position of minister in the

government of Akbar the Great and was treated as a genius of land revenue matters. The foundations of the system he laid remained intact despite so many superstructural changes in the following centuries. At the emperor's instance, he supervised the compilation of a concise encyclopaedia of Hindu learning. Under his direction, the scholars of Benaras consolidated all the eighteen branches of knowledge and accomplished the desired project in Sanskrit. Its title suggested by them was *Todar-namah*. Having awareness of history, the Rajah asked his *Mir Munshi* = chief secretary to write an account of his life and achievements. The original work was lost, leaving behind a carelessly made Urdu translation. The translator's name appeared as Safdar 'Ali. His special field being land settlement for the purpose of revenue collection, a document, supposed to be typical specimen of the Rajah's own working, has survived, giving details of the villages which comprised the Parganah = fiscal division, of Bhagalpur, Sarkar Munghyr, Subah Bihar. Its title being: *Haqiqat-i-Raqbah bandi*.

Wāsifi, Mir 'Abd ullah Mushkin Qalam (d. unknown) lived at the court of Akbar and was one of the celebrated calligraphists having left his mark in the cultural history of Islamic India. The emperor conferred on him the title mentioned above. In old age, he renounced the world and passed his life in prayers and contemplation of God. He composed verses and left his *Diwan*. One of Wāsifi's disciples prepared an account of his saintly habits, naming the work *Fath ul qulub*. Wāsifi composed a *masnawi* on the pattern of Shaikh Nizāmi and named it *Gulshan-i-Asrar*. Among his surviving specimens of calligraphy there are 1. inscriptions in Khusraw Bagh and the fort of Allahabad, and 2. a copy of Hasan-i-Dihlawi's *Diwan of verses*.

Xavier, Father Jerome (d. 1027/1617) came as a Christian missionary from Lisbon, Portugal, in the time of Akbar and settled in Goa. After some time, he moved to the Mughal court and spent about twenty years in Agra and Lahore, where he was kindly treated by the emperors, Akbar and Jahangir. He learned Persian and developed proficiency as a writer, having attempted pamphlets and monographs for introducing the Christian religion. Responding to the request of the great emperor, Xavier wrote a life of Jesus

Christ, Mir 'at ul-Quds/Dāstan-i-Masih, 1011/1602, and the lives of apostles in joint authorship with 'Abd us-Sattar, *Dāstan-i-Ahwal-i-Hawariyan*. His translation of the Psalms, *Zubūr*, at once became a book of popular interest and was eagerly read by the educated classes of those days. He summed up the teachings of Christianity in a didactic work which he dedicated to Jahangir, *A'inah-i-Haq-nāma*, and then, prepared its abridgment for the sake of wider publicity, *Muntakhab-i-A'inah-i-Haq-nāma*. And, to acquaint the generations of the Great Mughals with political ideas of the Western world, he wrote a book on the art of government and statecraft, *Adab us-Saltanat*.

Works of Translation Bureau

The Mahabharat, was the first book to be taken up. Naqib Khān made overall supervision and distributed the chapters between various scholars, namely, Haji Sultān Thānesari, Mulla Shiri, Bada'uni, and Faizi. The Brahman scholars, cooperating with them, were Sattyawani, Debi Misra, Madhusudan Misra, Shaikh Bahawan and a few others. Naqib Khan gave coherence by adding or omitting passages and a period of one and a half year was spent by the concerted effort of the entire team to complete the translation. Shaikh Abu'l Fazl prefixed an elaborate introduction in his grand style. The emperor exhorted all the nobles to have transcribed one copy of the book.

The Bhagvadgita, was entrusted to Faizi, who, by his original knowledge of Sanskrit, was most worthy of the job. The work, as it exists today, bears an introduction dealing with the main theories of Hindu religion. It is one of the most widely read of all the translated books and its copies would be still found in most of the homes where Persian was studied upto a few generations back. Taking account of the immense popularity of the Persian version of *Gita*, apart from the spirit of the book itself, credit must be allowed to the genius of the translator.

The Ramāyan, was allotted to the historian Bada'uni, who completed the translation after four years of hard labour. The emperor, as the historian

says, had summoned "wise Indians" from all the parts of the realm to explain the texts. It came out as *Turjumah-i-Kitab-i-Ramayān*.

The Hari Vansha/Harbans Puran, depicted the legend of Krishna. Its author was Viyās pandit. Mulla Sheri, an active participant in the debates of 'Ibadat Khanah, rendered the work into Persian.

The Atharved, was attempted by the learned Brahman, Shaikh Bahāvan, who had embraced Islam. He explained and Bada'uni attended him to write the Persian version. But there were points which Shaikh Bahāvan failed to explain. The job was, therefore, transferred to Faizi and from him it passed on to Haji Ibrahim Sirhindi. But the work remained incomplete, for, no catalogue of Persian collections mentions the existence of that copy.

The Lilavati, a treatise on mathematics and astronomy interspersed with calculations of astrological nature appeared in Persian version through the labours of Faizi. In the preface he says that a certain learned man named Bhasker Acharya lived in the city of Bider, the Deccan. The birth of a daughter plunged the wise man in grief as her horoscope did not foretell of fruitful marriage. However, the loving father was determined to immortalize the name of his daughter. The labour of love succeeded and he left *Lilavati* for all ages. Faizi's version introduced *Lilavati* to the Persian speaking world.

The Singhāsān Battisi, entrusted to Bada'uni. It is a small book of thirty-two stories telling about the justice, generosity and wisdom of Raja Bikramjit. Few historical figures are destined with the good fortune to pass from history into legend, and Raja Bikramjit is one of them, whose name is sung by the bards and whose tales are repeated since numberless days by the common-folk. Bada'uni named this book as *Namah-i-Khurad Afza*.

The Nal-Daman, was a commonplace tale of love made current by rustic bards; but the genius of a poet like Faizi embellished it into a remarkable piece of Indo-Persian literature. In the beginning of the poem he records a conversation that took place between him and his royal patron. The

emperor was critical of literary taste and complained: "How long you poets will regale your audience with the praise of Laila-Majnûn and Khusraw-Shirin? Was there no love at all in this land of old memories?" Faizi mentioned the tale of Rajah Nal and Damanti. Thereupon the emperor eagerly said: "My dear poet, sing it to me." Faizi carried out the command of the sovereign in a manner worthy of him.

The 'Ayâr-i-Dânish, i.e. the famous *Panchatantra* was tried to be given a fresh version by the pen of Abu'l Fazl. Already before him it was thrice rendered into Persian prose and once in verse by the earliest poet Rudaki. The author of *Akbar Namah* makes great effort to change his diction for a simpler and easier expression and almost fails to produce a work as popular as *Kalila* or as pleasing as *Anwar-i-Suhaili*. The book has once appeared in print.

POETS

In a society where monarchs and princes liked to be poets themselves, it was natural that poetry became the queen of all arts and the poet established his position as ideal gentleman. During Akbar's reign, most of the poets were Iranian emigrants. Luck favoured them when they left their land of birth. The Mughal court had acquired the prestige of an academy. Reward apart, the visit amounted to attaining a qualification. It was an unavoidable need. They came in order to polish their talents and get them recognised amongst the contemporaries. Never in history were the poets given so much encouragement. A number of them were weighed in silver for a single verse. Akbar set the example and his successors followed to reward the poets with their body-weight of silver. As inheritors of Timurid tradition, they attached greater importance to *ghazal* over all other forms of poetry. Their genius chiefly unfolded itself in that field and through their efforts *ghazal* attained perfect charm. Its free development became the symbol of the age. From the *Nafâ'is ul-Ma'asir* of Mir 'Ala ud-Dawlah Qazwini, the historian, Bada'uni borrowed one hundred sixty seven poets to be

mentioned in his history, Shaikh Abul Fazl confined his account to fifty nine poets in the *A'in-i-Akbari* and added that thousands of them continually visited the emperor's court and returned with lavish rewards. In short, "puns, chronograms, satires, similes, and original concepts constituted the salient merits of Mughal poetry".*

Ghazali Mashhadi (d. 980/1572) was poet-laureate at the court of Akbar and left his name among the masters whose genius elevated the dignity and importance of Persian *ghazal*. He qualified himself to eminence by embarking on the course of adventure at an early age. His countrymen, particularly the guardians of pious morals, were offended by his verses as smacking of heresy, and anticipating the consequences, he hastily escaped to India and found refuge in the Deccan. Akbar's noble, Khān-i-Zamān 'Alī Qulī Khan, who held the governorship of Jaunpur, sent him an alluring invitation and Ghazali came to stay at his court. Events moved fast, and Khān-i-Zamān lost his life as unsuccessful rebel of the state (974/1566). Soon, Akbar took notice of the poet's superior intelligence and bestowed on him the honour he deserved. A voluminous *Divān* of verses was Ghazali's legacy to posterity. Also, he composed a *masnawī*: *Naqsh-i-badī*.

Qāsim-i-Arsalān (d. 995/1586) came from Tūs, Mashhad, and established his position as a man possessed with literary excellence. Bada'ūni reported that he was one of the three most popular poets during the early years of Akbar's reign, the other two being Husain-i-Marvi and Qāsim-i-Kāhi. He was equally acknowledged for calligraphy. As his father claimed descent from Arsalān Jazīb, a military commander and noble of Sultān Mahmūd of Ghaznah, so he composed verses under the pen-name Arsalān. His *Divān* has survived.

Qāsim-i-Kāhi, (d. 988/1580) was born at Miyānkāl, a mountainous village near Samarqand, and passed considerable time of his life in the city of Kābul. Impressed by his personality and genius, the emperor Humāyūn enlisted him as his companion and court-poet. For the same reason, he was treated with much respect by Akbar. Kāhi lived upto unusually long age of over a hundred and ten years and established his reputation among the leading literary men of the times. His experiences of

human diversities accumulated through such a wide range of space and time, made him a latitudinarian of quite open mind. His contemporaries, particularly, the old-fashioned fanatics, were baffled by his 'strange' character. The historian, Bada'uni, gave free rein to his disgust: "These two have shared all the world's wickedness half and half between them." The other was Ghazali, the poet-laureate of Akbar. Supposed to be the longest surviving disciple of the poet-saint, Jāmi of Herāt, he had been welcome to all; and everybody felt surprised by his exuberant cheerfulness and simplicity. Once, on being asked by a poet friend how old was he, Kāhi replied: I am two years younger than God. The poet was equally gifted with ready wit and presence of mind: "Makhdūm-i-mā, I thought you must be two years elder." Kāhi laughed and said: "You are worthy of my company." His *Diwān* of verses has survived.

Husain-i-Mervi, Khwājah (d. 979/1571) belonged to Merv, the border city of Khurāsān, south of Trans-Oxiana, and was a leading poet of Akbar's court during the early decades of the emperor's reign. He had the training of a scholar and stayed for many years in the holy city of Mecca, where he attended the lectures of Shaikh Ibn Hajar, the most outstanding theologian of those days. Khwajah Husain owed his everlasting fame in literature to a single *qasidah*, composed on the occasion of Prince Salim's birth. Nothing could have been so welcome to the jubilant heart of the emperor and his courtiers as the novel artifice employed by Khwājah Husain in his poem. Each verse of the *qasidah* gave two chronograms: the coronation of Akbar = 963, and the birth of the heir apparent = 977. No wonder, the emperor rewarded the poet with cash that remained unprecedented in Mughal history. Manuscript copies of his *Diwān* of verses have survived.

Faizi, Shaikh Abul Faiz (d. 1004/1595) was the eldest son of Shaikh Mubārak and a brilliant scholar of Akbar's court whom the emperor made his poet-laureate after the death of Ghazālī Mashhadi. He and his younger brother, Shaikh Abul Fazl, attained the distinction of serving as Akbar's trusted counsellors. With sincerity and zeal, the two brothers strived to make their master's reign an era of success. They invested their genius in promoting the emperor's declared policy of Universal Peace = *Sulh-i-kul*.

* Hadi Hasan: *Lectures on Mughal Poetry*

Implacable hatred was the price they received for indentifying themselves with the liberalism of their age. All his life and immediately after death Faizi was the target of condemnation by the defenders of orthodoxy. Only the most insulting chronograms could placate their rude sentiments: *Ah, what a dog worshipper died. For sure, he went to Hell. He was a philosopher, schismatic, naturalist and atheist. Faizi the uncouth was the enemy of the Prophet's faith*, and, there seemed to be no end to the chorus of maligning. As a writer, Faizi tried his pen in various fields: 1. *Sawati 'ul-Ihām*, commentary of the Qur'an in undotted letters, revealing his innovative character and power of articulation. It raised him to the rank of celebrities, respected for religious learning. Furthermore, it threw a challenge to his enemies, defaming and cursing him, that he could do what others could not dream of. 2. *The Bhagwad Gita*, Song of Krishna, the charming portion from the *Mahabharat*. Faizi's translation subscribed to the larger project of rendering the sacred books of the Hindus into Persian, which Akbar and his devoted circle of associates had undertaken to accomplish. Faizi was one of the few Muslim scholars who paid attention to Al-Biruni's legacy and acquired mastery of Sanskrit language. 3. *Lilawati*, translation of an astronomical and mathematical treatise. Long before Shakespeare presented his *King Lear*, a Brahman of South India had shown to the world how deep could be a father's love for his daughter. By his knowledge of the future, the Brahman was dismayed to learn that his only child, Lilawati, had been debarred by callous fate from enjoying married life. After many arduous calculations about the movements of celestial bodies, he found a brief moment at last that could prove auspicious for the wedding. He made elaborate preparations and arranged a water dial for indicating the desired time. In a tub full of water a copper basin with a narrow hole in its bottom was left to float, which would sink down by gradual rise of water and announce the hour of nuptials. The innocent bride came to see the spectacle, and a pearl from her headgear fell into the basin shutting the hole and preventing it from sinking. Alas, fleeting moments passed away before the unhappy father discovered that the basin would not sink. Undaunted, he had the power of knowledge to immortalize the name of his daughter. Faizi's translation gave further dimension to the fame of *Lilawati*. 4. *Diwan* of verses, containing chiefly *ghazals* and *qasidahs*. All critics conceded to the

opinion expressed by Khān-i-Arzū that Amir Khusraw was the greatest poet of Persian born in the sub-continent and next to him was Faizi. His age abounded in men of genius, particularly in the realm of literature, but none of them could overshadow his personality. The eloquence of his style was unsurpassable and unique. 5. *Nal-Daman*, a *masnawī* narrating the romance of two lovers born in the province of Malwah. It owed its genesis to the inquisitive mind of Akbar, who in a private conversation one night, wondered whether there were no popular legends in India like those sung about Laila-Majnun and Shirin-Farhād. Instantly, one of the courtiers mentioned the names of Rajah Nal of Ujjain and his sweetheart, Damanti and the emperor asked Faizi to versify the tale in Persian. 6. *Markaz-i-adwār*, a didactic *masnawī* on the model of Shaikh Nizami of Ganjah, 7. *Lata'if-i-Faizi*, collection of letters.

Ashki Qūmmī (d. unknown) came from Qūm, the city of learned men in Iran, and found a place among the court-poets of Akbar. As death approached him in Agra, he handed over his *Diwan* of verses to his trustworthy friend, Jūdā'i Tabrizi, the poet and painter. Allegedly, Jūdā'i plagiarized Ashki's verses and published them as his own. Ahead of all the accusers, trumpeting the charge and protesting against Jūdā'i Tabrizi, was the emperor's poet-laureate, Ghazālī Mashhadī. The two rivals traded satires and passed versified letters full of invectives over the issue of poor Ashki's untraceable *Diwan* of verses.

Bāqī Kaulabī, Hayāt Jān (d. 987/1579) came from Kaulāb, a village in the south of Bukhara, and found employment as a poet at the court of Akbar. Impressed by the popular romantic legend of Punjab, he composed the *masnawī* poem: *Hir wa Ranjha*.

Fānī, Muhammad Mu'in ud-Din, Khwajah (d. 1016/1607) came from Iran in the reign of Akbar and enjoyed the patronage of 'Abd ur-Rahim Khān-i-Khanān. Burhān Nizām Shah, king of Ahmadnagar, made him a dignitary of his government. In later life, Fānī developed interest in sufi way of life and retired to Surat, Gujrat, where he lived as a darwesh. He composed lucid verses and left a collection of *qasidāhs*.

Bahrām Saqqa, Shāh Birdi Bayāt (d. 970/1562) was a sufi poet in

the reign of Hūmayūn and Akbar. Originally a Turk, he had lived earlier in Qandhar and other cities of Central Asia. As many sufis emphasised on service to mankind, making it a routine of spiritual discipline, Bahram's custom was to carry a water-bag on his shoulder and offer water to the thirsty free of charge. From Agra, where the historian Mūlla 'Abd ul-Qādir Bada'uni, saw him, he moved to Bengal and spent his last days in the city of Burdwan near Calcutta. In the same city he lies buried, and later on Sher Afghan Khan, Nūr Jahan's first husband, also found a grave by his side. His *Diwan* of verses, popular among his contemporaries, has survived.

Fidā'i, Rustam Mirza Safawi (d. unknown) belonged to the royal Safawid family of Iran and settled in Qandhar when that city was under the control of the Mughals. Akbar invited him to his court and he rose to high position among the Mughal nobility. He composed poetry under the pen-name mentioned above, and left a *Diwan* of verses.

Fitrati, Maulana (d. unknown) belonged to Kashmir and lived as a poet at the court of Akbar. He was an ardent supporter of the emperor's *Din-i-Ilahi*. In praise of sun-worship practised by his master, Fitrati composed two verses and obtained a reward of twelve thousand rupees.

Judā'i Tabrizi, Mir Saiyed 'Ali (d. unknown) enjoyed the position of royal painter at Akbar's court, and also, was a poet of established reputation. By the order of the emperor, he prepared an illustrated version of the great legend, *Dāstān-i-Amir Hamza*, in sixteen volumes. Each volume contained one hundred illustrations; and the paintings were drawn on large size. As witnessed by contemporaries, it was a grand achievement in colour. Nothing out of that colossal album of plates has survived for the benefit of posterity. Ghazālī, the poet-laureate of Akbar's court, had been Judā'i's chief rival in poetry. Many *tazkirah* writers mentioned the availability of that poet's *Diwan*.

Hairati, Taqi ud-Din (d. unknown) witnessed the time and enjoyed the patronage of Shāh Tahmasp Safawi of Iran. He emigrated to India and was enlisted among the court poets of Akbar. As the emperor was going

to Kashmir, death overtook the poet along the way. His *Divān* of verses has survived.

Ginā'i, Shams un-Din Muhammad (d. unknown) came from Lār, South Iran, and served as *Diwān* = revenue chief, during the time of Akbar and Jahāngir. He composed a *masnawī* in praise of 'Alī, the son-in-law of the Prophet, naming it: *I'jāz-namah*.

Kalāmi, Afzal Khan (d. unknown) came from Lār, South Iran, and entered the service of Akbar, who conferred on him the title mentioned above. He claimed scholarship in religious sciences, but Mulla 'Abd ullah Makhdūm ul-Mulk, an orthodox divine of aggressive nature, once defeated him in a long drawn out debate. Being unable to bear the insult, he left for the Deccan, where Nizām Shah, the ruler of Ahmadnagar, offered him hospitality. He was a nobleman, scholar and poet possessing *Diwan* of verses.

Mazhari Kashmiri (d. 1016/1607) was a popular poet in the reign of Akbar and Jahangir. He left his hometown in young age and travelled in the cities of Iran for many years, where his literary experiences were enriched. He met Muhtasham Kashi and Wahshi Yazdi. Having returned to India, he impressed his contemporaries, including Shaikh Abul Fazl and Bada'uni, by his creative abilities. He seemed to have spent some time with 'Abd ur-Rahim Khān-i-Khanān, for, his name occurred in Nihawandi's lengthy list. Akbar appointed him *Mir-i-Bahr* of Kashmir, a post of prestige and profit which he held till the end of his life.

Maili Harawi, Muhammad Qūli (d. 983/1575) belonged to Herat, modern Afghanistan, and came to India in the reign of Akbar. His patron was Naurang Khan, a nobleman who served as governor of Junagarh, Gujrat, for many years. Maili visited the imperial court at Fatehpur Sikri and was rewarded by the emperor for his *qasidah*. His *Divān* of verses has survived.

Mahmūd Lahori (d. unknown) was a poet of ordinary merits living in Lahore during the days of Akbar and Jahangir. In one of his poems, he had praised Akbar. Accidentally, fame overtook him after death, when

professional teachers controlling the educational system included his *Diwān* of verses in their curriculum. Till the old syllabus remained in vogue, every young student was familiar with his *Diwān* and the poem *Mahmūd-nāmāh*. Also, Mahmūd left two lengthy poems: '*Ashiq wa Ma'shūq* and *Haft-Kishwar*,

Muhammad Jamil b. Abū Tūrāb Hārīsī (d. unknown) lived in Kashmir, where he settled having emigrated from Badakhshan, Central Asia, during the days of Akbar. He devoted attention to investigate the development to theological doctrines which plunged the early Muslims in exciting debates and disputes during the first three centuries of Islam, and finally crystallized into the Sunni Hanafi beliefs. His monograph was in verse. Initially, issues of metaphysical nature surfaced from the time of Hasan-i-Basri (d. 110/728). During his lecture, one of the students raised a serious objection and remained unconvinced by the teacher's explanation till the great sage pronounced against him, *I'tazala an-na* = He seceded from us. That audacious student, the seceder, was Wāsil b. 'Ata (d. 131/749), who left his name in history as founder of the school of Mu'tazilah. Summarily, the five principles enunciated by the Mu'tazilah were, 1. *tawhīd* = Divine Unity; 2. '*Adl*=Justice, 3. *Wa'd wa Wa'id* = Promise of Reward and Punishment, 4. *Manzil bain ul-Manzilatain* = Sinner's stage between two stages and 5. *Amr bil ma'rūf wa nahi a'n al-munkar* = Affirming commands and negating prohibitions. Further, the logical sum total and essence of the above-mentioned principles was the single idea: *Qadr* = Free will. For more than a century since the time of their origin, the Mu'tazilah remained ascendant and played leading role in shaping all the institutions of Islamic society. The four Imāms of orthodox juristic schools: Abu Hanifa (d. 150/767), Malik (d. 179/801), Shafī'i (d. 204/826) and Ibn Hanbal (d. 241/855), absorbed Mu'tazilite influences in various proportions endorsing or ignoring some of the views as their reason dictated. More unreserved predilection was shown by the Shī'ah, essentially a political sect insisting on independent identity, who, in their theology, moved closer to the Mu'tazilah. At last, the fundamental thesis, *Qadr*, was challenged by an adversary, Abu'l Hasan Ash'ari (d. 324/935), a rebel of the Mu'tazilah's own school. The latter successfully brought forward an almost opposite concept, *Jabr* =

Predestination, and built up a convincing system around it. His life was spent in Basrah and Baghdad. A younger contemporary living in Samarqand, the city situated in the eastern Islamic zone, was Mâtûridî, Abu Mansûr Muhammad (d. 333/944). Together, the two scholars subscribed to formulate the corpus of theological rules, which became acceptable to the majority of the Muslims. In welding the majority = *Sawad-i- A'zam*, under the general caption: *Ahl-i-Sunnat wal jama'at*, the teachings of Abu'l Hasan Ash'ari and Abu Mansûr Mâtûridî exercised far reaching and permanent influence. Muhammad Jamil Hârîsî narrated their account, and next to them, acknowledged the services of Jalâl ud-Din Suyûti and Ibn Hajar Makki. He exhibited command over the subject in summing up the salient points of Orthodox Faith: 1. Predestination versus free will, 2. Fate of the sinner having committed grievous offence, thereby questioning, *Manzil bain ul-manzilatain*, 3. Visibility of God on the Day of Judgement, 4. Legitimacy of the Caliphs, and 5. Occultation of Mahdi, the twelfth *Imam* of the Shi'ah etc. In the end, Muhammad Jamil re-emphasized through a quatrain that he was personally Sunni, Hanafi, and the follower of Khwajah Baha ud-Din Naqshband (d. 791/1388), founder of the Naqshbandi order of sufis, who lived in Bukhara. The existing Aligarh Manuscript of Muhammad Jamil's work was transcribed on 15 Ramazan 1052/1644. Its title was *Muntakhab ul-'Aqa'id*.

Muhammad Sufi Mazandrani, Mûlla (d. 1035/1625) combined in his character a sufi's piety and austerity with the spontaneous wit of a poet. He came to India from Amâl, Mazandran, in the reign of Akbar, who received him courteously at his court. In his homeland, he had experienced harsh treatment. His association with *Nâqtawi* sect, then prevalent in Iran, made him a controversial figure and a target of popular hatred. On the other hand, the India of Akbar welcomed all sorts of intellectual adventurers. *Nuqtawi* heresy was equally disliked by the Sunnis and Shi'ahs in spite of the Great Mughal's official policy of allowing liberty to awkward ideas. Mulla Muhammad lived in India free from molestation and enjoyed considerable honour in Gujrat, where he passed many years. In Ahmadabad, his relations with the poet Naziri, were not cordial as the latter had ridiculed his beliefs. He did not go to see the poet of Nishapur when he was ill, but attended his funeral. At Ajmer, when Jahangir had come to the throne, Mulla Muhammad

was interviewed by the author of *Mai-khanah*, whom he disclosed many interesting facts of his life (1024/1615): "I stayed for fifteen years in the holy cities of Mecca and Medinah. And, there must be few places situated along the caravan routes, which I have not seen." Indeed, travelling was an irresistible passion with every member of his class. He died in the course of journey from Gujrat to Lahore, where the emperor Jahangir had invited him for a meeting. Among the literary works of Mulla Muhammad were: 1. a *tazkirah* containing notices of one hundred and twenty-six poets, *But-khanah*, completed in 1010/1601, and 2. a *Diwan* of verses.

Nawedi (d. 973/1565) belonged to Nishapur, Iran and lived as a poet at the court of Humayun. He arrived in India after Humayun returned a second time, and witnessed the early decade of Akbar's reign. His *Diwan* has survived.

Qasim b. Qadam (d. unknown) lived in Peshawar, north-western city of the sub-continent, and was a sufi of free-wandering habits. The crowd of devotees gathering around him believed in his supernatural powers and tales of his miraculous qualities had been popular throughout the area. One of his disciples, Husaini by name, composed his versified biography under the title: *Tuhfah-i-Qasimi*, ca. 1012/1604.

Raha'i, Shaikh Sa'd ud-Din Khwafi (d. unknown) belonged to Khwaf, North Iran, and came to India in the reign of Akbar. He dedicated his *masnawis* to the emperor and left a *Diwan* of verses.

Sanā'i Mashhadi, Khwajah Húsain (d. 990/1582) came to India during Akbar's reign and passed most of his career as a poet of the literary circle supported by Khān-i-Khanān. The distinct features of his verses, particularly *ghazal*, could be witnessed in spontaneous and graceful expression. Besides a concise *Diwan*, he left a *masnawi* entitled *Sadd-i-Sikandari*, and another long poem in *masnawi* metre, *Saqi-namah*.

Sarmadi Isfahani, Mulla Muhammad Sharif (d. unknown) came to India in the reign of Akbar and enjoyed the patronage of the Rajput

noble, Rajah Mân Singh, who gave the poet lavish encouragement for his verses. Sarmadi raised himself above jealousy in praising his contemporaries and announced that he lived in lucky times.

Sharâri Hamadâni, 'Abdi Beg (d. unknown) was a poet whose motto, unlike those of his clan, was not to sever connections with the mother country. He, therefore, visited India and returned to Iran seven times during the days of Akbar and Jahangir. Among his Indian patrons were such great men as Abu'l Fazl, 'Abd ur-Rahim Khân-i-Khânân and the kings of Golconda and Bijapur. At the age of sixty two, when the author of *Mai-khanah* saw him in Ajmer, he had developed the habit of a sufi and was planning to go on pilgrimage to the holy cities a second time from India. Taqi Awhadi and 'Abd ul-Bâqi Nihawandi expressed their admiration for his verses.

Sultân Saplaki (d. unknown) belonged to a village, Saplak, near Qandhâr and was a friend of Qâsim-i-Kâhi, the famous poet of Akbar's court. Khân-i-Zamân 'Ali Qûli Khan, the governor of Jaunpur, using the same pen-name, requested Sultân to renounce his own, and in lieu offered ten thousand rupees. He refused on the plea that his fame had gone far and wide among poets of the age. Despite Khân-i-Zamân's threats to kill him, Sultân did not sell away his literary prestige.

Tausani, Mirza Manohar (d. unknown) was the son of Râjah Lon Karan, the Rajput noble of Sambhar. Akbar took interest in his upbringing and Prince Manohar lived as a child in the imperial palace at Fatehpur Sikri. The emperor lovingly called him 'Muhammad Manohar'. Jahangir showed the same tenderness and made amusing remarks about Tausani's poetic talents in his *Tuzuk*. Poetry being the most charming element of Mughal culture, Tausani fully imbibed it in his character. Abu'l Fazl and Badâ'uni, the contemporary writers, noted that he was the first Hindû poet of Persian, whose verses revealed artistic grace and maturity. Later writers confirmed the above evidence. Sufism which emphasized on universal peace and tolerance, seemed to be the favourite subject of Tausani. In the reckoning of *tazkirah* writers, he was the first Hindû poet to have *Diwan* to his credit. It was available till the time of Mirza Sâ'ib, who recorded select verses in his *Bayâz* from *Diwan-i-Tausani*.

Ulfati, Qilij Khan Andjāni (d. 1022/1613) was one of the premier nobles of Akbar and held governorship of many provinces of the empire in succession. His zeal to serve the cause of learning induced him, whenever he found time, to invite young students inside his house and impart them instruction in religious subjects. The eccentric habits of his character made him a really amusing man. He placed his *Diwan* of verses on the wooden stand generally used for placing the holy Qur'ān. Irresistibly fond of reciting his verses before the visiting poets, he often surrendered his self-esteem to their insulting repartees. Once, a literary friend, Mulla Sairābi, suggested improvements in his expression, which made him furious and he abused Sairābi. The poet promptly retorted: My Lord. Your prose is better than your poetry.

Ulfati Yazdi (d. 974/1566) came from Yazd, Iran, in Akbar's time and lived under the patronage of Khān-i-Zamān, the governor of Jaunpur. After his patron's rebellion was crushed, all his servants, including Ulfati, were arrested. The emperor granted him pardon.

'Urfi, Jamāl ud-Din Muhammad (d. 999/1590) left his birthplace, Shiraz, in early age and wandered freely through many cities including, Najaf, Iraq, rendered obeisance to the shrine of 'Alī b. Abu Talib, the Prophet's son-in-law and first *Imam* of the Shi'ahs, till he at last came to Akbar's capital, Fatehpur Sikri, near Agra. He enjoyed immense fame, when he was a mere youth, not having fully completed thirty years of life. All his great contemporaries: Faizi, Abu'l Fath Gilani, and 'Abd ur-Rahim Khān-i-Khānan, not excepting Akbar and Jahangir, acknowledged him as a poet of rare qualities. Like the men of genius, possessed with striking personality as their unique gift, 'Urfi found it unnecessary to live more than thirty-six years in this old world. In him, the age of Akbar the great discovered its philosopher, whose melodious songs were left as legacy of 'universal tolerance' to the degenerate mankind: *O 'Urfi, Live cheerfully with all men, bad and good. When dead, let the Muslims wash thee with the holy water of Zamzam, and let the Hindus consign thy body to flames.* 'Urfi left a few *masnawis*, letters, an ethical tract and *Diwan* of verses.

Tālib Isfahani (d. 1030/1620) came from his home-town Isfahan and

settled in Kashmir. When Akbar annexed that province, he was taken into the service of the Mughal government. The emperor sent him to Tibet for obtaining information about the region. Talib visited the country of the Lamas and submitted a detailed report to Shaikh Abu'l Fazl, who incorporated relevant portions of it into his *Akbar-namah*. All *tazkirah* writers have mentioned the name of *Talib* among the poets of Akbar's reign.

Tashbihi Kāshi, Mir 'Ali Akbar (d. unknown) was, like Mulla Sufi Mazadrani, a follower of the *Nuqtawi* sect, whom Akbar's India offered the right to dignified existence and complete safety from persecution. The founder of the movement in Iran was a certain Mahmud Pasakhani. His teachings, couched in mild sufistic jargon, gave all importance to *Nuqtah* = point. Disturbed by the fast spreading influence of *Nuqtawi* order, the Safawid government declared them as heretics, and they were mercilessly slain in large number together with their leader. Tashbihi's protector, as he fled to India, was Shaikh Abu'l Fazl, whose courtesy and respect shown to his guest, a stranger in distress, raised suspicions in the mind of his enemies. They spread rumours that the Shaikh had secretly embraced *Nuqtawi* beliefs. At least, that was the notice taken by the official chronicler of Shah 'Abbās in Iran. Akbar, demonstrating his usual large-heartedness and approving his grand wazir's recommendation, perhaps, ordered that Tashbihi be paid an allowance of one gold coin per day from the Lahore mint. Bada'uni's account of his meeting with Tashbihi in presence of Shaikh Abu'l Fazl revealed that the Iranian fugitive and his creed had attained considerable significance in India. Mahmud Pasakhani's treatise, which Tashbihi presented to Bada'uni, must be a queer document indeed, as it could be fairly guessed out from its introduction Bada'uni has preserved in his history. Taqi Awhadi found him a pious ascetic avoiding worldly pleasures and passing long hours in lonely graveyards and that he had not gone out of Lahore for the last thirty years. In Taqi's evidence the author of *Mai-Khanah* added that Jahangir was pleased to continue Tashbihi's stipend of one gold coin granted by the late emperor, and he was drawing it till the year 'Abd un-Nabi closed the writing of his work (1028/1618). His contributions as poet were a *Diwan* and a *masnawi* in Rumi's metre: *Khurshid wa Zarrah*.

Rafī'ī, Mir Haidar Mū'amma'ī (d. 1032/1622) belonged to Kashān, North Iran, and came to India in the reign of Akbar, who gave him employment as a court-poet. He possessed mastery in composing verses of enigmatic meaning. So was his title from *mū'amma* = puzzle. Rafī'ī represented the fantastic element that existed in the otherwise flawless literary tradition of the age preceding Babur; the fondness for *mū'amma*. Although, the opinions of 'Abd ur-Rehman Jāmi dominated the last phase of Timūrid era, his warnings against the innovation could not eradicate it altogether. As it sometime happens, there seemed to have developed odious streaks in the taste of cultured society, which in turn stimulated the poets to strain their imagination in a puerile if not useless field. Jāmi viewed *mū'amma* like throwing away a needle in a barn stuffed with hay. Suppose, you will find it back; but imagine the botheration. And, another Timūrid scholar and man of spiritual distinction, Mulla Zain ud-Din Mahmūd, gave more penetrating example: Composition of *mū'amma* was hunting the wild boar; your horse got tired and your spear was broken; and look, you killed the animal which you will not eat as its flesh was unlawful. Mercifully, the fashion did not pursue its course into the Indian sub-continent save the appearance of rare cases like Mir Haidar Mū'amma'ī. The contemporary writer, Bada'unī, has left on record an interesting conversation about *mū'amma* between Rafī'ī and Shaikh Faizi. Responding to Faizi's questioning of the reward in the painstaking exercise, Rafī'ī replied that "it must be too late for an old man to change his habits". As Shaikh Faizi completed his commentary of the Qur'ān, written in undotted letters, Rafī'ī came forward with a chronogram and received ten thousand rupees as reward from the poet-laureate. In Iran, Rafī'ī's chief rival in poetry was Qāzi Dāwari. Shah 'Abbas the Great, whose patronage both the poets enjoyed, graded them equally; but once it happened that, entertaining Rafī'ī's complaint, the great Shah ordered the arrest of Dāwari, who had to see the inside of the prison. Next time, it was Dāwari's turn to humble down the old enemy before the Shah and the whole court. With the Shah's permission, he recited a virulent satire against Rafī'ī. Of the many books infused with the spirit of Timūrid culture, the one was Rafī'ī's surviving *Diwan* of verses.

Shujā'ī. Saif ul-Mūlūk (d. unknown) came from Damāvand, Iran, and

lived as a physician and poet at the court of Akbar. As some of the patients treated by him accidentally failed to recover from illness, his literary rivals addressed him as *Saiful-Hakama* = sword of physicians, and made his title a butt of satire.

CHAPTER 7

Literary Flowering (Part-II) Jahangir and Shah Jahan (1014/1605--1068/1658)

Art and literature flourished in the same fashion throughout this period as they had captivated popular attention during half a century in the past. The enrichment of intellectual life due to the influx of foreign talents, mostly from Iran, continued without decreasing. In real spirit, the literary traditions of former days survived intact. As such, *ghazal* reserved the privilege of determining poetic genius. Naziri Nishapuri continued to enjoy the reputation of most outstanding poet during Jahangir's period. The emperor invited him for a personal meeting and honoured with cash reward. Similarly, Jahangir did not forget to mention his poet-laureate, Talib-i-Amuli. These two entries in the *Tuzuk* (pp. 91 and 286) reflected the general taste of the educated classes. Jahangir laid down a unique custom in history. He ordered the poets and masters of other disciplines to be weighed in silver. Hayati Gilani stood first in the reckoning. The date came out from the chronogram: *Shā'ir-i-Sanj idah-i-Shahi*, raqam zad rozgar = 1019/1610. In response to Jahangir's wish, the poet had completed the lost portion of Amir Khusraw's historical *masnawi*, *Tughlūg Namah*. A few years later, Hayati's fellow townsman, Sa'ida-i-Gilani, was weighed in silver (1027/1617), for a *qasidah* in praise

of Jahangir*

The emperor's astrologer, Jyotak Rai, Mulla Asad, the story-teller, and Muhammad, the flute player, also won the same honour. Prior to these men, two poets of Akbar's court, namely, Qāsim-i-Kāhī and Khwajah Husain Mervi, received cash grant which must be fairly equal to the body-weight of an average human being. Jahangir's practice was dutifully adopted by his son, Shah Jahan, and the following poets were weighed by his orders: Sa'ida-i-Gilani, had rare distinction of being weighed twice: once by Jahangir and another time by Shah Jahan. There arose a lucky occasion, 1047/1632; prince Aurangzeb, aged fourteen, displayed extra-ordinary courage in facing a furious elephant. Shah Jahan was extremely pleased by Sa'ida's *qasidah* and ordered him to be weighed in silver. However, the poet enjoyed the emperor's special confidence for his efficiency and integrity, who conferred on Sa'ida the title, 'Be-Badal Khan'. He was chief of the department set up to make the Peacock Throne. Jewels worth 86 lakhs of rupees and one lakh *tolas* = one million grams of gold, were entrusted to Sa'ida and he supervised the work for seven years. The Throne was ready in 1044/1636. 2. Kalim Kāshani, the poet laureate, congratulated his master for grand *Jūlūs* = coronation, on Peacock Throne and thus won the honour of being weighed. His poem contained 63 verses. 3. Qūdsi Mashhadi praised the beauty of Peacock Throne in a *qasidah* and twenty verses from that glowing poem were inscribed in the throne. The poet was weighed in silver not on the actual occasion of *Jūlūs* = coronation, 1044/1634, but one year after the ceremony. Thus, the performance of Qūdsi's masterpiece was acknowledged, 1045/1635.

Generosity with men of letters was common characteristic among the Mughal emperors, chiefly those mentioned above, and their nobles. But, the one nobleman of this period, whose fame for patronage had no parallel, was Mirza 'Abd ur-Rahim Khan-i-Khānan. After his father's removal from power and subsequent tragic death, 968/1560, Mirza 'Abd ur-Rahim, a child of about four years was taken by Akbar under his care. The great man saw to it that the son of his father's benefactor should receive excellent

* A couplet from Sa'ida's *qasidah*: *Bakhshad dil-i-tu faiz o na jāyed sabab chū mehr; Jānha hamah fidā-i-dil-i-mehrbān-i-tu.*

education. As he grew to manhood, the emperor restored his father's title, Khān-i- Khānān, and tried his merits by entrusting him great positions of administrative responsibility. Despite the overwhelming burden of state matters, Khān-i-Khānān displayed perfection in many fields of scholarship. At the instance of Akbar, he translated Bābur's *Tūzūk* from Chaghatai Tūrki into beautiful and attractive Persian prose. Unlike his father, Bairam Khan, who left a *Diwān* of poetry, he could not collect his verses into a *Diwān*, but the stray specimens available in anthologies affirmed his highly polished taste. Also, he established his status among the leading poets of Hindi, the language of the land. His circle of friendship with contemporary poets and the liberality he showed to them, may be estimated from the information, supplied by 'Abd ul-Bāqī Nihāwandi, the author of *Ma'āsir-i-Rahimi*. That remarkable work gave the account of one hundred and six poets (Vol. III), who lived permanently in the circle of Khān-i-Khānān and enjoyed his kindness by way of regular stipends. They showered upon him their exquisite praise. During Jahangir's reign, Khān-i-Khānān held the charge of Deccan affairs, the most difficult and ticklish problem of Mughal government, and spent many years in Ahmadnagar, the official headquarters. He died in 1036/1626, a year before Jahangir.

Shah Jahan formally inaugurated his reign in 1037/1627. The second coronation took place when he seated himself on the Peacock Throne 1044/1634. Precisely, from the first coronation to the year of dethronement, 1068/1658, thirty one years covered the period of that emperor's rule. He restored the capital from Agra to Delhi, 1058/1648, after a long gap of one hundred and forty four years. Earlier, Sultan Sikandar Lodi had introduced the change in 910/1504. The revival of the old glory and prestige of Delhi proved a lasting achievement of Shah Jahan.

Among literary men of the period under consideration, noticeable majority consisted of the Iranians. The emergence of that trend may be witnessed from the days of Babur and Humayūn. Gradually, the number of emigrants increased from generation to generation. Thanks to the hospitality offered by the ruling classes, the sub-continent gained a

popular nickname, *Dār ul-aman* = abode of peace. Those who arrived in search of patronage fully justified their quality of intellect. Poetry owed its lustre due to their genius, and similar was the case in the sphere of prose.

Modern scholars of Iran identified the Indian rulers of Bābur's race as 'Gorkāni'. For, the Turks addressed their leader, Amir Timūr, by the title, 'Gorkān' = great king worthy of pleasure and wine. It is more logical than the misleading phrase 'Mūghal' invented by the Western historians. However, the innovative nature of the Persians did not lag behind in coining a misnomer, *Rawābit-i-Farhangī* = cultural relations, so to say. It implied free exchange of ideas between two groups of people and rapid human mobility from both sides across the geographical barriers. Nothing like that happened at any stage of history. Always there was a single track movement of the Persians towards India. Noteworthy Indians were seldom found roaming in the bazars of Isfahan. Nor did the Safawid monarchs ever invite them to their court. The centre of cultural exuberance was just this land, precisely, the court of the Mughal emperors, where Persian talents of all description were keenly welcomed. Their role in running the government was no less significant, indeed. But, the class of intelligent persons placed sole reliance on their mental resources. They silently crossed over to India only with brain, the reservoir of beautiful ideas, as the most acceptable passport. This peculiar atmosphere of *Rawābit-i-Farhangī* deprived Iran of its best literary flower, chiefly, during the century from Akbar to Shah Jahan.

The patronage of the Gorkani emperors cost Iran dearly. For, the literary history of the entire Safawid era passed almost as dry as dust. In order to compensate the loss, there were two ways open to the Persians: either to accept the corpus of literature produced in Gorkani India as their own precious legacy and embrace it whole heartedly, or otherwise, discard it altogether. Curiously, the Persian psyche revealed its disgust from the beginning.

The ceaseless outflow of talented individuals from their country was an odd spectacle which they could hardly afford to endorse. Particularly, the diminution in the number of poets, who turned with greater eagerness, as Professor E.G. Brown amusingly remarked, "rather to Delhi than to

Karbala," became a matter of emotional concern. The craze aroused strong dislike, and the feeling reverberated further against the emigrants and their literary production. Earlier critics, like Reza Qūli Hidāyat and Lūtf 'Alī Khan Azar, degraded them in their estimate. Hidāyat, the author of *Majma ul-fūsahā*, wrote: 1. about 'Urfi, 'I have frequently glanced at the *Diwan* of 'Urfi. The style of his poetry is disliked by the people of Iran at the present time; and 2. about Sā'ib, 'Though Sā'ib's *Diwan* consists of one hundred thousand verses, he has a strange poetical style which no one appreciates today. 3. Equally pungent was the comment of Lūtf 'Alī Azar (*Atishkadah*) about Abū Talib Kalim, Shah Jahan's poet-laureate: 'Kalim has every kind of verse, but the verse which is good he does not have. Thus, the most brilliant and eloquent writers of sub-continental connection received discriminatory treatment fraught with lack of tolerance and appreciation. Professor Hadi Hasan expressly pointed out the dilemma in his lectures: "The significant fact about this denunciation of Mughal poetry is that it is a condemnation of the Persians by the Persians themselves."

As regards the forms of versification, Persian poetry invented a number of fields and traversed the path of history divisible into three unequal periods. Every period became distinct for promoting a particular form of verse. For example, the earliest period, beginning from the Samanids of Bukhara, confined itself chiefly to *qasidah* or court poetry. None the less, other forms, like quatrain (*Tranah*) and *Masnawi*, also flourished in parallel course. Curiously, in arbitrary juxtaposition of place and time, modern critics of Iran have ascertained the three periods of dominant forms or literary fashions under the same number of well demarcated geographical dimensions. And, each literary fashion has been entitled as *Sabk* = style. These are as follows: 1. *Sabk-i-Khurasani*, took its start from Rudaki, the father of Persian poetry. The representatives of the above category were regularly employed by the rulers to sing their praises. They had made themselves indispensable to court life and in extolling their masters they had much closeness with the present day journalists, who spare no effort to project the image of their patron politicians. Thus, during the Ghaznawid era, the most brilliant praise singers were 'Unsuri, Farrukhi and Minuchihrī. Those who served under

the great Seljuqs were Mu'izzi and Anwari. And, the line came to an end with Khāqāni and Zahir-i- Fāryabi. The special dignity earned by the poets of *Sabk-i- Khurasni* was due to their vast command over the use of language. Their intelligence made the vocabulary worthy of translating vast human experiences. They were masters of difficult usage: Innumerable words, otherwise lying dormant in the dictionary, were pushed out by them to unfold their useful meanings. 2. *Sabk-i- 'Irāqi*, gained fame after the fall of Baghdad. That is, from the time of Shaikh Sa'di onwards, and its popularity rested chiefly on *ghazal*, the most charming form of Persian verse. It continued to dominate the literary taste without any apparent change in its basic structure during the following centuries. Besides Sa'di two more poets who embellished this category were 'Irāqi and Khwajah Hāfiz. 3. *Sabk-i-Hindi*, emerged in Iran at the close of the Timūrid period. Its outstanding initiator was Fighāni (d. 925/1519), but in the reckoning of Iranian critics, it found more fertile ground in the sub-continent and flourished there with greater exuberance. For, Sa'ib and Kalīm, the two poets, who played key-role in shaping and developing the *Sabk-i-Hindi* had strong Indian connection. They paid much emphasis on depth of ideas selected after *talash* = diligent search. Sa'ib tried other additional devices as well like *tamsil* = exemplification, in his *ghazal*. The desire for over-refinement led the whole generation towards sophistication. Novelty instead of spontaneity attained primary significance. During the days of Jahangir and Shah Jahan the living standard of cultured classes touched new heights and their taste reflected itself not so much in painting and architecture as in poetry. Undoubtedly, the poets writing under the impact of *Sabk-i-Hindi* had a distinct aesthetic character. Henceforth, their literary endeavours became difficult for the Iranians to appreciate. As time passed, the earlier disapproval crystallized into uninhibited disparagement. The general feeling reached its climax when Sahikh 'Ali Hazin contemptuously dismissed every Indian writer as worthless and issued certificate of disqualification against all without exception. Opinions having gone deep into national sensibility seldom change or mitigate.

During these decades expanded over half a century, that is, from Jahangir's coronation to Shah Jahan's dethronement, many fresh writers, both of prose and verse, made their appearance at the Mughal court. By their

genius, they strived to raise the literary standard of their fields and, of course, succeeded in that purpose. Greater importance was secured by the poets, chiefly, those who belonged to the reign of Shah Jahan. For, they were gifted with an amazing sense of the beautiful. Their collective efforts, both as *ghazal* writers and as versifiers in other fields like historical *masnawi*, gave striking impression of their artistic perfection.

PROSE WRITERS

Jahangir, Núr ud-Din. Emperor (d. 1037/1627) ascended the throne of his father, Akbar, at the age of thirty-eight years. Notwithstanding enormities of personal and political nature, the Mughals of India carried literature in their veins and had a craze for all sorts of artistic pursuits. From Babur to Bahádur Shah Zafar the immense change made no difference to the rule. Among them Jahangir was a writer of fluent and attractive prose. He wrote his memoirs from accession (1014/1605) to the seventeenth year of his reign. Afterwards, ill-health due to overdrinking prevented him from further exercise of his own pen. He then entrusted the work to his private secretary, Mu'tamad Khan, and supervised the writing for one more year. These yearly records made up the *Túzúk-i-Jahangiri*. Between the account of political and administrative events there are frequent digressions, showing the emperor's keen interest in beautiful things of nature, particularly, animals and flowers. The other topics on which remarks came out readily from his pen, were poetry and painting. In revealing his entire personality, Jahangir maintained a reserve and dignity becoming of his royal position. Nonetheless, he had a pleasant expression and did not allow dry or wearisome remarks to creep into his *Túzúk*. Like a gifted writer, he exercised surprising economy of words in arranging the crowded facts. There is no ostentation and the description flows in natural and easy manner. Graceful communication must be acknowledged as the chief merit of *Túzúk-i-Jahangiri*.

Mu'tamad Khan, Muhammad Sharif (d. 1049/1639) was a favourite servant and courtier of Jahangir whom the emperor entrusted with the work of carrying on his *Tūzūk* = memoirs, after the seventeenth year of his reign, he being unable to write himself due to asthma. Jahangir supervised the draft and made necessary amendments till 19th year. Mu'tamad Khan attempted an independent history dividing it in three sections: (i) Bābur and Hūmayūn, (ii) Akbar, and (iii) Jahangir. Its title was *Iqbāl-nāmah-i-Jahangiri*, completed in 1029/1620.

Firūz Jang, 'Abd ullah Khan (d. 1054/1644) was the general of Mughal armies in the reign of Jahangir. He employed Brahman scholars to get the Sanskrit book on horse, *Salhotra*, translated into Persian. The work appeared under the title: *Faras-nāmah-i-Hindi*.

Haidar Malik (d. unknown) was a nobleman in the service of Yūsuf Shah Chak, the last independent ruler of Kashmir before Akbar annexed the province and made it a part of the Mughal empire. Yūsuf Chak was banished to Bengal and given a *Jagir* as maintenance allowance. Haidar Malik decided to accompany his master and stay away in Bengal as well. A violent brawl between some army officers and the provincial governor ended in sudden death of the governor and a young officer, Sher Afghan Khan. Nobody was sure enough to link the incident with ugly motives, nonetheless, it lingered as a question mark in popular memory. Haidar Malik, a trained courtier, played active role in giving protection to Sher Afghan's charming wife, Mehr un-Nisa, and transferring her to the emperor's *harem*, where she soon became the dominant and all powerful *Nar Jahān Begum*. Pleased with his services, Jahangir rewarded Haider with the title of Ra'is ul-Mulk and he was ordered to return as governor of Kashmir. His insight into the history of his birth-place and the nature of its inhabitants revealed itself in a scholarly work: *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, completed in 1039/1620.

Hasan b. 'Ali Kashmiri (d. unknown) wrote a detailed history of Kashmir popular as: *Tarikh-i-Hasan*, completed in 1024/1615.

Hasan b. Lūtf ullah (d. unknown) came from Tehran, Iran, in the reign of Jahangir and was given employment by Hasan Beg Shamlū, a nobleman of

the time. At his patron's instance, Hasan prepared a *tazkirah* of poets, naming it: *Khrabat*, completed ca. 1040/1630.

Húbbi, Khwajah Habib Ullah (d. 1026/1617) was a scholar derwish of Kashmir. He left his family's lucrative profession of trade and turned to sufi discipline in young age. His spiritual guide was Shaikh Yaqûb Sarfi, who appointed Hubbi as his *Khalifah*. He was the author of two books on sufism: 1. *Tanbih ul-Qalûb* and 2. *Rahat ul-Qatûb*. Equally noteworthy was his *Diwan* of verses.

Husain Qâri, Múlla (d. unknown) lived in Kashmir and was an earlier author of the history of his native land. Haider Malik Ra'is ul Mûlk and Khwajah Muhammad A'zam, the two scholars who wrote after him, mentioned Mulla Husain Qari's name and borrowed material from his work. Its double title seemed to be *Tarikh-i-Kashmir/ Waqi'at-i-Kashmir*, coming down to ca. 1024/1615.

'Abd ul-Ghafûr (d. unknown) was a spiritual disciple of Shaikh Muhammad b. Fazl ullah, the saint of Bûrhanpûr known as Na'ib-i-Rasûl ullah (d. 1005/1596). The latter wrote a tract in Arabic which 'Abd ul-Ghafûr rendered into Persian adding commentary and notes, its title was *Tuhfah-i-Mursalah*.

'Abd ul-Jalil b. 'Umar Siddiqi Chishti, Shaikh (d. 1043/1634) lived in Lucknow during the time of Jahangir and was a sufi of Chishti order. He maintained correspondence with Shaikh Ahmad Mûjaddid. Among his sufistic tracts were: 1. *Asrariyah/Asrar-i-Jalaliyah*, 2. *Rûmâzat*, 3. *Sair-i- Maqamat*, and 4. collection of letters: *Maktûbat*.

'Abd ul Karim Chishti (d. 1045/1635) lived in Lahore and was the son of Makhdûm ul-Mûlk 'Abd ullah, one of the two religious leaders of the early years of Akbar's reign, the other being Shaikh 'Abd un-Nabi. As the two quarrelled bitterly and traded ignominious charges against each other, the emperor was disgusted with both, and deprived them of power and influence. 'Abd ul-Karim was a disciplined scholar and commanded respect for his pious character. He wrote 1. a commentary on Ibn Arabi's *Fûsûs ul-Hikam*, 2. a treatise on the practices of Chishti

order: *Misbah ul-Arifin*, and 3. another explaining a sufi's spiritual experiences *Asrar-i-Ajibah*.

'Abd un-Nabi Fakhr uz-Zamāni (d. unknown) belonged to the city of Qazwin and displayed literary talents from early age. He was an adolescent youth of nineteen when the romantic tales of India, related by travellers and merchants, excited him to leave Iran. Soon, he took the road from Mashhad to Qandhar, reached Lahore, and moved on to the imperial capital of the Mughals. He was a gifted story-teller, and his art, resembling more or less, that of a modern stage-actor, had bright prospects in Mughal India. 'Abd un-Nabi found employment, first, in that capacity, and then, as librarian, in the libraries of various nobles of Jahangir's reign. And, he lived at many places, chiefly, Ajmer, Kashmir, and Patna. His innovative nature is revealed in his work, *Mai-Khanah*, the anthology of poets, who exclusively composed *Saqi-namah*, a special variety of poems praising the cup-bearer. He interviewed a large number of poets in order to obtain first-hand information about their lives. In fact, 'Abd un-Nabi's *Mai Khanah* may be placed among the extremely interesting books in the whole range of Mughal literature. His narrative style has a unique charm, which none of his contemporaries could surpass. The work was completed at 'Azimabad, Patna, in 1028/1619. While staying in Kashmir, he wrote a book for the guidance of story tellers: *Dastār ul-fūsahā*. Also, he claimed to have compiled a collection of anecdotes: *Nawadir ul-Hikayat/ Bahr un-Nawadir*.

Nūr ullah Shūstari, Qāzi (d. 1019/1610) came to India during the time of Akbar. The contemporary historian, Bada'ūni, saw him and praised his integrity of character when Nūr ullah served as qazi of Lahore. Incorruptible in judicial transactions he exercised restraint over subordinate *māftis*; and they became his enemies. Akbar made history by appointing him qāzi in the judiciary of the empire. He was outspoken Shi'ah. Soon after Akbar's death, there was a swing of pendulum in opposite direction and religious reaction that followed led to the decline and the death of a number of innocent souls. The orthodox fanatics discovered in the writings of Qāzi Nūr ullah many objectionable ideas smacking of heresy, that is, which they could not digest. Jahangir, on

receiving the complaint, summoned Nūr ullah to his own presence and demanded clarification of the charges of unsound faith levelled against him. The Qāzi pleaded that he decided cases according to Shafi'i law. This defence did not satisfy the emperor. Nor were the rival *ʿulama* silenced by his arguments. In the state of drunkenness or overcome by his usual weakness of relapsing into ferocious rage, Jahangir ordered him to be put to death by flogging: the customary sentence prescribed for the heretics. Qāzi Nūr ullah was a prodigious writer and the number of his books amounted to one hundred, more or less. Most remarkable among them is the anthology of celebrated Shi'ahs, *Majalis ul Mu'minin*. Also, mention may be made of *Ihqaq ul-Haq*.

ʿAbd ul Qādir (d. unknown) was a Husaini Saiyed and lived as a sufi in Sind. He wrote a *tazkirah*, describing the lives of the saints, who belonged to his region, and named it *Hadiqat-ul-auliya*, ca. 1016/1608.

ʿAbd ur-Rahmān b. Būrhan ud-Din (d. unknown) lived in Lahore during the reigns of Jahangir and Shah Jahan and had inherited the traditions of scholarship. His grandfather, ʿAbd ullah Sabbagh (dyer), was a sufi of saintly habits. ʿAbd ur-Rahmān developed specialisation in the art of *tajwid* = recitation of the Qurʾān. His contemporaries acknowledged him as an accomplished qāri = reciter. He wrote a commentary on Ibn Jazri's tract concerning his field of interest. Chronologically, Shātibi was the pioneer who raised *tajwid* to the status of a science (d. 590/1194: see *Sharh-i-Sikandar Shahi*) and by common consensus Ibn Jazri (d. 833/1429) was next in the line of great reciters. His life-long dedication to religious sciences made him an exceptionally pious man (see Abu Bakr Bharochi). The tract Ibn ul-Jazri wrote dealing with *tajwid*, that is, *Muqaddimat ul-Jazria/ Muqaddimat ut-tajwid*, acquired popularity and attracted the attention of host of commentators. ʿAbd ur Rahmān added in his commentary the chain of his teachers, all masters of *qir'at*, their link terminating at *Imam Shatibi*, and arranged them on the familiar pattern of *Shajarah* in vogue among the sufis. The title of the commentary was simply *Sharh-i-Muqaddimat ul-Jazri*.

ʿAbd us-Salām Lahori, Mūlla (d. 1037/1626) lived in Lahore during the reign of Jahangir, where he delivered lectures in the *Madrasah*

of the city and had reputation for diverse scholarship. Many youths educated under his guidance attained high degree of intellectual eminence, one of them was Sa'd ullah Khan, whom Shah Jahan appointed his prime minister. The Mulla's views concerning the theory and practice of education were borrowed from the great Muslim philosophers, particularly al-Fārabi (d. 339/950) and Avicenna (d. 429/1037). Both of them emphasized to include music in the educational curriculum, for, they said, it subscribed to the development of human personality. A scholar of recent time, Ab'ul Kalam Azad, has acclaimed Mulla 'Abd us-Salām Lahori for his accurate knowledge in the field of musical science (*Ghāhar-i-Khatir*). And that was not an isolated instance. In the sub-continent Muslim educationists, Sufis not excepting, were known masters of musicology. They partially accepted Farābi's legacy, that is, only the study of the discipline. The rest was exercised by professionals enjoying patronage of the princes and nobles. Mulla 'Abd us-Salām devoted his diligence of mind to the study of the earlier commentators of the Qur'ān. Of abiding interest to him was al-Baizāwī, 'Abd ullah b. 'Umar, the historian, jurist, and perfect genius (d. 716/1316). Among the surviving works of Mulla 'Abd us-Salām was a *Hashiyah* = annotations, in fact a classroom talk on *Tafsir-i-Baizawī*.

'Abd us-Samad b. Afzal Muhammad (d. unknown) lived as a scholar in Delhi during the time of Jahangir. His mother was the daughter of Shaikh Mubarak. He compiled the letters of Shaikh Ab'ul Fazl, which appeared as *Maktubat-i-'Allāmi*. Another work of 'Abd us-Samad was a brief anthology of the sufis: *Akhbar ul-Asfiya*, 1014/1606.

Abu'l Ma'ali, Shah Khair ud-Din (d. 1024/1615) was a sufi belonging to the Qadiri order and lived in Lahore during the reign of Jahangir. His ancestors had emigrated from Kirmān and settled in Punjab. He was a scholar and poet, composing under the pen-name Ghurbati. His works incuded: 1. a pen portrait of the Prophet based on Imam Trimizi's *Shama'il ul-Nabi*, under the title: *Hilyah-i-Saiyed-i-'Alam*, 2. a tract explaining the teachings of his order and a brief biography of its founder: *Tuhfat ul-Qadiriyyah*, 3. an account of his spiritual guide, Shaikh Dawūd: *Nafhat-i-Daw'udi*, 4. discourses addressed to disciples, *Munis-i-Jan'* *Hasht Mahfil* etc, and 5. a collection of verses, *Diwan-i-Ghurbati*.

Ahmad Kanbo (d. unknown) lived in the reign of Jahangir and was the author of a historical work, which he dedicated to the emperor. Its double title was: *Ma'dan-i-Akhbar-i-Jahangir*/*Ma'dan-i-Akhbar-i-Ahmadi*.

Ahmad Sirhindi, Shaikh (d. 1034/1624) was a religious leader during the reign of Jahangir claiming for himself the title of *Mujaddid-i-alf-i-sani* = Renovator of the second Millennium, whose appearance was expected after the end of Islam's one thousand years. Professing allegiance to Naqshbandi order, he reconciled in his personal life the double strands of orthodoxy and sufism. Nonetheless, the contents of one of his letters raised a storm of controversy: 'The Divine wisdom in my coming out is that the perfection of Abraham and the perfection of Muhammad should be united in me. I am equal to the Prophet of God. There was a time when I was his disciple. Now, I am the disciple of God without his mediation. In the proximity which I, enjoy with God, he is out (peace be on him). Although I belong to his followers, but, I share his authority. (*Tarikh-i-Adabiyat-i-Musalmanan-i-Pakistan wa Hind*, iv, 2, p. 165). On being questioned by Shaikh Abdul Haq of Delhi, he pleaded that such a state was revealed to him in mystic trance. Condemning the above mentioned statement as blasphemy, the theologians of Mecca branded him infidel. His followers of later generations found no fallacy in his declared position. Neither did they express their doubt nor disagreement. About six decades after his death, Mirza Mazhar Jan-i-Janān wrote in a letter saying: "God made Mujaddid from the remnant of the clay the Almighty used in embodying the Prophet Muhammad." From the beginning, Mujaddid's objective of Muslim social reform, implying orthodox Sunnis exclusively, had political overtones. He suggested the use of state machinery, that is, Mughal government, for the purpose of stalling moral degeneration in the body of Muslim society. Unwilling to accommodate or accept the schismatic division of the Muslims as a historical reality, he vehemently denounced the Shi'ahs in his book: *Radd-i-Rawafiz*. And, slightly less contemptuous was his tone in condemning the official Mullas who supported the state policy set by Akbar, and the sufis of Ibn'Arabi's line whom he viewed as incompetent in handling the problem of social reconstruction. Full of these feelings converging on a single point, the renovation of Islam as a

system of life, were the letters he addressed all his life to a large circle of contemporaries. Afterwards, his followers collected them under the title: *Maktûbat-i-Mujaddid*. Also, he was the author of: 1. *Ma'arif-i-ladunniyah*, 2. *Mukashifat-i-ghaihiyah*, and 3. *Mabda wa Ma'ad*.

Aziz ullah Madâri (d. unknown) was a sufi scholar living during the time of Jahangir. He wrote a biography of Shah Madâr, Badi ud-Din (d. 840/1436), the founder of the Madâri order, who established his spiritual centre at Makanpur, a small place between Kanpur and Allahabad. Aziz ullah included in the work the account of Shah Madâr's disciples and descendants, and also, the ritual practices in vogue among the followers of the said order. The title of the book was: *Tuhfat ul-Abrar fi Manâqib-i-Qutb-i-Madar*, 1025/1616.

Bahâristan-i-Shâhi was a history of Kashmir by an anonymous author. He lived there during the days of Akbar and Jahangir, and incorporated in his book many interesting details of persons and events witnessed by him in the land of his birth. The work supplied reliable information about Kashmir prior to its annexation by the Mughals. Its year of completion was 1023/1614.

Bilawal Lâhori, Shâh (d. 1046/1637) was a sufi of Lahore during the days of Jahangir and Shah Jahan. His father and grandfather, Saiyed 'Usman and Saiyed 'Isâ respectively, were also known for their religious scholarship and piety. He was regularly initiated into Qâdiri order by a friend of his father, Saiyed Shams ud-Din Qâdiri. An anonymous biography of Shah Bilawal survived under the title: *Halât-i-Shah Bilawal Lahori*.

Bâqir Najm-i-Sâni, Mirza Muhammad Bâqir Khân (d. 1047/1636) was a noble and scholar enjoying the patronage of Jahangir. Besides traditional learning, he excelled in poetry and calligraphy. Trusting his administrative competence, Jahangir and Shah Jahan assigned him the governorship of Orissa, Gujrat and Allahabad in succession. The authorship of a book on ethics is ascribed to him, its title being *Mawa'iz-i-Jahangiri*.

Bihari Mal Khatri (d. unknown) lived as a scholar and civil servant in

the reign of Jahangir and was personally known to the emperor, at whose instance he translated from Sanskrit the famous book of thirty two anecdotes praising the wisdom of Rajah Bikramajit, *Singhasan-Battisi*.

Darwizah, Akhund (d. 1047/1638) lived in the neighbourhood of Peshawar during the days of Jahangir and Shah Jahan. He spearheaded resistance to the 'Raushnā'i movement' initiated by Shaikh Bāyazid Ansāri in the North West Frontier area. As the said 'Raushnaiyah' enteratined certain practices and beliefs which were repugnant to Islamic ideology, their notice was seriously taken by men of religious feelings, particulary, the orthodox divines. Akhund Darwizah possessed traditional as well as spiritual discipline to counter the innovations spread by Shaikh Bāyazid and his followers. He was a poet and writer both of Pashtu and Persain, and his polemical tracts revealed his intellectual vigour. Noteworthy among a number of his works were: 1. *Irshad ut-Talibin*, 2. *Talwin ul-Muridin*, and 3. *Tazkirat ul-Abrar*. In the latter, he dealt with the biography of Shaikh Bāyazid and attacked his teachings.

Farid Bhakkari, Shaikh (d. unknown) was the son of Shaikh Ma'rūf, a scholar of Sind commanding much respect in the reign of Akbar. Shaikh Farid served the Mughal government during the days of Jahāngir and Shāh Jahān. He was the author of a *tazkirah* of Mughal nobles. Its contents were later on borrowed by Shah Nawaz Khan when he compiled his stupendous Dictionary. The title of Shaikh Farid Bhakkari's work was: *Zakhirat ul-Khawarin*, completed in 1060/1650.

Shattāri, Muhammad Ghausi (d. unknown) witnessed the days of Akbar and Jahangir and was well known as a man of piety and learning. His father, Hasan b. Mūsa, was a sufi of the Shattāri order and the son chose the same way of life for himself. He received education in Ahmadabad, Gujrat, and passed a considerable time of his life in the city of Mandū, the capital of the Sūltāns of Malwah (805/1404-907/1501). A scholar by training, Ghausi seriously devoted himself to the study of sufism and possessed extensive knowledge of the sufis of India, particullary, those who lived in Gujrat. A comprehensive *tazkirah* dealing with the lives of 775 sufis has survived from Ghausi's pen. It was

dedicated by the author to emperor Jahangir and named *Gulazar-i-Abrar* completed ca. 1022/1613.

Fazl Shattâri, Shah (d. unknown) was the disciple and spiritual successor of the famous sufi, Ghausi Shattari, who originally belonged to the city of Mandû, Malwah, and lived during the days of Akbar and Jahangir. Shah Fazl wrote a monograph in praise of the virtuous qualities possessed by his Shaikh. Its title was: *Manâqib-i-Ghausiyah*.

Fidâ'i Khan, Mirza Hidayat ullah (d. 1033/1623) was a trusted noble of Jahangir and held governorship of many provinces of the empire during his active career. An unknown writer collected his letters addressed to contemporaries: *Ruqqa 'at-i-Fidâ' i Khan*.

Ghaibi Isfahani, Mirza Nâthan (d. unknown) was a military officer in the reign of Jahangir, who conferred on him the title of Shitâb Khan. He succeeded his father, Ihtimâm Khan who served as *Mir Bahr* = Chief of flottila, in Bengal, and like him performed distinguished services in guarding the frontiers of Mughal empire in the north-eastern region. His knowledge of Bengal was excellent, for, he passed most of his active life in that area. He recorded his observations of geographical and human environment and presented an interesting picture of Bengal, Kâmrûp and Orissa. It was entitled *Baharistan-i-Ghaibi*, 1034/1624.

Har Karan (d. unknown) was a native of Multan and served as secretary to I'tibâr Khan, governor of Akbarabad Agra in the reign of Jahangir. His collection of official letters and decrees = *insha*, acquired great popularity, which lasted till the working system of Mughal bureaucracy was displaced by the British. Proficiency in the art of drafting being an essential prerequisite for entering the civil service, it was avidly read by all young students as a textbook. The multiplicity of legal documents, apart from common circulars of Mughal government, required arduous practice for their writing. They were, for example, *firman*, *hasb ul-hukm*, *nishan*, *parwanah*, *tajwizat-i-manâsib*, *siyâq namah*, *dastak*, *tamassûk*, *yaddasht*, *tûmâr*, *sanad*, *shuqqha*, and *siyahah*, etc. Har Karan's work in eight sections: *Insha-i-Harkaran*, was completed ca. 1032/1622.

Hasan b. Bina, Shaikh (b. 1056/1646) belonged to Kairanah, Western Uttar Pradesh, and served as physician at Jahangir's court. His father was also a specialist in eye diseases. The emperor honoured him with the title of 'Mūqarrab Khan', and appointed him governor of Gujrat and Bihar in succession. He experimented with the prescriptions contained in Miyān Bhowa's *Ma'dan ush-Shifa*, and prepared an abridgement of that work, naming it: *'Ain ush-Shifa*.

Hasan b. Lutf ullah (d. unknown) came from Tehrān, Iran, in the reign of Jahāngir and was given employment by Hasan Beg Shāmlū, a nobleman of the time. At his patron's instance, Hasan prepared a *tazkirah* of poets, naming it: *Khrābat*, completed ca. 1040/1630.

Hashim Kishmi (d. unknown) came from Kishm, a town in the region of Badakhshan, and attained fame as a poet and sufi in the reign of Jahāngir. Free-wandering through the lands of Islam being a regular sufi course, he accomplished it faithfully and finally settled at Sirhind in the *Khanqah* of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi, the popular sufi of the age, whose reformist activities had earned him the title of *Mujadid-i-Alf-i-Sani* = Renovator of the Second Millennium. The latter initiated his disciples into the tenets of the Naqshbandi order. Hashim wrote a book praising the spiritual qualities of the Naqshbandi saints, particularly, Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi, and named it: *Zubdat ul-Ma'jamat*, 1037/1627. Another book by the author concerning the same subject was *Nasamat ul-Quds*.

Injū, Mir Jamāl ud-Din Husain (d. unknown) was an emigrant scholar from Shiraz and enjoyed the confidence of Akbar and Jahangir. The latter particularly recognized his integrity and talents as an administrator. Initially, he had arrived in the Deccan and served for many years under Ibrahim, 'Adil Shah of Bijapur before crossing over to North India. Jahangir elevated his rank, conferred on him the title of 'Azd ud-Dawlah', and gave him the governorship of the province of Bihar. Mir Inju Shirazi was the author of one of the best dictionaries available in Persian language. More than fifty dictionaries of earlier writers were consulted and many years of systematic labour consumed before the project was finally accomplished. He dedicated the work to his royal

patron and named it: *Farhang-i-Jahangiri*, 1017/1608.

‘Isa Jand ullah, Shaikh (d. 1031/1621) was a sufi of the Shattari order and the spiritual successor = *Khalifah*, of Shaikh Wajih ud-Din ‘Alawi of Gujrat. He lived in Ahmadabad, Gujrat, and then, moved to Burhanpur, where the Mughal noble, ‘Abd ur-Rahim Khan-i-Kahnān, treated him with respect. Later on, Shaikh ‘Isa’s spiritual successor, Būrhān ud-Din Rāz-i-Ilāhi, became an eminent sufi of the Deccan. Of many writings left by Shaikh ‘Isa, chiefly glossaries on classical works of philosophy and jurisprudence, mention may be made of 1. a commentary on the Qur’ān, *Amwār ul-Asrār*, 2. a tract on sufism, *‘Ain ul-Ma’āni*, and 3. another work on the same subject, *Majma’ ul-bahrain*. His disciple, Isma‘il b. Mahmūd, collected his sayings = *malfuzat*, under the title: *Kashf-ul Haqā’iq*.

Isma‘il ‘Abd ullah (d. unknown) was a sufi disciple of Shaikh Abu’l Fath, the *Khalifah* = spiritual successor, of Shaikh Nizām ud-Din Thanasari. Isma‘il ‘Abd ullah responded to his teacher’s desire, who encouraged him to translate into Persian the pamphlet containing questions put by Kumail, ‘Ali’s devotee, and the answers of ‘Ali. The work appeared under the title: *Ma’dan ul-Haqā’iq*, ca. 1030/1620.

Jalālī, Saiyed Muhammad II (d. unknown) belonged to a sufi family of Ahmadabad, Gujrat, and was known for his scholarship and piety, his popular title was ‘Maqbūl-i-Alam’. Jahangir and Shah Jahan, whose days he witnessed, were both impressed by his saintly qualities. As a mark of respect, Jahangir presented him a rare copy of the Qur’ān, written by the great calligraphist, Yaqūt Mūst ‘asamī (d. 656/1258). And, Shah Jahan also saw him twice. 1. At the instance of Jahangir, Maulana Jalālī prepared a translation of the Qur’ān in simple and coherent Persian. Among his other works there were: 2. anthologies of the saints, *Azkar ul-abrar*, 3. discussions on Divine names, *Ihsa ul-asma*, and 4. *Diwan* of verses.

Kamgār Husaini, Khwajah (d. 1050/1640) held important positions under Jahangir and Shāh Jahān. The early stages of the raising of Shāh Jahān’s new city, Shahjahanabad, the Red Fort and the palaces inside it, were supervised by Khwajah Kamgār as he was governor of the province of Delhi at the time of its foundation. He attempted a history depicting the

early part of Jahangir's reign. Its title was *Ma'asir-i-Jahangiri*, completed in 1040/1630. Possessing the title, Ghairat Khan, he composed poetry under the pen-name, Ghairat, and left a *Diwan*.

Mahābat Khān, Zamān Beg b. Mirza Ghayūr Beg Kabūli (d. 1044/1634) was an important noble of Jahangir and served as general of the Mughal armies. His father, originally an inhabitant of Shiraz, settled in Kabul and was enlisted by Akbar among the officers of his government. At a stage, Mahabat Khan unwittingly involved himself in political controversy with Nur Jahan Begum. An unknown writer compiled Mahabat Khan's letters addressed to contemporaries under the title *Namāha-i-Mahabat Khan*.

Mahmūd, Mahmūd Beg Tūrkman (d. unknown) was revenue officer = *Diwan* of land-grant assigned to Shah Beg Arghan, governor of Kabul in the reign of Jahangir. Mahmud, together with the poet, Wasli Shirazi, conducted negotiations with Allah-dad, son of Jalal ud-Din, the rebel leader of Raushana'iyah movement in the North-West Frontier Province. His success in conciliating Allah-dad pleased Jahangir, who raised his rank and he was posted to the Bangash territory as its regional governor. On way from Ajmer to Lahore, the author of *Mau-Khanah* accompanied Mahmud and impressed the nobleman by his polished behaviour. Trusting him as a worthy scholar, Mahmud gave his verses to 'Abd un-Nabi as he had no time himself for their arrangement and publication (1025/1616). 'Abd un-Nabi's house in Patna caught fire, and the verses of Mahmud among his other belongings, were consumed by flames.

Masih uz-Zamān, Sadr ud-Din b. Hakim Fakhr ud-Din (d. 1061/1650) came from Shiraz and served as a physician at the court of Jahangir, who conferred on him the rank of noble and the title mentioned above. Shah Jahan acknowledged his professional skill and allowed him to live in Lahore. For, he passed summer months in Kashmir due to old age. As he returned after pilgrimage from the holy cities, he brought forty horses of rare breed and presented them to the emperor. The Hakim had three hundred maid-servants in his house and kept them busy all the time. By doing so, he said no evil thought would cross their mind. Many

emigrant poets, particularly, those from Shiraz, the Hakim's home-town, found employment through his favours. Talib-i-Amûli was also recommended by Masih uz-Zamân, as the poet arrived from Iran. Later on, Talib rose to the position of poet-laureate. Sadr ud-Din composed poetry under the pen-name, Masih ullâhi, and was head of a brilliant literary circle.

Bayâz-i-Masih uz-Zamân : Anonymous tract on Iranian music, which explained quite interesting and useful details. Probably, the notebook was prepared by Hakim Sadr ud-Din Shirazi, the personal physician of Jahangir, whose title was 'Masih uz-Zaman'. Shah Jahan conferred the same title on Mir Hâshim Gilani, the physician of his court.

According to the author, the classical masters, particularly, Maulana 'Abd ul-Qâdir of Maraghâ, divided music into six basic compositions. There were: 1. *Shahnâz*, 2. *Nauroz*, 3. *Gavasht*, 4. *Salmak*, 5. *Gardaniyah*, and 6. *Mayah*. In turn, each of the above mentioned compositions carried two sub-divisions, *Maqâmât*, so to say, tunes or modes. Interestingly, the identity of every *maqâm* was determined by the masters of musical science in accordance with the voices of birds and animals: 1. trumpeting of the elephant = *Râst*, 2. belating of the sheep = *Isfahan*, 3. lowing of the cow = '*Iraq*', 4. cries of a suckling baby = *Kûchik*, 5. piping of the partridge = *Bûzûrg*, 6. noise of the stag = *Hijâz*, 7. roaring of the lion = *Bû-Salik*, 8. sic? = '*Ushshaq*', 9. cooing of the nightingale = *Nawa*, 10. neighing of the horse = *Husaini*, 11. crowing of the crow = *Rahadi*, and 12. gurgling of the camel = *Zangûla*. These twelve *Maqâmât* = tunes, were as such responsible for their effect on human health; in particular, their influence in stimulating our humours was inescapable. To be sure, they controlled our dispositions, and we could utilize them for the maintenance of mental equipoise, that is, if we possess knowledge as to when a particular tune should be sung at a given time of the day or in a given season. The seasons of the year, so, the hours of day and night, have each of them their favourite tunes. For example, pre-dawn was the time for the singing of *Isfahan*, morning for '*Iraq*', mid-day for *Râst*, evening for *Zangûla*, midnight for *Nawa*, past-midnight for *Bûzûrg*, and so on. Moreover, these tunes could prove helpful in the healing of a number of diseases, *Râst* = paralysis, *Isfahan* = cold and pneumonia, '*Iraq*' = epilepsy, *Kûchik* = headache, *Bûzûrg* = dysentery, *Hijâz* = pain of the ribs, *Bû-Salik* = growth of the child

in mother's womb, *Husaini* = decreasing of fever, etc. In like manner, every *Maqām* has mysterious relationship with one or the other sign of the zodiac. *Rast* is related to *Hamal* = Aries, *Bāzūrg* to *Asad* = Leo, *Hijāz* to *Mizān* = Libra, *Bu-Safik* to *Aqrab* = Scorpio, etc. And then, the author laid down definite formulas of syllabary for the guidance of the novice. The vocal exercises were subject to rules: *tana dar na na dar dar tam* etc. Master Abd ul-Qadir revealed that the twelve tunes = *Maqāmat*, have been traditionally associated by professional musicians to a certain number of prophets. Perhaps, it was devised to give music a sanctity as Islam forbade it. The list of prophetic connection is likewise lengthy: *Rast* with Adam, *Ushshaq* = Noah, *Nawa* = David, *Hijāz* = Solomon, and so on. In the end, the notebook contained two *ghazals*, one, by the poet, Kaukabi, and the other, by the great lyricist, Khwājah Hafiz of Shirāz. These poets have artfully enumerated all the twelve tunes in their poems. Oddly enough, the *ghazal* of Hafiz is conspicuous by its absence in the ordinary editions of his *Diwan*.

Miyān Mir, Mir Muhammad (d. 1045/1635) lived in Lahore and commanded respect for possessing saintly character. His place of birth being Siwistan, Sind, where his father, Qāzi Saindana, was famous for his knowledge of jurisprudence. From early life, Miyān Mir showed keen interest in spiritual education and fasting. His piety and humility made him popular among the ordinary men of Punjab. Jahangir left interesting remarks about the saint in his autobiography, and Shah Jahan paid him repeated visits. He firmly adhered to Ibn ul-'Arabi's theory of *Wahdat ul-Wujūd*, close in its thought content to the Hindu system of Vedanta. In their store of memory, the Sikhs have retained the anecdote that Hazrat Miyān Mir laid the foundation stone of Harmandir Saheb, the sacred spot in Golden Temple, Amritsar, at the invitation of their fifth Gurū, Arjun, in 997/1588. A large number of people were initiated by him into the discipline of sufism. Among them, Mulla Shah Badakhshi attained greater reputation for holding influence over Shah Jahan's children. A tract on spiritual teachings, not yet ascertained by serious research, has been ascribed to the authorship of Hazrat Miyān Mir. Its title was *Nishat ul-'Ishq*.

Muhammad b. Fazl ullah (d. 1029/1620) was a sufi scholar during the time of Jahangir and lived in Būrhanpūr, Deccan. He wrote a tract in Arabic, dealing with problems of sufism and theosophy, which one of his disciples, 'Abd ul-Ghafūr, translated, with his own comments, into Persian. Its title was *Tuhfah-i-Murasalah*. (See Abd ul-Ghafūr).

Muhammad b. Muhammad Darabi (d. unknown) belonged to the town of Darabjird in Fars, South Iran. He visited India twice in his life and roamed through the cities of Ahmadabad, Surat, and Daulatabad. As a young man, he met the great poets of his age, Rukna-i- Kāshi and Mirza Sā'ib. He was the author of 1. a book, in which he explored the literary merits of Khwajah Hāfiz of Shiraz, its title was *Latifah-i-Ghaibi*, completed ca. 1076/1665, and 2. a *tazkirah* of poets, four hundred and fifty four in number mostly contemporaneous, arranged in twenty-eight sections according to regions and cities, known as *Lata'if ul-Khayal*.

Muhammad Firūz Sufi (d. unknown) was patronized by Mahabbat Khān, son of 'Abd ur-Rahim Khān-i-Khanan. He was the author of a sufistic treatise in Arabic *al-Ma'rifat ul-Muhayyirat*. At his patron's request, he himself prepared a Persian version of the above, naming it *'Aqa'id-i-Sufiya*, ca. 1036/1627.

Muhammad Haidar (d. unknown) was a scholar of the days of Jahangir and Shah Jahan. He imparted instruction to Prince Shūja, Shah Jahan's second son (b. 1025/1616). His young and whimsical pupil commissioned him to collect information about wonders of the world and report his observations back to the Prince. Muhammad Haidar travelled through Kashmir, Iran and Turkistan (Central Asia) for many years. Having returned to Shahjahanabad (founded in 1049/1639), he wrote a book matching the style of Arabian Nights in fabulous details. It was named *Shūja'-i-Haidari*.

Muhammad Kabir, Shaikh b. Shaikh Ismā'il (d. unknown) was a scholar of Afghan race whose ancestors discarded their soldierly calling and lived as peaceful sufis. His grandfather had settled in Bihar, where he commanded influence as a man of piety and learning. Akbar viewed him, and the Afghan settlers of Bihar, as potential enemies to Mughal interest.

The family was assigned landgrant = *Jagir*, in Punjab and the Shaikh was born in the new surroundings. After two generations, when they ceased to be a menace to established authority, Jahangir issued *firman*, lifting ban on their settlement and Shaikh Kabir returned to Bihar. He collected legends and attempted a history of the ruling Afghan dynasties by piecing them together. In a volume of one hundred and forty stories, he presented the role played by his clansmen in India: kings, nobles and ordinary soldiers taken together. Anecdotal nature being common to them all the works narrating Afghan history were written on the same model, more or less. In the scheme, the overlapping of fact and fiction must be inevitable. Shaikh Kabir's real intelligence displayed itself in the arrangement of what he heard from the mouth of his friends and old relations, both men and women. The work has survived as *Afsanah-i-Shahan*, ca. 1035/1626.

Muhammad Sa'id b. Nūr ullah Hasani (d. unknown) witnessed the days of Jahangir and Shāh Jahān and was patronized by Khwajah Abu'l Hasan (d. 1042/1632) whom Shāh Jahān elevated to the rank of minister in his government. Muhammad Sa'id wrote a book on astronomy in twenty-four chapters and dedicated it to the above named nobleman. Its title was *Ahwāl-i-Mawālīd wa Ahkām-i-ān* 1042/1636.

Muhammad Sharif b. Shams ud-Din (d. unknown) was a scholar of the reign of Jahangir and had special fascination for Shaikh Sa'di of Shiraz (d. 694/1294). The Shaikh's *Gulistan* bred a tribe of imitators who wrote endlessly on the same pattern. Muhammad Sharif composed a work, which he thought 'would shine like a lamp and enlighten the minds of men'. He named it *Sirāj ul-Munir*, 1030/1620.

Muhammad Tanbūrah (d. unknown) was a guitar-player, poet, painter and story-teller, who arrived from Iran in the reign of Jahangir. Particularly, he acquired fame as reciter of the *Shah-Namah*, Ferdowsi's great classic, which was a highly specialized and appealing art possessing all the merits of stage-play. The combination of so many qualities in a single character sufficiently proved his genius. A true artist having merged his existence in guitar, hence 'Tanbūrah', he exhibited total disregard for dress and manners. On the other hand, Mughal

society being extremely polished, no breach of public etiquette could be imagined. One day, Tanbūrah appeared before Khwajah Wais Hamadani, a nobleman, in his vagabond style and the Khwajah, deeply offended, slapped him out of the assembly. The artist avenged the insult by composing a satire against his enemy. It has survived in Mughal literature. Finally, Jahangir, enlisted Tanbūrah among his court painters.

Mustafa b. Khaliq-dād Hāshimi 'Abbāsi (d.unknown) was a learned man living under the patronage of Jahangir. At the emperor's instance, he prepared Persian version of the classic history, *al-Milal wa'l-Nihal*, written by Shahrastani (d. 548/1153). The title proposed by him was: *Tauzih ul-Milal*, completed in 1021/1612.

Mútribi Samarqandi (d. unknown) stayed in India as a visitor and was patronized by Jahangir. He composed a *tazkirah* of poets belonging to the times of Akbar and Jahangir, his attention mainly focusing itself on those who came from the other side of the Oxus. As a second thought, perhaps, he added the account of others having their links with the Uzbek kings or the rulers of the race of Chingiz Khan. Being full of historical digressions, the work gained popularity under the misleading title: *Tarikh-i Jahangiri*, completed in 1057/1627.

Qāti'i Harawī. Múlla (d. 1024/1615) was a scholar at the court of Humayūn when the emperor lived as an exile in Kabul. Having survived till the age of one hundred and three years, he witnessed the days of Akbar and the early years of Jahangir. His ancestor was Shaikh Abu Nasr Frāhi (d. 640/1242), author of *Nisab us-Subiyan*, the famous book, rather the first in Persian language, related to the category of, so to say, 'Children's Literature'. Taqi Awhadi, the author of *'Arafat ul-'Ashiqin*, found Múlla Qāti'i a healthy old man living at Agra, where later on, his death seemed to have taken place. He wrote a *tazkirah* of poets, most of them his contemporaries, and dedicated it to Jahangir. The book was planned in three parts, of which only the third and last part has survived. Before closing every entry, he repeated words of blessing and prayer for the emperor. The title of the work was *Majma' ush-Shu'ara-i-Jahangir Shahi*.

Nādim Gilāni, Shahsawār Beg (d. 1050/1640) was a vivacious and

carefree young man of thirty years when the author of *Mai-Khanah* saw him in Kashmir during the year 1021/1611. In poetry he drew inspiration from two masters and eulogized them in his verses: Naziri of Nishāpūr and Hakim Rūkna of Kāshān. To the latter he complimented: *Rūkna is unique as the age itself echoing with our noisy existence*. As Naziri visited Agra at the invitation of the emperor Jahangir, he took Nādim in his company and, before returning to Ahmadabad, entrusted him to the care of Prince Khurram/ 'Abd ur-Rahim Khan-i-Khanan, according to the varying statements made by Taqi Awhadi and 'Abd ul-Bāqī Nihawandi respectively. Naziri must have recommended his disciple to the two great men, but he was a far more innovative person and decidedly spurned away the idea of service as funny. His pockets were always full of money by other and easier means. The Mughal age was not an exception to the constant rule of human societies with their privileged few over-spending on two items: drinking and gambling. Nādim played nard, a game somewhat akin to chess, with high ranking Mughal nobles and was seldom a loser. Poetry and nard were ideal combinations for a roving career and he displayed his expertise in all the major cities of India. The popularity of the game itself subscribed to make him a welcome guest of the nobility. Being temperamentally incapable of staying long at one place, he finally returned to Iran with his cash profit, of course. Nasrābādi, the author of *tazkirah*, reported that Nādim's death occurred in Isfahan. His *Diwan* has survived.

Nasib Kashmiri (d. 1047/1637) was a sufi scholar during the reign of Jahangir, who was initiated into that discipline by Baba Dāwūd Khaki, another sufi possessing more eminent position. Baba Nasib collected detailed information about the Rishi order of sufis, who were active in Kashmir during the 14th and 15th centuries A.D. particularly, when Sultan Zain ul-'Abidin ruled there. The founder of the order was Shaikh Nūr ud-Din Rishi (d. 842/1438), a Muslim, but a great number of his disciples were Brahmans whom the Shaikh's influence brought into the fold of Islam. The members of the order possessed broad humanitarian outlook and were respected both by the Muslims and the Hindus. Indeed, the Rishis mingled in their beliefs the teachings of the *Opanishad*, which an earlier female saint, Lalla, had popularised through

her poetry in Kashmiri language. Their ideal of service to man displaying itself by way of planting fruit trees deeply impressed Shaikh Abu'l Fazl, the learned prime minister of Akbar, when he visited Kashmir. Nasib Kashmiri's work is a valuable source depicting the lives and teachings of important Rishi saints. It appeared under the title *Rishi-nāmah*.

Nihāwandi, Khwajah 'Abd ul-Bāqi (d. unknown) belonged to Nihawand, the border city of Iran, and was of Kurdish origin. His father, Aqa Baba Kurd, held high office at Hamadan under Shah 'Abbas the Great. He emigrated to India and enjoyed the friendship of 'Abd ur-Rahim Khān-i-Khānān, whom he served all his life. Most of the time he stayed in the cities of the Deccan. His literary fame is based on *Ma'asir-i-Rahimi*, a voluminous account of the achievements of his patron, completed in 1025/1616. He began with a fleeting description of ruling dynasties since the Turks entered India, and made extensive survey of contemporary life. The book contained a *muqaddimah*, four *fasl* and a *Kahitimah*, its interesting feature being detailed notices of contemporary poets and men of letters. In the estimate of literary critics, an outstanding contribution made by Mughal India was the *Ma'asir-i-Rahimi*.

Ni'mat ullah (d. 1024/1615) was the son of Khwajah Habib Ullah of Herat, who served in the government of Akbar. Initially, he started his career as librarian of 'Abd ur-Rahim Khān-i-Khānān, and then found employment as news-writer under Jahangir. Having been dismissed from the above-named post on charges of misconduct, he was offered patronage by Khan-i-Jahān Lodi, the important Afghan noble during the reign of Jahangir. Later on, Kahn-i-Jahān's revolt against Shah Jahan ended in his defeat and death. Ni'mat ullah remained in Khan-i-Jahan's service till the end of his life, and as a token of his gratitude, wrote a comprehensive history of Afghan rule in India, naming it *Tarikh-i- Khan-i-Jahani*, ca. 1021/1612. An abridgment of the same prepared by him was: *Makhzan-i-Afghani*.

Nishāni, Mulla 'Ali Ahmad Múhr-kan (d. 1019/6110) was a sufi by training and possessed unique skill in seal engraving. Hence, received the above mentoned appellation. Mughal society attached more importance to seal than signature, and rubber stamps being still unknown the seal

engraved in stone was an object of common use. The upper classes favoured rubies and other precious stone for seals with their name or a holy formula engraved in them. Both the engravers and goldsmiths pooled their talents in making exquisite designs of signet-rings. 'Ali Ahmad's father, Mulla Husain Dehlawi, had reputation for learning and composed poetry under the pen-name Yaqini. The emperor Akbar engaged him as tutor to his son Salim when the prince was a child. That association subscribed to raise the position of 'Ali Ahmad, who was himself a man of no less striking qualities. As Akbar annexed the province of Gujrat, 'Ali Ahmad composed a chronogram (980/1572) for the coin that was struck in memory of the event. In the field of poetry, he sharpened his pen against Shaikh Faizi and in a *masnawi*, he challenged the poet-laureate to accept his superiority and surrender the title. Jahangir enlisted him among the royal boon companions, although, due to his pious character, he went to attend only restricted programmes of the emperor's nightly gatherings. One such occasion led to his eventful death. A party of *qawwals*, singers employed by the sufis for warming their emotions with music, the so-called *Sama'*, arrived from Delhi to amuse the emperor, and they began their concert in Agra's *Diwan-i-Khas* with a lyric of the great sufi poet, Amir Khusraw. The first verse of the *ghazal* transported 'Ali Ahmad into the state of ecstasy, and as Pythagoras explained centuries earlier, the sufi's spirit soared to heavenly spheres never returning to our base earth. Present in the special audience hall, the physicians declared him dead. With much astonishment, Jahangir recounted all the sad details in his *Tuzuk*.

Nizām ud-Din b. 'Abd us-Shakur, Shaikh (d. 1036/1626) was the *Khalifah* = spiritual successor, and son-in-law of Shaikh Jalāl Thanésari, a sufi of Akbar's time. Like his predecessor, Shaikh Nizām ud-Din was the leader of the Chishti fraternity in Punjab. His contemporary, Shaikh Ahmad Mujaddid Sirhindi, addressed many letters to Nizām ud-Din discussing points of difference between the two, that is, the Naqshbandi and Chishti orders. Universal love being sufi principle, Shaikh Nizām ud-Din blessed the rebel prince, Khusraw, against his father, Jahangir. The latter retaliated by ridiculing the Shaikh in his *Tuzuk*, and furthermore, banished him to Mecca, the holy city of

Muslims. A year later, Nizam ud-Din returned to Burhanpūr, but to be on the safe side, he shifted to Balkh, the frontier city of the Mughal empire, and spent some years in exile. Rumours were in circulation during his life-time that the Shaikh practised alchemy and possessed gold. Their source was the extremely lavish budget of his *Khanqah*, where crowds of mendicants, Hindu yogis, and all sorts of idle people, enjoyed free meals and the Shaikh was all courtesy in entertaining them. Nizām ud-Din wrote a number of tracts, important among them were 1. *Risalah-i-Balkhiyah*, 2. a commentary on 'Irāqī: *Tajalliyat-i-Jamal*, and a commentary on *Sūra -i-Fatiha: Riyaz ul-Quds*.

Nūr ud-Din Muhammad, Qāri (d. unknown) was a religious scholar and reciter of the Quran during the days of Jahangir. He wrote a tract on *tajwid* = recitation of the Holy Book. The material was arranged in a *muqaddimah*, wherein he discussed the modes of Shatibi and Ibn Jazri, and six chapters, its title being *Maqsūd ul-Qāri*. Perhaps, the same work survived under different title: *Zinat ul-Qāri*, dedicated to Jahangir.

Nūr ud-Din Muhammad b. Shaikh Amin ud-Din (d. unknown) lived in the reign of Jahangir to whom he dedicated his voluminous work on ethics: *Akhlaq-i-Jahangiri*, completed in 1029/1620.

Nūr ul-Haq Dehlawi, Shaikh (d. 1073/1662) was the son of the famous scholar, Shaikh 'Abd ul-Haq. He compiled an enlargement of his father's history. *Tarikh-i-Haqqi*, carrying it to the accession of Jahangir (1014/1605), and named his work *Zubdat ut-tawarikh*. His other contributions in Persian were commentaries on the works of Imam Bukahri (d. 256/869) and Imam Muslim (d. 261/874), the two great collectors of the Prophet's traditions.

Raghupat Rai Choprah (d. unknown) was initially the revenue officer, *Qanungo*, of Lahore during the reign of Jahangir and served as secretary under various nobles of the age. He prepared a collection of official documents and memoranda, in eight chapters, which survived under double title: *Tarab ul-insha/ Badi'ul-Insha*, completed in 1037/1625.

Rāsti, Búbú (d. unknown) was the daughter of Shaikh Laskhar

Muhammad 'Arif (d. 993/1585), a sufi who moved from his home town, Ahmadabad, and settled at Burhanpūr, Khandesh, where he was acknowledged for piety and scholarship. His source of livelihood was teaching in the local madrasah of the city. Būbū Rāsti attained higher education under the care of her father and was employed to deliver lectures in the same college as Shaikh Laskhar's successor. The fame of her eloquence induced the Mughal nobleman, 'Abd ur-Rahim Khan-i-Khanān, to attend Būbū Rāsti's classroom discourses. Shaikh 'Isa Jandullah secured the learned lady's permission and the two joined the company of students in the college. Būbū Rāsti's field of knowledge was scholastic theology and traditional sciences. She made original comments on earlier masters of these subjects.

Salmān Qazwini (d. unknown) lived in the reign of Jahāngir and was the author of a general history, narrating the events to the time of his patron, its title was *Jawahir ut-Tawarikh*, completed in 1037/1627.

Shams ud-Din 'Ali (d. unknown) was the younger brother of Rafiq ud-Din Muhammad, and officer serving under Khanzād Khan, the noble of Jahangir. Shams ud-Din passed unworldly and pious life commanding popular respect of the people. He discussed sufistic themes in the form of letters, naming the work *Insha-i-nim Shahi*, completed in 1046/1636.

Shams ud-Din b. Badr ud-Din (d. unknown) belonged to Lahore, where people acknowledged him as a sufi devoted to pious life. He prepared a collection of letters for the instruction of students in four sections addressed to 1. kings and princes, 2. nobles and dignitaries of the state, 3. saints and religious men, and 4. friends. The collection survived as *Maktabat-i-Shamsi*, completed ca. 1031/1621.

Sher Muhammad b. Husain (d. unknown) belonged to Hazarah, Punjab, and lived in Lahore, during the days of Jahangir. His patron was the provincial governor, Qilij Khan, whom he dedicated his astronomical treatise, *Akhtar-i-Qilij Khani*, composed in verse, 1052/1642. Also, his tracts concerning astrology were *Akhtar-i-Hazari* and *Akhtar-i-Jamali*.

Sikandar b. Muhammad alias Miyān Manjhū (d. unknown) was employed in his service by Mirza 'Aziz Koka, Khan-i-A'zam, Akbar's

noble and governor of Gujrat after its annexation by the Mughals. Jahangir granted him audience at the time of his tour of that province and was impressed by his scholarship. He wrote a detailed history of Gujrat from Muzaffar Shah I, the founder of independent dynasty, to Muzaffar Shah III, who lost Gujrat to the Mughals. It was entitled *Mir'at-i-Sikandari*, and completed in 1020/1611.

Taiyib Ibrahim Dehlawi (d. unknown) was employed in the service of Mirzā Iraj, son of the nobleman, 'Abd ur-Rahim Khān-i-Khanān (d. 1036/1626). He was a scholar of astronomy and possessed wide knowledge of almanac as it had been in vogue among various civilized nations of the world. At the instance of Mirzā Iraj, Taiyib Ibrahim prepared a tract dealing with basic principles of the computation of calendar. It had a *muqaddimah* = introduction, and twenty concise sections, and its title was *bist-ūsul*.

Tāj ud-Din b. Minhāj ud-Din (d. unknown) belonged to Jhansi, a town in the neighbourhood of Allahabad, and earned his living as physician during the time of Jahangir. He was the author of a medical textbook: *Tarikh ul-Mujarrabat*, completed ca. 1030/1621.

Taqi Auhadi (d. unknown) was born at Isfahan and received education in Shiraz. He was patronized as a young scholar by Shah 'Abbas the Great, but the legendary fame of the Mughals brought him to India. He settled in Gujrat and made occasional visits to Fatehpur Sikri, the imperial capital till the days of Jahangir. He was the author of a *Tazkirah* of poets entitled '*Arafat ul-'Ashiqin*', completed at Agra in 1024/1615. It contains a wide variety of verses selected from the works of about three thousand poets placed in alphabetical order. There are 28 chapters according to the letters of the alphabet, each chapter is named *Arshah*, which has three subdivisions, *arafah*. The latter bear the account of ancient, medieval, and modern poets respectively. Taqi Auhadi himself made an abridgment of the colossal '*Arafat ul-'Ashiqin*' and named it *ka 'bah-i- 'Irfān* 1036/1626. Further, Jahangir desired that an abridgment of the abridgment should be prepared. It came out as: *Intikhab-i-ka 'bah-i- 'Irfān*.

Taqi Kāshi (d. unknown) passed early life in Kashān and was the disciple of his fellow-townsmen, Muhtashim Kashi, in poetry, the only

celebrated poet of Safawid era, who unlike his contemporaries resisted the temptation of shifting to India and stayed in Iran. Taqi Kāshi, however, availed himself of an Indian visit in Jahangir's reign. He journeyed in the emperor's retinue from Fatehpur Sikri and Agra, where his chief enjoyment was spending time with men of learning and culture. He interviewed poets and held literary discussions with them. From North India, he passed on to the Deccan and enriched himself with many interesting observations. His contribution was a *tazkirah* of poets, *Khūlasat ul-Ash'ar wa Zubdat ul-Afkar*. In completing it, he devoted almost all his life. Seemingly, the portion related to contemporary poets was added by him during the course of his travels in India. The book contained the biographies of over three hundred poets and a selection of not less than three hundred fifty thousand verses. He first dedicated it to Shah 'Abbas the Great, and a second time, to Ibrahim 'Adil Shah of Bijapur, ca. 1006.1597.

Taqi ud-Din Muhammad (d. unknown) enjoyed the patronage of 'Abd ur-Rahim Khan-i-Khanān (d. 1032/1626). In compliance of his master's request, he translated from Arabic two works on the art of government and politics. 1. *Adab ul-Arab Wal Furs* by Ibn Miskaweh (d. 421/1030), naming it *Javidan Khirad*, and 2. *Sirāj ul-Mulūk* by Abu Bakr Muhammad b. Walid (d. 525/1131). Its title was simply *Tarjumah-i-Siraj ul-Mulūk*.

Tarzi, Mulla Daulat Khan of Gwalior (d. unknown) enjoyed position and rank under Jahangir and possessed a scholar's discipline. His grandfather, Mulla Khwajah Uwais, was expert in astronomical and esoteric sciences and had received land-grant and cash rewards from Akbar. In seventeen brief chapters, he collected miscellaneous anecdotes about various important matters and narrated them in simple and interesting style. Two chapters, fifteen and sixteen, dealt with music and astronomy respectively. The name of the book, dedicated to Jahangir, was: *Ma'adan ul-Jawahir*.

Wali Sirhindi (d. unknown) served at the court of Jahangir and possessed historical scholarship. He narrated in annalistic manner the events of the early fourteen years of his master's reign. It appeared as

Tarikh-i-Jahangir Shahi, ca. 1020/1611.

Wasli, Mir Ni'mat ullah (d. unknown) belonged to Shirāz and was the disciple of Murshid Burujirdi in poetry. As the latter joined the literary circle of Mirza Ghāzi Tarkhān, the Mughal governor at Qandhar, he invited Wasli also and arranged a government job for him. After Mirza Ghāzi's death (1021/1612) the scholars dispersed and Wasli turned to Ajmer, for, the emperor, Jahangir, was camping there. The author of *Mai-Khanah* and Wasli travelled simultaneously from Ajmer to Lahore and passed a few months together. Wasli moved onward to Frontier area inhabited by the Bangash tribe and found service under Allah-dād Khan, son of Jalāl Khan Afghan, whose rebellion a few years ago had been a source of worry to the Mughal government. Later on, Jahangir conferred the title of 'Rashid Khan' on Wasli, as he assisted in negotiating the terms of treaty between his master, Allah-dād Khan, and the Mughal governor, Mahabat Khan. Wasli had shown his collection to 'Abd un-Nabi, the author of *Mai-Khanah*, who found the volume containing about four thousand miscellaneous verses. The *Diwan* has survived. Also, a dictionary, compiled in the sixteenth year of Shah Jahan's reign and dedicated to a nobleman, Makramat Khan, was attributed to his authorship. Its title was *Majma'ul-Lughat-i-Khāni*.

Ahmad-i-Mi'mār Lahori, Ustād (d.1059/1649) was the master architect of Shah Jahan's reign who designed Mūmtaz Mahal's Mausoleum, the Taj Mahal at Agra. Begun within months after the first death anniversary of the queen (1040/1630), the astonishing masterpiece in marble was completed by about 1064/1653. Shah Jahan, in recognition of Ustād Ahmad's superb achievement, honoured him with the title of Nādir ul-'asr. In his quest for excellence, the emperor had invited many great experts, Indian and foreign, including Geronimo Veroneo, the Italian engineer of the city of Venice, to submit designs. But, ultimately, the genius of Ustād Ahmad gave one of its seven wonders to the world. His father, Shaikh Hāmid Siddiqi, emigrated from Khujand, modern Tajikistan, and settled in Lahore. All members of his family displayed keen intelligence in the science of architecture, and the tradition lasted among his sons and grandsons. Ustād Ahmad wrote a tract dealing with mathematics and geometry, its title

being *Risalah-i-Ahmad-i-Mi'mār*.

Nūr ullah (d. unknown) was one of the three sons of Ustād Ahmad, the architect of Taj Mahal. Apart from architectural science, which was the family's common excellence, Nūr ullah was an accomplished calligraphist. Shah Jahan commissioned him to write inscriptions, an exercise in larger strokes of pen, decorating the facade above the superb arches of Delhi's *Jām-i-Masjid*.

Lūtf ullah Muhandis (d. unknown) was the son of 'Nādir ul-'asr' Ustad Ahmad Lahori, the architect of Taj Mahal. Like his father, he possessed excellent knowledge of mathematics and engineering. Professional skill apart, he was an accomplished poet and composed under the pen-name mentioned above. Among his contributions are: 1. *Taqwim-i-Lutfi*, a treatise on astronomical calculations completed in 1084/1673. 2. *Khwas-i-a'dad*, on mathematics. 3. *Muntakhab*, commentary on the *Khūlasat ul-hisab* of Shaikh Baha ud-Din Amili (d. 1030/1621). 4. *Suwar-i-Sufi*, recension of *Suwar ul-Kawakib*, a work of great reputation on astronomy, written in Arabic by 'Abd ur Rahman Sufi Rāzi (d. 376/986). Earlier, its translation was attempted by a scholar, Hasan b. Sa'd Qā'ini. But, Muhandis produced more improved version. 5. *Masnawi*, narrating the professional achievements of his father, Ahmad Lahori, and his brother, 'Ata ullah Rushdi. The latter was employed by Shah Jahan for designing the buildings of his new capital, Shahjahanabad. 6. Anthology of poets, *Asmān-i-Sukhan*, and 7. *Diwan* of verses.

Rashidi (Rushdi?) 'Ata ullah (d unknown) was trained by his father, Ustad Ahmad Lahori, the architect of Taj Mahal, in the science of engineering and had a taste for poetry as well. Rashidi composed a treatise in verse dealing with algebra, mensuration and arithmetic and named it, *Khulasah-i-Raz*. It was dedicated to Dara Shikoh. Also, there are verses in the preface to the book in praise of Shah Jahan. His translation of *Bijaganit*, a Sanskrit treatise on mathematics by Bhaskar Acharya of Bidar, Deccan, ca. 508/1114, appeared under the same title, *Bijaganit*, 1044/1634. His other work *Sabikah-i-Mah* was also dedicated to Dara Shikoh.

Amānat Khān, 'Abd ul-Haq b. Muhammad Qāsim (d. unknown) came from Shiraz and served as librarian of the royal library in the reign of Shah Jahan, who conferred on him the title mentioned above. He was an expert calligraphist, unrivalled among his contemporaries in writing the script called *śāls*. The emperor employed him in his grand project of building the Taj Mahal, which began soon after the queen's death: *Firdaws mahl guzidah Mumtaz Mahal* = 1040/1630. Amānat Khan remained strenuously busy, exercising his skill on a scale larger enough to elicit 'bravo' from Michelangelo. The Qur'ānic verses, decorating the surface of the Taj, its portals, interior side below the dome, and arches of the outer gateways, inlaid with black marble in white, were written by Amānat Khan. Taj Mahal received its substantial share of grandeur from his genius as *Tughra-nawis*.

Todar Mal Shāh Jahāni (d. unknown) was chief revenue officer of the Deccan provinces in the reign of Shah Jahan. He prepared a manual that gave boundaries, area, and revenue income of all the twenty provinces constituting the Mughal empire. There were details of expenditure incurred on the buildings of Agra, Delhi and Kabul, including the budget of Shalamar gardens laid in Lahore and Kashmir. The author was one of the officials who controlled and sanctioned the finances drawn from imperial treasury towards the construction of Taj Mahal, Delhi's Red Fort, and the Congregation Mosque, and he knew the cost figures of every edifice raised during his time. The title of his work was *Dastūr ul- 'Amal-i-Todar Mal*.

Mirza Mughal Beg (d. unknown) lived in Agra during the time of Aurangzeb and seemed to have witnessed the later days of Shah Jahan. He transcribed from an anonymous register the details of money, materials, and human skill involved in the building of Taj Mahal. Of particular interest were the names of experts possessing specialization in various fields, figures of their salaries, and their origins. Later on, other scribes made similar copies either from the lost original or the book initially prepared by Mirza Mughal Beg. Indeed, there were minor additions and amendments they freely introduced according to their own sources of knowledge. At present, more than a dozen manuscripts of above description must be available in India. Mirza Mughal Beg's manuscript and its numerous

offsprings confined their entries to workers engaged on the site, and therefore, left out the name of Ustad Ahmad Lahori, the architect. Those responsible for actual construction work were: (i) Ustad 'Isa Afandi, *Naqsha-nawis*, (ii) Amānat Khan Shirazi, *Tūghra-nawis*, (iii) Muhammad Hanif, *mir 'Imarat* = administrative superintendent, (iv) Isma'il Khan Rūmī, *gūmbad-sāz*, (v) Muhammad Sharif, *kalas-sāz* (vi) Kāzīm Khan, *Kalas-sāz*, (vii) Qādir Zaman Khan, all round expert of construction techniques, (viii) Ran Mal Kashmiri, garden designer, (ix) Pira, master carpenter, (x) Baldev Dās, *gul-tarāsh*, (xi) Manohar Singh, *Jāli-tarāsh*, (xii) Chhotey Lāl, *pachchi-kār*, and many others. Precisely, in the single category of stone-cutters there were sixteen master craftsmen supervising and directing at the head of their guilds. They came from Lahore, Multan, and Qannauj, besides other small places situated in the sub-continent. The titles ascribed to Mirza Mughal Beg's work, somewhat arbitrarily by its readers, perhaps, were *Tarikh-i-Ta'mir-i-Taj Mahal/Halat-i-Rawzah-i-Taj Mahal*.

'Abd ul-Hakim Sialkoti, Mūlla (d. 1067/1656) was known for his learning during the time of Shah Jahan and had friendly relations with the emperor's prime minister, Sa'd ullah Khan. His lectures on Islamic sciences, particularly, scholastic philosophy, demonstrated the independent approach of his mind. He was one of the few India-born scholars whose fame crossed the frontiers of the sub-continent during their life-time. Once, the Mughal ambassador in the court of the Safawid emperor of Iran was invited to a discussion about the controversial position of vital nature held by the two great men: Abū Hāmid Ghazali (d. 505/1111) and the Spanish Arab of Cordova, Ibn Rūshd (Averroes of the West: d. 595/1190). Ghazali demolished the foundation laid by philosophers since the time of early Abbasid caliphs and discovered a new direction of thought. In his effort to make the social fabric of Muslims more intact and secure, he discarded reason and supported intuition, the mingling of sufism and theological dogma providing its framework. On the other hand, men like Ibn Rūshd adhered to the legacy of Greek philosophers and endeavoured to guide Islamic civilization along the principle of free enquiry. The inherent danger resulting from anarchy of intellect notwithstanding, Ghazali wrote an outright

condemnation of philosophers: *Tahafat ul-Falasifah*. Realising its implications, Ibn Rūshd moved forward to encounter the challenge and strongly defended the rational course adopted by men of his class in the work: *Tahafat ut-Tahafat*. It was the last warning to Muslims against discarding scientific spirit familiar hitherto. Shah Jahan and his learned prime minister read with interest the report of royal ambassador from Iran. They found themselves emotionally involved in the great debate. After all, the destiny of entire Islamic world had been influenced by Ghazali's plan, which was opted in place of the assertions made by Ibn Rūshd. Both, Shah Jahan and Sa'd ullah, invited Mulla 'Abd ul Hakim to enlighten them with the views entertained by the two camps, and indicated that his notes would be sent as token of India's scholarship to centres of learning abroad. The Mulla surveyed in detail the viewpoints held by the two parties, philosophers and anti-philosophers, and in the end, gave his own judgement. Arabic being the language of learned community, he expressed in the same medium. His work appeared under the title: *Durrat us-Saminah*, 1057/1647.

'Abd ul-Hamid Lāhori (d. 1065/1654) was a scholar during the reign of Shah Jahan. The emperor employed him to write an official chronicle on the pattern of Shaikh Abul Fazl's *Akbar-namah*. In his account he covered twenty years of Shah Jahan's period of glory and splendour, after which, prevented by old age, he entrusted the job to his pupil, Muhammad Wāris. The learned prime minister, Sa'd ullah Khan, personally revised the author's *Padshah-namah*.

'Abd ul-Ghafūr b. Haidar (d. unknown) lived as a scholar in Sind during the time of Shah Jahan. He wrote a *Tazkirah* of Sufis with special reference to the local saint, La'l Shahbaz Qalandar, Mir Saiyed 'Usman Marandi. It was entitled *Tazkirha-i-Mashā'ikh-i-Siwistan*, completed in 1043/1632.

Muhammad Wāris (d. unknown) was official chronicler of the reign of Shah Jahan. His appointment was confirmed in succession to 'Abd ul-Hamid Lahori. He made decade-wise arrangement and narrated the account of his master's thirty years reign in three sections = *daftars*. The title proposed was *Padshah-namah*.

Aminā-i-Qazwini, Mirza Muhammad Amin (d. unknown) was a poet and writer of Shah Jahan's reign, who engaged Aminā as his official chronicler. He depicted the first ten years of his master's reign on annalistic pattern and the work was brought out as *Padshah-namah*, 1047/1637.

Muhammad Sālīh Kanbo (d. 1085/1674) belonged to Lahore and was employed by Shah Jahan as official historiographer. His work, picking up from the foundation of the Mughal empire, particularly, casting light on Akbar and Jahangir, gave full-length account of Shah Jahan's career. Before closing, it took notice of the first three years of Aurangzeb. And, in the end, Muhammad Salih sketched brief comments about contemporary men of distinguished position, scholars, Shaikhs, Saiyeds, sufis, poets, physicians, calligraphists, and military commanders etc. The more familiar title of the work was *'Amal-i-Salih*. Also, he left a collection of letters *Bahār-i-Sākhan*.

Afsah, Muhammad Bāqir (d. unknown) came from Tabriz and enjoyed the patronage of Sultān Mūrād, the fourth son of Shah Jahan. In the city of Ahmadabad, where his patron lived as provincial governor, Afsah prepared notes for a general history, adding in the end an account of contemporary events. It was brought out under the title *Afsah ul-Akhlāq*, ca. 1070/1659.

Jalāl ud-Din Tabātabā'ī (d. unknown) belonged to the vicinity of Isfahan, Iran, and came to seek employment at the court of Shah Jahan. The emperor appointed him official historiographer and Mirza Jalāl prepared an account of early five years following annalistic scheme: *Padshah-namah*. A master of artificial and florid style, which had been the fashion of the day, he described one event, the military raid against the Rajah of Kangrah, in six different styles and named it: *Shash-Fath-i-Kangrah*. Another and similar work, supposed to be written for the instruction of Prince Mūrād, Shah Jahan's youngest son., and claimed by the author as original translation from Arabic, was a collection of the wise sayings of Nūshirawan: *Tauqī'at-i-Kisrawi*. His collection of letters survived as *Insha-i-Jalāl ud-Din Tabataba'ī*.

Ma'mûr Khân (d. unknown) was a scholar and civil servant living in the time of Shâh Jahân. He wrote a history of contemporary events, *Bait ul-Ma'mûr*.

'Abd ul-Latif b. Maulana Yûsûf (d. unknown) belonged to a small town, Mamdot, in District Ferozpur, Punjab, and witnessed the reign of Shah Jahan. A teacher by profession 'Abd ul-Latif prepared a collection of letters for the benefit of students: *Tûhfah-i-Mafid*, ca. 1038/1628.

'Abd ur-Rahmân Chishti (d. 1094/1683) lived in the reign of Shah Jahan and was a sufi belonging to the family of Shaikh Ahmad Abd ul-Haq of Rudauli. His *Khanqah*=monastery was situated in a village near Lucknow, where he lived till old age. He was the author of a number of interesting books, noteworthy amongst them were 1. *Mir'at ul-Asrar*, a detailed *tazkirah* of Sufis, 2. *Mir'at-i-Mas'ûdi*, biography of the semi-legendary saint, *Saiyed Salar Mas'ûd Ghazi* whose mausoleum is situated at Bahraich, 3. *Mir'at-i-Madâri*, biography of Shah *Madâr*, the saint buried at Makanpur, a village between Kanpur and Allahabad, 4. *Mir'at ul-Haq'iq*, translation of the Bhagwad-Gita, 5. *Mir'at ul-Makhluqât*, a mythological narration of the dialogue between Mahâdev and Pârwati, and 6. *Aurad-i-Ghishtiya*, a treatise containing rituals read by the Chishtis.

'Abd ur-Rashid b. 'Abd ul-Ghafûr Husaini (d. 1069/1658) was a scholar during the reign of Shah Jahan and lived in Thatta, Sind. His dictionary made him famous in the world of learning. Its title was *Farhang-i-Rashidi*. And he compiled one more such work dedicating it to the emperor. It appeared as *Muntakhab ul Lughat-i-Shah Jahani*, completed in 1064/1652.

'Abd ur-Razzâq, Mirza (d. unknown) was a scholar in the reign of Shah Jahan, who made himself famous by composing a subtle and amusing chronogram commemorating the hasty exit of Nazr Muhammad Khan from Balkh and Badakhshan, leaving behind his treasure, family and property. A similar chronogram was composed by another court poet, Nasira-i-Shirazi.

'Abd us Salâm b. 'Abd ul Kabir, Shaikh (d. unknown) belonged to Dewa, a town in the neighbourhood of Lucknow. Both the father and the

son were famous for their religious learning. 'Abd us-Salām's teacher was the celebrated academician, Mulla Abd us-Salām Lāhori. For a few years, he worked as *Qazi-i-Lashkar*, but soon returned to the profession of teaching in the twentieth year of Shah Jahan's reign. Shaikh 'Abd us-Salām completed his commentary on Khaqānī's poem: *Tuhfat ul-'Iraqain*. And, he also translated, adding detailed explanatory notes, on the legal digest of Imam Abu Hanifa (d. 180/767). The work appeared under the title *Sharh-i-Fiqh-i-Akbar*, 1057/1644.

Abu Tālib Husaini (d. unknown) came from Turbat, a town situated between Herat and Mashhad, and was received at the court of Shah Jahan, 1047/1637. He presented to the emperor a volume bearing the biographical account of Timūr, ancestor of the Indian Mughals. According to his claim, the book was a translation from original Turki preserved in the library of Ja'far Pasha, governor of Yaman. Modern scholars have discarded it as spurious. Its titles were *Waqi'at-i-Timūri*/*Malfūzat-i-Timūri*.

Adam b. Ismā'il Banūri (d. 1052/1642) was a sufi and follower of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi, Mūjaddid. The latter was, in a sense, founder of his own sub-order, the *Mujaddidiyah*. Shaikh Adam's place of birth, Banūr, was a town near Sirhind, Punjab. Fearing the large number of his Afghan disciples and their potential nuisance value, Shah Jahan banished Shaikh Adam to Mecca. His lectures in the holy city sparked off many controversies over questions of faith. He was the author of important sufistic treatises: 1. *Nikāt ul-Asrār*, 2. *Khulasat ul-ma'arif*, and 3. a collection of divinely inspired reflections, *Malhamāt*. His disciple and spiritual successor, Muhammad Amin Badakhshi, who accompanied the Shaikh on his visit to the holy cities, recorded his sayings under the title: *Nata'ij ul-Haramayn*.

Ahmad b. Mahmūd Multānī (d. unknown) belonged to Multan and lived as a physician in the city of Gujrat and other places of Punjab during the time of Shah Jahan. He was the author of a textbook on medicine: *Mujarrab ush-Shifa*, completed in 1046/1636.

Ahmad Yadgār (d. unknown) was the author of a doubtful, probably,

spurious history of the Afghans. Modern critical scholarship has rejected his claims of having witnessed the days of the Sūr dynasty and serving under Dāw'ud Shah, the last Afghan ruler of Bengal (d. 984/1576). It is a known fact that in the Mughal society the book-sellers unscrupulously deceived their customers by selling them fake manuscripts. Imaginary authorship and bogus dates were easy means of making brisk business. There had been a curiosity about the Afghans, when they had passed out of history, and Ahmad Yadgār composed the book according to the demand of the book-market. Much of its contents had been copied verbatim from the earlier works written in the times of Akbar and Jahangir. The enigmatic and questionable compilation has survived under the title: *Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afghaniyah*.

'Ali Afzal b. Muhammad Amin (d. unknown) belonged to Qazwin, Iran, and served as a physician at the court of Shah Jahan. He was the author of a pharmacopia: *Manafi-i-Afzaliyah*, completed in 1051/1641.

'Abd ul-Latif Abbāsi (d. 1048/1638) was a scholar from Ahmadabad, Gujrat, and lived under the patronage of Lashkar Khan, the governor of Kabul in the reign of Shah Jahan. His contemporaries admired him for his deep interest in the works of Sanā'i and Rūmi, the two sufi poets. In order to bring out an authentic version of Rūmi's *Masnawī*, he studied eighty manuscripts and spent many years in carefully comparing them. The edition appeared as: *Nuskhah-i-Nasikhah*. His long preface to its commentary, under the title *Mir'at ul-Masnawī*, made him famous as a discerning critic of Rūmi. He pursued further researches in the field and prepared a dictionary of Sufistic idioms occurring in the *Masnawī*. It was entitled *Lata'if ul-Lughat / Lata'if ul-ma'nawī*, completed in 1031/1621. The next step in his creative career was a commentary on Sanā'i's classic poem, *Hadiqat ul-Haqiqat*, which he brought out as *Sharh-i-Hadiqah* in 1034/1624. He succeeded in procuring the oldest available copy of *Hadiqah* written just eighty years after Sanā'i's death, which occurred in 535/1140. Akbar's noble, Khan-i-A'zam Mirza Aziz, had purchased it for his personal library from Ghaznah. Its double title was: *Lata'if ul-Hada'iq / Isharat-i-Latifi*. Also, he prepared a modified version of Mulla Sufi Mazandrani's anthology of poets, *Bāt Khanah*, under the title *Khulasat ush-Shu'ara*.

As he travelled in company of his patron across the whole latitude of Mughal empire, that is, from Ahmadabad, Gujrat, to Rajmahal, Bengal, he recorded his observations in a diary, which survived as: *Safar-namah*.

'Ali Akbar Husaini Ardistani (d. unknown) came to India in the reign of Shah Jahan and enjoyed the emperor's patronage for his scholarship of Islamic philosophy and sufism. He wrote a *tazkirah* of saints and dedicated it to his benefactor. Its title was *Majma' ul-Auliya*, 1043/1633.

'Ali Muhammad (d. unknown) was the son of Shaikh 'Abd ul-Haq Mûhaddis, the renowned scholar of Delhi (d. 1052/1643). He wrote a biography of Shaikh 'Abd ul-Qādir Jilani, the saint of Baghdad (d. 561/1165), whom the Qādiri sufis respectfully remembered as *Ghaus-i-A'zam* = the Great Gnostic. The book, in fourteen chapters, appeared under the title: *Najat ul-Muridin*. Also, he prepared a concise dictionary by selecting words from a number of major lexicons: *Jam'ul-jawami*.

Allah-dād b. Mubarak (d. unknown) was a religious scholar of Lahore during the time of Shah Jahan. He dedicated his book on *Tajwid* = recitation of the Qur'ān, to the emperor. He named the work: *Matlûb ul-qārī*.

Allah-diya Chishti (d. unknown) lived in the reign of Shah Jahan and belonged to a noble family with their estates in Panipat and Kairanah. His ancestors were physicians and surgeons of repute having obtained honours and rewards from the Mughal emperors. He developed interest in sufism and wrote a detailed anthology of twenty-seven Chishti saints, naming it *Siyar ul-Aqtab*, 1056/1647.

Amāni, Aman ullah Husaini (d. 1046/1636) was the son of Jahangir's famous general, Mahabat Khan, who held independent view in matters of government and did not see eye to eye with Nûr Jahan Begum. Amān ullah possessed a large number of books in his library and had friendly ties with the scholars and poets of his age. Shah Jahan reposed great trust in his administrative abilities and appointed him governor of many provinces in succession. Amān ullah was keenly

interested in reading and writing. His works include: 1. a *Diwan* of verses, 2. a work of general knowledge with particular reference to the principle of maintaining good health, *Ganj-i-bad award*, 3. a monograph on medicine, *Umm ul-Ilaj*, and 4. a concise dictionary, *Char 'unsur-i-dānish*. 5. Also, a book on ancient Hindū system of medicine, called *Ayurvedic*, was attributed to his pen, under the title *Dastūr ul-Hamād*, ca. 1035/1626. His collection of letters survived as *Ruqq'at-i-Husaini*.

'Azmat Ullah (d. unknown) was an astronomer during the reign of Shah Jahan. He wrote a tract, portions of it in verse, in which he determined the directions of Ka'bah from various cities of India. Ka'bah, situated in the holy city of Mecca, being the facing-point for the Muslim during his five times daily prayers. He named it: *Risalah dar ma'rifat-i-samt-i-Qiblah*, ca. 1058/1678.

'Azmat ullah b. Madinat ullah, Ja'far Nizām ud-Din (d. unknown) was a disciple of Shah Pir Muhammad, the sufi of Lucknow (d. 1080/1669), who witnessed the days of Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb. Following the well-known *manaqib* style, he wrote a biography of his Shaikh during the latter's lifetime. Altogether, there were twenty five *manaqib* = virtuous habits, described under independent headings. From the facts arranged by 'Azmat ullah, it came out that Shah Pir Muhammad was an influential teacher and had many interesting ideas to communicate. For example, he explained to his students the eleven different ways fully known to *Shaitan*, the cursed Angel, for making secret entry into human thoughts. In between, 'Azmat ullah supplied information about his own educational career and early life. As regards Shah Pir Muhammad, a wandering saint, 'Abd ullah Saiyāh, initiated him into sufi discipline and advised to stay in Lucknow. 'Abd ullah himself journeyed from Lucknow to Multan, Ghaznah, Herat, Baghdad, Syria, Palestine, visiting the sacred shrines on the way, passing through the familiar route known to all the sufis, and advancing further to the final destination, the holy cities of Mecca and Medinah. 'Azmat ullah's work appeared under the title: *Manaqib ul-Asrar*.

Baha ul-Haq Qādiri (d. unknown) was the author of a biography of Shaikh 'Abd ul-Qādir Jilani (d. 651/1166), written as a handbook for general

instruction of the sufis, who followed his order. It was entitled: *Anis ul-Qadiriyyah*, ca. 1052/1642.

Badr ud-Din Sirhindi (d. unknown) was a sufi and acknowledged Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi, the Mujaddid (d. 1034/1626), as his spiritual preceptor. He wrote a number of treatises which were eagerly read by the sufis in their circles. Being associated with the saints of the Naqshbandi order, his chief interest was to collect material for their biographies. Among his books were: 1. *Karamat ul-auliya*, dealing with miraculous qualities of the sufis, 2. *Wisal-i-Ahmadi*, describing the supernatural merits of Shaikh Ahmad Mujaddid, 3. *Hazarat ul-quds*, biographical notices of the Naqshbandi saints, and 4. a general anthology: *Sanawat ul Atqiya*.

Dharam Dās b. Bhawani Das Kohli (d. unknown) lived in Sunām, a town in Punjab, and served as a revenue officer during the time of Shah Jahan. The year was memorable, for, Shah Jahan visited Kabul and the Mughal armies captured Balkh, when Dharam Dās completed his treatise on mathematics: *Hisab wa hindsah*, 1048/1638.

Fath Muhammad, Baba (d. 1080/1669) was the son of Shaikh 'Isa Jand ullah, sufi-scholar of Burhānpur and friend of 'Abd ur-Rahim Khan-i-Khanān. Like his father, Fath Muhammad attained fame as a man of pious character possessed with learning, his special field being traditions of the Prophet. He was the author of a book dealing with religious and sufistic beliefs: *Fath ul-'aqa'id*, and a tract on prayers: *Miftah us-Salat*.

Fathi. Abul Fath Fath ullah (d. unknown) lived in Shahpur, Bihar, and was a scholar of astronomical science. He wrote a book on that subject: *Sab'samawat*, completed in 1067/1656.

Farangi Khān, Paulo Zamān (d. unknown), originally Muhammad Zamān, lived as a scholar at the court of Shah 'Abbās the Great of Iran, who was impressed by his debating skill, particularly, his polemical discussions with Christian missionaries frequenting Isfahan. The Shah sent him to Rome in order to obtain first-hand knowledge of Christian

religion and ability to speak Italian language. In Rome, he converted himself to Christianity. Not interested in adding one more name to the list of Christian martyrs, he avoided returning to Iran. India was a better choice. He knew that the Shah promptly hanged his ambassador as he reached home. For, instead of presenting the Shah's letter to the Pope, the ambassador had sold it to a businessman. Paulo Zaman easily secured a place at the court of Shah Jahan together with the title mentioned above. In the library of one of his friends, a Dutch priest settled like him in Delhi, he found a book containing detailed and interesting account of China, written earlier by an Italian traveller, Matteo Ricci (d. in Peking 1019/1610), and translated it into Persian. He named it: *Tarikh-i-Chin*.

***Gul-dastah-i-hamishah bahār*:** An anonymous tract describing the history of the city of Agra. The author collected information about the buildings and tombs situated there and revealed the account of important men who came out from his home-town. Seemingly, he belonged to the period of Jahangir and lived through the early years of Shah Jahan's reign. For, there were useful details left by him about the Taj Mahal. He finished writing the book a few years before 1045/1635.

Farid b. Ibrahim Dehlawi, Mulla (d. 1039/1629) was a scholar in the reign of Shah Jahan and possessed special knowledge in the field of astronomy. At the instance of the emperor, he devoted his attention to the computation of a new calendar, which, like the earlier Jalali or Ilahi calendar of Akbar, began from the year of Shah Jahan's coronation (1037/1628). Mulla Farid named his work: *Zij-i-Shah Jahani*. His other work on astronomical subject containing a *muqaddimah*, nine chapters and a *khatimah*, was: *Siraj ul-istikhrāj*.

Hasan Muhammad b. Raji Muhammad (d. unknown) belonged to Sirkij, the suburban quarter of Ahmadabad famous for its cemetery, where the saints and Sultans of Gujrat lie buried. He witnessed the days of Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb, and was the author of a tract on the subject of mathematics: *Lata'if ul-füyūz*, completed ca. 1027/1616.

Hasan b. Gul Muhammad (d. unknown) served as a revenue officer in the reign of Shah Jahan. He compiled a collection of letters and civil deeds,

Tuḥfah-i-Sulṭānīyah, dedicating the work to the emperor, ca. 1063/1652.

Hāshim b. Muhammad Qāsim, Mir (d. 1061/1650) came from Gilan, Iran, in the reign of Shah Jahan and established his reputation as a scholar of traditional sciences. The emperor conferred on him the title of 'Masih uz-Zaman' and he served as royal physician with considerable influence at the court. As regards his contribution: Najib ud-Din Samarqandi (d. 619/1221) was the physician, whose work in Arabic, *al-Asbah wal 'Ālamāt*, was treated as a classic in the curriculum of medical science. Burhān ud-Din Nafisi of Kirman (827/1424) attempted a commentary on it in Arabic, *Sharh-i-Nafisi*, which became equally famous. Mir Hashim added useful glossaries on Nafisi's above-mentioned commentary in Persian: *Hashiyah-i-Nafisi*.

Hidāyat ullah b. Muhammad Muhsin Quraishi (d. unknown) was a scholar of the days of Shah Jahan and survived till the early decades of Aurangzeb's reign. His book of knowledge was an outstanding contribution as the task of compiling voluminous encyclopaedias required extraordinary energy and patience. It contained information about the animals, birds, plants, minerals etc. of India. The work appeared under the title: *Farhang-i-'Aja'ib ul-Haqā-iq-i-Aurangshahi*, ca. 1090/1679.

Husain b. Khwajah Tāhir, Qazi (d. unknown) served as Qāzi of Nagpur not far away from Daulatabad, the city of Muhammad b. Tughluq. His father, named above, and grandfather, Khwajah Muhammad Ansari, all possessed high degree of learning and talents (see Hasan b. Tahir). He witnessed the days of Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb. Equally proficient in Sanskrit as in Islamic Jurisprudence, Qāzi Husain translated the book of Horse, *Salhotra*, and named it: *Tuhfat ul-faras*, 1061/1650.

Ibrāhim Thattawi (d. 1073/1663) served as qāzi of Thatta, Sind, during the reign of Shah Jahan. For some time, he enjoyed the company of Prince Dara Shikoh. At the instance of the Prince, he made a literal translation of the Arabic treatise into Persian supposed to have been written by Shaikh Abd ul-Qādir Jilani, the saint of Baghdad (d. 561/1166):

Ghuniyat ut-Talibin. And, Yūsuf Muhammad Khan, governor of Sind, employed him to write commentaries on the five poems of Shaikh Nizami; *Sharh-i-Khamsah*.

Ibrahim Túrkmān, Mirza (d. unknown) was a civil dignitary of Mughal government in the reign of Shah Jahan and served under Prince Shūja', when the latter had been assigned the governorship of Kabul. Mirza Ibrahim preserved letters addressed to the emperor, prime minister, and other nobles, informing them of the conditions obtaining in the province. The collection has survived under the title *Insha-i-Ibrahimi* 1065/1654.

'Ināyat ullah Kanbo, Shaikh (d. 1082/1671) was elder brother of the historian of Shah Jahan, Muhammad Salih Kanbo, and served in earlier life as a high dignitary of imperial secretariat. Attracted by the discipline of sufism, Shaikh 'Ināyat ullah renounced the world and settled as hermit near the shrine of Khwajah Bakhtiyār Kaki at Delhi, where he lived till advanced age. Trained in literary scholarship and possessed with the experience of professional secretary he proved himself a successful writer and left many books: 1. *Tarikh-i-dil Kūsha*, a history of the reign of Shah Jahan covering brief survey of the achievements made by the emperor's ancestors, 2. a book on the model of *'Iyār-i-Danish* containing folk tales, which he claimed to have translated from original Sanskrit sources: *Bahār-i-Danish*, and 3. a continuation of *Akbar-namah*, narrating events of the last four years of Akbar's reign, *Takmilah-i-Akbar-namah*. His younger brother collected his letters, *Gulshan-i-'Ināyat*.

Ja'far, Shaikh (d. unknown) was a sufi of the Shattari order and author of a tract explaining the ritual practices observed by the members of his fraternity. Its title was: *Asnād-i-Ashghal-i-Sahhtariyah*.

Jagat Rai Shūja'i, Munshi (d. unknown) served as revenue officer in the government of Shah Jahan and was posted at Jahangir Nagar, Dacca, Bengal. He was the author of an administrative manual giving details about revenue rules and other regulations operating, in particular, at lower, that is, Sarkār and Parganah levels. Its title was *Farhang-i-Kardani*, completed in 1102/1690.

Jalāl Hisāri, Shaikh (d. unknown) was in the service of Saiyed Muzaffār Khan Bārḥah, the military governor of Gwalior fort in the reign of Shah Jahan. He collected information about the history of the fort and the city from a local Brahman, whose ancestors were well-versed in traditional account of the region. The narrative began from early times and came to 1055/1645, Shah Jahan's year of accession. Its title was: *Guwāliyar-namah*. Also, Jalāl Hisari was an eye-witness to the expedition sent against Jhojar Singh Bundelah, who became rebellious and took to banditry like his father, Bir Singh. Jalāl Hisari maintained a record of the developments and the rebel Rajah's ultimate fate: *Waqa'i-i-Jhojar Singh*.

Kāmil Khan, 'Iwaz Muhammad (d. unknown) was a musician in the reign of Shah Jahan, who conferred on him the title mentioned above for his excellence in singing. He wrote a tract on music in which he gave tables, explaining the vocal length of various tunes. It survived as *Risalah-i-Kāmil Khāni*.

Khair ullah b. Karam ullah (d. unknown) was a soldier in Mughal army during the time of Shah Jahan. His father, also an army officer, advised him to write a book on the methods of warfare. The old man supplied useful information regarding strategy, tactics of offence and defence, role of artillery, and above all, the importance of generalship. In his estimate, the last factor was crucial in deciding the fate of battles. As he finished the work, Shah Jahan's sons began to fight for succession and Aurangzeb emerged victorious. The author's theory of generalship proved its veracity. In its *Khatimah* = termination, he congratulated the new emperor with prayers. The book containing twelve chapters appeared as *Dastūr-i-Jahan Kusha'i*, 1070/1695.

Khatmi Lahori, Saif ud-Din Abu'l Hasan (d. unknown) was a sufi poet of the reign of Shah Jahan. He wrote a commentary on the *Diwan* of Khwajah Hafiz and dedicated it to the emperor. Its double title was *Tuhfah-i-Shah Jahāni / Majam'ul-Bahrain*, 1038/1628.

Khwajah Māh, Muhammad Siddiq b. Khwajah 'Abd ur-Rahmān Naqshbandi (d. unknown) was the author of a book on

archery and swordsmanship. He wrote the work in five chapters and dedicated it to Prince Dara Shikoh (d. 0169/1659). Its title was *Risalah-i-Tir andazi wa Khanjar guzari*.

Kihshan Dās b. Malūk Chand (d. unknown) witnessed the days of Shah Jahan and early years of Aurangzeb. He translated from Sanskrit the popular book of thirty-two anecdotes exhibiting the wisdom of Rajah Bikramajit whose title was *Singhasan-Battisi*. His version appeared under the name *Kishan Bilas*.

Lutfi (d. unknown) was a sufi disciple of Shaikh Ma'raf of Bhakkar, Sind, and acquired reputation for piety. He was a poet and compiler of letters for the benefit of students, *Insha-i-Lutfi*, ca. 1055/1645.

Mahmūd b. Amir Wali Balkhi (d. unknown) came as a wandering scholar and visited almost all important cities of the sub-continent in the reign of Shah Jahan. During the course of his travels, extending to a period of seven years (1033/1624-1040/1630), he covered the entire length and breadth of the Mughal empire, passed through the Deccan, and crossed over to Ceylon. Nazar Muhammad Khan, the ruler of Balkh, appointed him librarian of his vast library at Balkah. Of his full-length universal history, which he contemplated to write and accomplished, perhaps, only a monograph, containing extremely interesting observations, has been available under the title: *Bahr ul-Asrar*.

Mahmūd Jaunpuri, Mulla (d. 1062/1651) belonged to Muhammadabad, a town near Jaunpur, and was a Faruqi Shaikh. His ancestors arrived in that area from Delhi after the capital of the Sultans was sacked by Timūr (801/1398), and were welcomed by Ibrahim Sharqi for their learning. The Sharqi kings gave ardent support to scholarship and made their seat of power a city of colleges. The Mughal emperor, Shah Jahan, used to say with amusement and pride: 'Our Jaunpur is the Shiraz of India'. Mulla Mahmūd was known for his encyclopaedic knowledge, particularly, in the fields of philosophy, mathematics, and astronomy. His lectures in the *Madrasah-i-Sultani* = imperial college of the city, acquired fame, and a large number of pupils trained by the Mulla rose to eminence. Many nobles of the reign of Shah Jahan maintained friendly correspondence with him.

The emperor invited him to Delhi and requested his prime minister, Sa'd ullah Khan, himself a scholar, to welcome the Mulla on his behalf. Prince Shuja' and the nobleman, Sha'istah Khan, formally joined the Mulla's circle of pupils. His vivacity and sense of humour distinguished him from the men of his class and made him exceedingly popular among his contemporaries. His chief work on philosophy and logic, of course written in Arabic, served as a textbook in the institutions of higher learning. Its title was *Shams-i-Bazighah*. A juristic treatise was: *Kitab ul-Fawa'id*. And, there was a concise tract dealing with predestination and free-will: *Risalah-i-Jabr wa Ikhtiyar*.

Majd ud-Din 'Ali b. Shaikh Khalil ullah (d. unknown) belonged to Badakhshan, Central Asia, where he spent most of his life as a sufi. Seemingly, in old age he emigrated to India and witnessed the reign of Shah Jahan, whom he referred in a chronogram from which the year of the completion of his book came out. In the introduction, he said that most of the sufi writers devoted their anthologies to the account of their own order, he was, therefore, prompted to place together and preserved all prominent orders, old and new, in a single work. His sources were chiefly Hujwiri's *Kashf ul-Mahjub*, Attar's *Tazkirat ul Auliyat*, Jami's *Nafahat ul-Uns* and a large number of other studies dealing with individual orders. The plan succeeded and he collected brief biographies of almost all the noteworthy saints. But, greater attention was paid by the author to the *Silsilah-i-Khwajgan*, that is, the Naqshbandi sufis, whose influence prevailed in Samarqand, Badakhshan, and other parts of Central Asia including Kashmir. His father, Shaikh Khalil ullah, was also a sufi and *Khalifah* of Shaikh Husain Khwarizmi. It was natural enough that he spared a lot of space in the book to highlight the career of his father's spiritual guide. Interestingly, Nāsir-i-Khusraw, the Ismaili missionary and poet, has been accommodated among the sufis. For, said the author, many pious men, like Shaikh 'Attār, Khwajah Ahmad Yasawi, and Mir Saiyid 'Ali Hamadani, etc. praised his virtues and acknowledged him for possessing saintly character. Majd ud-Din closed his work on Khwajah Bāqī Billah's two disciples: Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi Mujaddid and Shaikh Fazl ullah Gujrati of Ahmadabad. It appeared under the title: *Jamī'us-Salasil*, completed in the twelfth year of Shah Jahan's reign, 1048/1638.

Māl Singh b. Kishan Dās (d. unknown) belonged to Lahore and served as a civil servant in the government of Shāh Jahān. His father translated from Sanskrit the book of anecdotes, *Singhasan-Battisi*, and dedicated it to Jahangir. Māl Singh compiled a bunch of letters, the popular material used for the instruction of young students, the future cadre of Mughal bureaucracy. Its title was *Makhzan-i-'Umwān*, ca. 1051/1642.

Ma'sūm b. 'Abd ul-Karīm (d. unknown) lived as a physician in the reign of Shah Jahan and was the author of a work on pharmacopia. Its title was *Qarabadin Ma'sumi*, completed in 1059/1649.

Mirān Saiyed Baqir (d. unknown) was a descendant of Saiyed Jalāl Būkhari, the saint who settled at Uchchah, Sind, and achieved fame during his life-time as 'Makhdum-i-Jahaniyan Jahan Gasht'. Mirān Saiyed Baqir's span of life coincided with the reign of Shah Jahan and that of Aurangzeb. He wrote a sufistic treatise in five chapters, *Jawahir ul-Auliya*, completed ca. 1098/1687.

Múbad, Zu'l-faqār Ardistani (d. 1081/1670) was a Husaini Saiyed from Ardistan, Iran, and emigrated in the reign of Shah Jahan. He possessed considerable merit as a poet, but it was due to other qualities and not poetry, that he attained fame as an interesting man of the age. Temperamentally, he was not farther removed from sufi style; he had spent many years of his life as a free-wandering darwesh, staying in places of worship where shelter was offered in charity to all sorts of holy men. The study of various religions seemed to be his chief passion of life. Having learned the common syllabus taught by Muslim theologians, he turned to the Zoroastrians and the Brahmans in succession. They allowed him to move in their company and he acquired knowledge of their spiritual systems. The accumulation of diverse experiences qualified him to be an ideal commentator of religions. In the meantime, his inner personality passed through a transformation and he ceased to be reconciled with one formal creed in the ordinary sense. Only monotheism or latitudinarianism of broad pattern could find adjustment in his scheme of ideas. Nor did he care to maintain safe distance from beliefs smacking of atheism. Mughal society had been accustomed to tolerate free-thinkers, who roamed in the

convenient garb of sufis, but Mubad was a man of more complex and enigmatic character. His talents revealed themselves when he executed the plan of a dictionary of religions, the *Dabistan-i-Mazahib*. A confusion arose concerning its authorship and it was erroneously ascribed to Mulla Muhsin Fani, the poet of Kashmir. Another supposition among some scholars was that the author might be a Magi, for, the details of Zoroastrian faith were highlighted beyond proportion. These doubts were set aside by the discovery of Mubad's *Diwan* of verses in Patna and its comparative analysis by Professor Hasan 'Askari with the above-named book. In order to be discreet and careful, the author abstained from disclosing his name in the preface of *Dabistan-i-Mazahib*, completed ca. 1053/1643.

Muhammad Afzal Bukhari (d. unknown) was a scholar in the reign of Shah Jahan. The emperor ordered him to prepare a more accurate and detailed version of Abu Talib Husaini's *Malfūzat-i-Timūri* = sayings of Timūr, the ancestor of the Indian Mughals. Accordingly, Muhammad Afzal Bukhari brought out his *Malfūzat-i-Sahib Qir'ani*.

Muhammad Amin Badakhshi (d. unknown) was a sufi and followed the teachings of the Naqshbandi order. He wrote a book dealing with the lives of important Naqshbandi saints, particularly, Shaikh-Ahmad 'Mujaddid' Sirhindi and his successors. It came out as *Manāqib ul-Hazarat*, completed ca. 1053/1643.

Muhammad b. Abu Sa'id (d. 1084/1673) lived at Kalpi, a town in the neighbourhood of Kanpur, North India, and witnessed the days of Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb. A sufi by training, he wrote an ethical treatise naming it *Nasihāt-i-Dil Pasand*.

Muhammad Fāzil Akbarabadi, Mir (d. 1106/1694) was a scholar of Agra famous for his learning and piety. Influenced by sufi discipline, he did not accept office of the government offered by Shah Jahan and his successor. His contribution was a versified calendar indicating the dates of death in chronogram of all the saints from the Prophet downward till his own time. The name chosen for the book was *Mukhbir ul-Wasilin*.

Muhammad Fāzil b. 'Abd ush-Shakur (d. unknown) lived in the days of Shāh Jahān and was a scholar of versatile talents. He wrote a book on astronomy and dedicated it to the emperor. Its title was *Majma'ul-Faza'il* completed in 1046/1636. Another work from his pen was a short tract on archery. It was entitled, *Kashf-i-Asrār-i-Ramī*.

Muhammad Fāzil b. Muhammad 'Arif (d. unknown) belonged to Delhi, and was the author of a commentary on the famous book of prayers, *Dala'il ul-Khairat*, by al-Jazālī (d. 854/1450). Muhammad Fāzil's version appeared under the title: *Mazra' ul-Hasanat*.

Muhammad Ma'sūm b. Sālih (d. unknown) passed his career in the service of Prince Muhammad Shujā', who held the governership of Bengal during the reign of his father. After the war of succession among Shāh Jahān's sons, resulting in the defeat and final disappearance of his master from the scene, Muhammad Ma'sūm, living or hiding perhaps, in the city of Maldha, Bengal, planned to note down the chief events of the period. For, some of them took place in his own presence, and others like the murder of Dara Shikoh, were communicated to him by authentic reporters. The work was named *Tarikh-i-Shah Shujā'i*, ca. 1070/1660.

Muhammad Ma'sūm b. Mujaddid Sirhindi (d. unknown) was a sufi of Naqshbandi order and had a large circle of devotees. Aurangzeb was very much impressed by his ideas. Like his father, Mujaddid al-f-i-Sāni, he preached through letters. The collection has survived as *Maktubāt-i-Muhammad Ma'sūm*.

Muhammad Muqim Kāshi b. Muhammad Sharif, Mirza Muqima (d. unknown) came from Isfahan, Iran in the reign of Shah Jahan and was attached to Prince Murād Baksh. He composed a *masnawi*, satirizing his rivals who plagiarized from Zuhurī, naming it *Anbar-namah*, and left a *Diwan*. His epistolary collection, containing important documents and letters, gained popularity, as *Maktubāt-i-Muqima*.

Muhammad Murād (d. unknown) enjoyed the patronage of Musawi Khan, Mir 'Alī Asghar, a nobleman and scholar, whom Shah Jahan treated with confidence. Muhammad Murād's field of interest being early Arab

writers, he made a Persian translation of one of the two works left by Zakariya al-Qazwini (d. 682/1283). Of his books dealing with geography and cosmography: 1. *'Aja'ib ul-Makhlūqat wa Ghara'ib ul-Mawjudat* and 2. *Asār ul-Bilād wa Akhbar ul-'Ibad*, the second was translated by Muhammad Mūrād under the title *Sair-ul-Bilād*, and dedicated to Musawi Khan.

Muhammad Nuashāh Ganj Baksh (d. 1064/1653) was a sufi and founder of the Naushahi-Qadiri sub-order. The centre of his spiritual activities was a village, Suhanāpāl, in district Gujrat, Punjab, where his successors continued to demonstrate the noble values of sufi ethics, and the seekers of Divine grace were attracted towards them in large number. They were ardently devoted to the pursuit of religious knowledge and most of them left their name among writers. Likewise, their devotees made it an object of their life to collect books. Muhammad Naushah wrote a commentary on Sura 79 of the Qur'an. A disciple, Shaikh Muhammad Hashim Naushahi, preserved his *malfūzat* = discourses, by dividing the whole material in four chapters: (i) Shari'at = religious law, (ii) Tariqat = sufi path, (iii) Haqiqat = Reality, and (iv) Ma'rifat = gnosis. The title of the work was *Chahār-Bahār*. Also, there were letters to his credit: *Maktūbat-i-Naushahi*.

Muhammad Reza Harawi (d. 1053/1643) came from Herat, modern Afghanistan, and lived under the patronage of Zafar Khan Ahsan, the favourite noble of Shah Jahan, whom the Mughal historians estimated as next to 'Abd ur-Rahim Khan-i-Khanān in showing generous treatment to men of letters. Muhammad Reza went on pilgrimage with the permission of his patron and died in the holy city of Medinah. He was the author of a book of anecdotes, which he dedicated to Zafar Khan Ahsan. Its title was, *Ahsan ul-Hikayat*.

Muhammad Sādiq b. Muhammad Sālih Isfahani (d. 1061/1650) was born in India and visited many cities of the Mughal empire in early life. For, his father, Muhammad Salih, who held important positions in the reign of Jahangir, served in various capacities at Surat, Burhanpur, Malwah, Allahabad, Jaunpur, Patna, and finally Bengal. Muhammad Sādiq, whom Shah Jahan gave appointenet in Bengal, completed his

tenure of active career under three governors of that province, Qāsim Khan, A'zam Khan, and Islām Khan. His death occurred at the young age of forty-three. He was the author of a book of encyclopaedic range, which he completed in Jahangir Nagar, Dacca and dedicated to Prince Shūjā', named, *Shahid-i-Sadiq*. Another book of Muhammad Sadiq, a history, dedicated to the same Prince, was *Subh-i-Sadiq*, completed in 1056/1646.

Muhammad Sādiq Dehlawi (d. unknown) belonged to an emigrant family from Hamadan, Iran. His parents initially settled in Kashmir, but he shifted to Delhi and made himself known among the scholars of the reign of Shah Jahan. He served as news-writer of Agra at the time of Shah Jahan's fateful illness and participated in the battle of Samurgarh. He was the author of, 1. a *tazkirah* of saints buried in Delhi with lengthy quotations from their sayings, *Kalimat us-Sadiqin*, 2. a volume of anthological nature containing the notices of theologians, men of learned profession, and poets whose lives coincided with the period since Babūr inaugurated the reign of his dynasty in India. Its title was *Tabaqat-i-Shah Jahani*. And, a slightly changed version of the above named work may be *Asar-i-Shah Jahani*, ca. 1046/1636.

Muhammad Sa'id b. Nūr ullah Hasani (d. unknown) witnessed the days of Jahangir and Shah Jahan and was patronized by Khwajah Abul Hasan (d. 1042/1632) whom Shah Jahan elevated to the rank of minister in his government. Muhammad Sa'id wrote a book on astronomy in twenty-four chapters and dedicated it to the above-named nobleman. Its title was *Ahwal-i-Mawalid wa Ahkam-i-an*, 1042/1636

Muhammad Taqi Lashkari (d. unknown) served as a military officer of minor rank in the reign of Shah Jahan. He prepared a collection of letters, containing chiefly, the letters of Shah Jahan to 'Adil Shah of Bijapur and his premier nobles, Asaf Khan and Khān-i-Zaman etc. A letter of Shaikh Abu'l Fazl also found a place in the *Majmū'ah-i-Khutut*.

Muhammad Yūsuf Ataki (d. unknown) belonged to Attock, North Punjab and was a scholar during the days of Shah Jahan. His father, Shaikh Rahmat ullah, emigrated from Kan'ān, South Arabia, where Muhammad Yūsuf was born. Following the pattern of general histories, he prepared a

survey of events and brought the work down to the reign of Shah Jahan, to whom it was dedicated. Its title proposed by the author was *Muntakhab ut-Tawarikh*, completed in 1056/1646. As it contained original and detailed information about the events preceding Shah Jahan's accession, another scholar, Shaikh 'Abd ush-Shakūr Thattawi, of the reign of Aurangzeb, made its abridgment, perhaps, by the shrewd emperor's implied consent, in order to expose his father's own conduct in acquiring the throne. The title of the abridged version was *Intikhab-i-Muntakhab*, 1084/1673.

Múhibb ullah Ilahabadi, Shaikh (d. 1058/1648) belonged to the circle of Prince Dara Shikoh, Shah Jahan's eldest son, and professed adherence to the controversial sufi doctrine of *Wahdat ul-Wujūd*. Many scholars, including Mulla Mahmūd Jaunpuri, questioned the Shaikh's views during the reign of Shah Jahan. After Dara's decline and death, Aurangzeb expressed his displeasure and pursued hostile policy against his teachings. Some of his books, allegedly smacking of heresy, were publicly burned by the emperor's orders. None the less, his influence as a man of learning and piety remained undiminished and his *Khanqah* at Allahabad was visited by large number of devotees. Among his disciples he freely accepted the Hindūs as well. Noteworthy among his contributions was 1. the commentary in simple and easy Persian on Shaikh Ibn 'Arabī's *Fusus ul-Hikam*, one of the most abstruse works ever produced about sufism. Its title was *Sharh-i-Fusus ul-Hikam*. Other treatises of lesser importance were 2. code of prayers leading to spiritual discipline: *Ibadat ul Khawass*, 3. discussion of seven points in regard to the same subject *Haft-Ahkam*, 4. *Ghayat ul-Ghayat*, 5. *Taswiyah*, and 6. *Miftah ul-'ashiqin*, abundantly mentioned as the sayings of Shaikh Nasir ud-din Mahmūd Chiragh-i-Dehli.

Nisbati, Shah Muhammad Salih (d. unknown) lived as a sufi in Thanesar, Punjab, and had been famous in the reign of Shah Jahan for his poetry and literary talents. On being invited by Prince Dara Shikoh to stay in his company, Nisbati politely declined, but he was all courtesy when Mirza Sa'ib came from Isfahan to pass a few days with him in his *Khanqah*. His *Diwan* contained fifteen thousand verses.

Pir Muhammad Lakhnawī (d. 1080/1669) belonged to a village near Jaunpur but settled in Lucknow during the time of Shah Jahan. His teachers were the scholars from Qannauj, Jaunpur, and Mecca, where his early life was spent. As sufi, he lived the life of exemplary poverty, and sparing one time's food for himself, gave away to others whatever he received daily as *futuh* = offerings, from the devotees. He was the author of a number of brief manuals for spiritual training: 1. *Tartīb-i-Salat*, 2. *Manāzil-i-arba'* contained four chapters, and was completed in 1067/1656, 3. *Masālih ut-talibin*, in twenty one chapters, 4. *Khūlasat un-nafhat*, and 5. *Bārhan ul-'ashiqin*.

Pir Muhammad Shattari (d. unknown) was a wandering sufi of the Shattari order during the reign of Shāh Jahān. He visited the tomb of Shāh Isma'il Ghāzi at Rangpūr, Bengal and wrote a brief treatise in praise of the Ghāzi's saintly qualities, victories in holy war, and finally his assassination during the time of Barbak Shah, king of Bengal (d. 879/1474). The treatise appeared under the title, *Risalat ush-shūhada*, in 1042/1633. Also, his book on jurisprudence reflected the standpoint of the sufis, *Jami'ul-Fiqh*.

Qāsim Jaunpuri (d. unknown) was a religious scholar living in Jaunpur during the days of Shah Jahan. He wrote a book explaining the principles of *tajwid* = recitation of the Qur'ān, in nine chapters, and dedicated it to the emperor. Its title was *Khūlasat ul-qir'at*.

Qāsim-i-Dāna Arzāni (d. unknown) was a scholar during the reign of Shah Jahan. He witnessed the war of succession among the emperor's sons in which Aurangzeb emerged victorious. He wrote an account of the events, naming it *Aurang-nāmah*.

Rafi', Mirza Hasan Beg (d. unknown) served as secretary to Nazar Beg, ruler of Balkh, against whom Shah Jahan dispatched a military expedition. He separated from his old master and crossed over to the Mughals. As the Emperor inaugurated his new capital, he composed a *masnawi* in praise of Shāhjahanābad and received lavish reward (1058/1648).

Rashid Dailami (d. 1081/1670) enjoyed pre-eminent position as official

calligraphist at the court of Shāh Jahān. He was the nephew of Mir 'Imād Husaini (d. 1024/1615), one of the great masters of calligraphy, whom Shah Abbas of Iran employed as his chief secretary, but afterwards killed him on the charge of being a Sunni. Rashid was famous for his *Nast'aliq* and worked as librarian of the Imperial library. His circle of pupils included the Mughal princes, particularly Aurangzeb, and also, the celebrated poet, Mirza Sā'ib of Isfahān.

Rashid Khān, Badi'uz-Zaman Mahabat Khāni (d. unknown) accompanied Prince Dara Shikoh, whom his father entrusted with military expedition to re-conquer Qandhar. Its capture by the Persians worried Shah Jahan, 1064/1653. Rashid Khan wrote an account of the expedition, entitled *Lata'if ul-Akhbar*. Also he collected the correspondence of Aurangzeb with his governors: *Insha-i-Badi'*.

Sādiq Khan, Muhammad Sādiq (d. unknown) performed various services under Shāh Jahān and remained loyal to him until that monarch was shut out from the world by his ungrateful son. Sādiq Khan's account of the reign of his master closing at the final scene of imprisonment, 1069/1658), survived as: *Shah Jahān-nāmah*.

Sa'd ullah Khān (d. 1067/1656) was the prime minister of Shāh Jahān. He held the title, 'Allami' earlier enjoyed by Shaikh Abu'l Fazl, and has been acknowledged as second to the Shaikh in the line of great prime ministers, who administered the empire of the Turks and the Mughals in the Indian sub-continent. In his official capacity, he drafted imperial *firman*s and letters addressed, on behalf of the emperor, to the monarchs of Iran, Trans-Oxiana, and the Deccan. The collection has survived under the title: *Maktūbat-i-Sa'd ullah Khan*.

Saiyed Ahmad b. Saiyed Muhammad Husaini (d. 1058/1648): His father came from Tirmiz, Central Asia, and settled at Kalpi, a town between Kanpur and Allahabad, where his *Khanqah* became famous as a centre of altruistic mission for the common people. Saiyed Ahmad left behind him a line of eminent successors, and was the author of a sufistic treatise *Mushahidat-i-Sufiah*. Also, he composed poetry under the pen-name, *Kāshifi*, and versified the Indian tale of love, *Madhumāti*, under

the title *Gulshan-i-Mu'ani*.

Shamsi, Shaikh Abd ur-Rashid (d. 1093/1682) lived as a sufi in Jaunpur and was respected for his piety and scholarship. Like all men of his class, he composed good poetry. Shah Jahan invited him and offered a position in Delhi. Shamsi politely declined, saying that there were already competent scholars at the court, and he had vowed to pass his life as a humble man. Among his surviving works there are: 1. *Rashidiyah*, 2. *Zad us-Salikin*, commentaries on the writings of earlier sufis, and 3. a *Diwan* of verses.

Shihabi, Muhammad Sâdiq (d. unknown) lived in Ahmadabad and was descendant of the sufis having their *Khanqah* in that city. His spiritual guide was Shaikh Gharibullah, who encouraged him to write a biography of Shaikh 'Abd ul-Qâdir Jilani (d. 561/1166). Shaikh Gharibullah and Shihabi's own ancestors were the representatives of the Qâdiri order in Gujrat. Accordingly, he wrote a book *Manaqib-i-Ghausiyah*, ca. 1052/1642.

Shihâb ud-Din (d. unknown) lived in Burhanpur. Deccan, and was the grandson of Shaikh 'Isa Jand ullah, the Shattari sufi and scholar, whom the Mughal nobleman, 'Abd ur-Rahim Khân-i-Khânân, treated as personal friend. Shihab ud-Din's father, Shah Fath Muhammad, prepared a book of rituals *Fâtûh ul-Aurâd*. The son made its abridgment under the title *Khulasat ul-Aurâd*. Also, he explained the beliefs and practices of the Qadiri order in a tract *Khulasat ul-Qadiriya*, ca. 1060/1650.

Sudhâri Lâl (d. unknown) was the author of a historical biography of Shah Jahan from his birth (1000/1591) to death (1076/1665). Its title was *Tuhfah-i-Shah Jahani*.

Sûrûri, Muhammad Qâsim (d. unknown) came to India in the reign of Shah Jahan and passed many years in Lahore. He was the author of a comprehensive dictionary *Majma' ul-Furs*. Also many lexicographers mentioned it as *Lughat-i-Sûrûri*/*Farhang-i-Sûrûri*, ca. 1036/1626.

Tawakkul Beg (d. unknown) was trained at an early age under the care of the famous sufi, Mulla Shâh Muhammad Badakhshi of Kashmir. Prince Dara Shikoh and his sister, Jahan Ara Begum also acknowledged Mulla

Shah as their spiritual guide. Tawakkul Beg occupied various posts in the government of Shah Jahān and his sons, particularly, he seemed to have passed a longer term of service under Dara Shikoh. In order to consecrate the memory of his teacher the grateful disciple wrote a concise book praising the virtues of Mulla Shah and named it *Nuskhah-i-Shahi*, 1077/1667. In Ghaznah, where he stayed for some time as news-writer, he prepared an abridgment of Ferdowsi's great epic, and brought out as *Muntakhab-i-Shah-namah / Khulasah-i-Shah-namah/Tarikh-i-Shamsher Khani*, as the governor of Ghaznah, his superior officer, was Shamsheer Khan, Muhammad Hayāt.

Tughra, Mulla (d. 110/1698) came from Mashhad and served in various capacities under Prince Murād, a son of Shah Jahān. He stayed in the Deccan and accompanied the Mughal armies on their expedition to Balkh. Finally, he settled in Kashmir. His span of life coincided with the reign of Shah Jahān and the early decades of his successor. He was a mature poet, but his reputation has survived chiefly as a collector of prose specimens: letters, documents and rhetorical essays, familiar as *Rasail-i-Tughra/Miyar ul-Idrak*. Mostly they were written on the known pattern of *Maqamat*. The work found entry into the curriculum of madrasah education during the days of the later Mughals. Also, he composed a *Saqi-namah* on Zuhuri's pattern, which contained about five thousand verses. His *Diwan* has been available.

Wali, Banwālī Dās (d. 1085/1674) belonged to the circle of Prince Dara Shikoh and was deeply interested in sufism. Among his literary remains were 1. *Diwan* of verses, 2. a *masnawi* dealing with sufistic subjects, 3. a history of the ancient rulers of Delhi as they had survived in popular Hindu traditions, from Rajah Judhister to the coming of Muhammad b. Sam Ghori: *Rajawali*, 4. a book on spiritual discipline *Misbah ul-Hidaya*, and 5. translation of the Sanskrit drama by Krishna Das Bhat, *Prabodh Chandrodaya*, under the title, *Gulzar-i-Hal*.

Yahya Kashi, Mir Muhammad Yahya (d. 1064/1653) came from Kashan, Iran, where his father and grandfather were known for their literary talents. Sanjar Kashi, his father, stayed at the court of Ibrahim 'Adil Shah at Bijapur, and Rafi'i Kashi, Mir Haidar, Yahya's grandfather,

earned fame as master of pun and puzzle, and visited the court of Akbar the Great. Mir Yahya received the patronage of Shah Jahan. At the emperor's command he attempted, like some of the other contemporaries, a *Padshah-namah*, that is, versified chronicle of Shah Jahan's reign, which was left incomplete. The poem throws light on his master's excellent experiments with marble and red sand stone. He composed an interesting chronogram to congratulate Shah Jahan as he occupied his new capital outside the historic Delhi along the bank of Jamuna. It was named Shahjahanabad. Incidentally Kalim, the poet laureate, also composed exactly same line. Said the two poets: *Az Shah Jahan abad shud Shahjahanabad = 1058/1648*. That rare device is called in Persian rhetoric *Iltiqa-i-Khatirain*.

Zain ul 'Abidin (d. unknown) was a scholar during the reign of Shah Jahan. He wrote a monograph giving the methods of preparation, by chemical treatment of a number of essential and valuable products, which were in constant demand by the Mughal society. Of immediate interest to a man of learning was the art of book-making, which was assisted by craftsmen who prepared ink, gold solution and colour for the calligraphist and miniaturist. Next, there were communities of smiths, diamond cutters, and makers of items of luxury from perfumes to products of glass and inlay work. Zain ul-Abidin, having realized the dimensions of cultural refinement, and also, with a view to create the scientific basis of knowledge for the benefit of posterity, collected and arranged the information in forty-two chapters, naming his work *Majmu'at us Sana'i*, completed in 1065/1652.

Abu Bakr Fa'iz b. Muhammad (d. unknown) lived in Lahore during the reigns of Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb. He spent his life in religious pursuits. He felt that people around him were ignorant of the essentials of religion, concerning the bathing and shrouding the dead-body of a Muslim before burial. He, therefore, wrote a tract for general guidance: *Risalah-i-Ghushl wa Janazah*.

Brahman, Rai Chandrabhan (d. 1073/1662) was a resident of Lahore and after serving as secretary to various provincial governors and nobles, he finally rose to the position of Emperor's secretary. Shah Jahan trusted him and Dara Shikoh admired his competence. In his official capacity as *Waqi'ah nawis-i-Hazur*, his duty was to draft official bulletins, which were

issued daily from the court and despatched to provincial capitals and other remote quarters of the empire. The downfall and death of Dara Shikoh spelt out the end of his official career. He took retirement from service and passed the rest of his life as an unworldly hermit in the holy city of Benaras. Brahman left permanent reputation as poet. His verses expressed the philosophy of Vedanta, not dissimilar to the *Wahdat-ul-Wujud* of Muslim sufis, in most captivating style. And, he was master of *insha*, the art of drafting in ornate and technical language so much in fashion and demand as without learning it a young man could not hope to enter Mughal civil service. Besides the *Diwan* of verses, his chief prose work was: *Chahar-Chaman*, divided into four sections: 1. court life and etiquette, 2. the emperor engaged in his daily routine, 3. personal experiences, and 4. moral exhortations. Also, he left a collection of official papers, *Munsha'at-i-Brahman*.

Wajih ud-Din b. Isa, Shaikh (d. unknown) was a sufi and religious scholar during the reign of Shah Jahan having allegiance to the Suhrawardi order. The emperor enlisted him for the education of his eldest son, Prince Dara Shikoh. His teachings exercised permanent influence in shaping the mind of young Prince. From early time of their emergence in the sub-continent, the Suhrawardi sufis preferred to create links with kings and men of power, for, as they asserted, their object was to turn them into God-fearing and sincere servants of mankind. Before his teacher concluded his syllabus, Dara Shikoh was convinced that the essence of religion was sacred knowledge, derived from spiritual purification. Later on, Aurangzeb entrusted Mulla Wajih ud-Din with the charge of his grand project, the compilation of *Fatawa-i-Alamgiri*, and he was an active member of the team, whose labours accomplished the work. His independent contribution was a treatise explaining the basic moral principles which could assist an individual in reforming his inner personality. Its title was *Nafa'is-i-Wajih*, completed in 1037/1628.

Habib ullah (d. unknown) lived under the patronage of Dara Shikoh (d. 1070/1659) and was a learned scholar of Sanskrit. The Prince sought his assistance in translating Valmiki's *Yog-Vashist*. Its translation had already been made by Nizam ud-Din Panipati in Akbar's time. In view of

the widespread interest in the book, a number of translators, Hindu and Muslim, brought out their independent versions of *Yog-Vashist*.

Muhammad Yusuf, Qāzi (d. unknown) was a sufi disciple of Shaikh Muhibb ullah Ilahabadi, the friend of Dara Shikoh. His father, Abul Makārim, was a learned man and served as Qāzi of Bilgram, his home-town. Initially, Muhammad Yusuf was faujdār in the province of Malwah, but renounced worldly career as it was incompatible with his sufi way of life. Prince Dara Shikoh formulated sixteen questions of fundamental nature exploring the entire discipline of sufism, and sent them to Shaikh Muhibb ullah. At his teacher's indication, Qāzi Muhammad Yusuf drafted their answers for submission to the Prince, naming the work: *Hadyat us-Sūltaniyah*.

Danishmand Khan, Muhammad Shafi 'alias Mulla Shafi'ā (d. 1081/1670) was a native of Yazd, Iran, and came to India in the reign of Shāh Jahān. The emperor and his wazīr, Sa'd ullah Khan, were impressed by his learning and conferred on him the rank of a noble together with the title mentioned above. Aurangzeb confirmed his rank and retained him in service, but ignored his advice at a very crucial juncture. In secret council of the nobles, Danishmand Khan had opposed the idea of exposing Dara Shikoh to public parade in the streets of the capital. For, he argued, it would bring unprecedented humiliation to the royal Mughal family. And, when the new emperor, having failed in the intended objective of Dara's procession hastily invited the nobles to *Ghusalkhanah* = Chamber of Private Audience, Danishmand Khan again insisted that Gwalior prison was a better alternative than killing. The French traveller and physician, Francois Bernier, enjoyed his hospitality in Delhi, and has left a detailed account of the range of intellectual abilities possessed by the nobleman. Mulla Shafi'ā was a patron of scholars, calligrapher and poet himself. He composed his *Diwan* of verses.

Shāh Muhammad Badakhshi, Mulla (d. 1072/1661) lived as a sufi in Kashmir and was the spiritual guide, *murshid*, of Prince Dara Shikoh and his sister, Jahān Arā Begum. Famous among his contemporaries for virtuous life and learning, and addressed by the people as Mulla Shāh, he left his home-town, Badakhshan, in young age and came to stay in Lahore.

where the great saint, Miyan Mir (d. 1045/1635), was pleased to initiate him into the discipline of sufism. Later on, he settled in Kashmir as Miyan Mir's *khalifah* at the latter's instance. An ardent supporter of Shaikh Ibn ul-Arabi's philosophy of *Wahdat ul-Wujud*, he incited the jealousy of orthodox divines, and at least twice in his life faced the danger of being caught up, so to say, by inquisition. Once, they accused him as the author of a derogatory verse compromising the dignity of the Prophet. Shah Jahān summoned Mulla Shāh to his own presence and was satisfied to hear that the verse in question was from the pen of some other poet. Moreover, the emperor was impressed by his cheerful disposition and presence of mind. A second time, Mulla Qawi, the chief *Qazi* of Delhi, whose *fatwa* had sent Sarmad to the gallows, almost succeeded in the plan of casting his net over Mulla Shāh. For, the sufi's connections with the late Dara Shikoh were known to everybody. Imperial orders were communicated to him through the governor of Kashmir to arrive in Delhi and submit an explanation of his beliefs. Mercifully, death overtook him at Lahore. Mulla Shah attempted a commentary on the Qur'an, left incomplete, in highly allegorical style, of which the sufis are so fond. Its title was: *Shah-i-Tafasir*. In fact, a similar view was taken earlier by Ibn Arabi. Among his other works there were a few *masnawis*, dealing with ethical and religious subjects. Also, he was acknowledged for his quatrains and chronograms. Alamgir recorded a quatrain of Mulla Shāh in his personal *Bayaz*.

Jahān Ara Begum (d. 1092/1681) was the eldest daughter of Shah Jahān and like her brother, Dara Shikoh, evinced deep and sincere interest in the teachings of sufism. Both were the disciples of Mulla Shah Muhammad Badakhshi of Kashmir, a leading saint of the age. She served her father with selfless devotion during his years of captivity in Agra fort. After Shāh Jahān's death, she moved to Delhi and passed the rest of her life in the pious routine of prayers and study of books as she possessed reading habits. She had selected a place for her grave close to the tomb of Shaikh Nizām ud-Din Auliya and was accordingly buried there. Her contributions as a writer were two concise books very much admired by the sufis. 1. Discourses of her spiritual guide, Mulla Shah Muhammad Badakhshi, *Sahibiyah*, and 2. a *tazkirah* devoted to the

lives of Chishti saints: *Manis ul-Arwah*.

Dara Shikoh, Muhammad (d. 1069/1659) was the eldest son of Shāh Jahān. The emperor chose him to be heir apparent and bestowed on him positions of great distinction to signify his intentions. One of the characteristics of the Turkish race, Indian Mughals not excepting, was their total disregard for the law of primogeniture in their monarchic system. Invariably, the question of succession was decided by brute force, and in given circumstances, only the most energetic and crafty prince ascended the throne after destroying all the real or possible claimants, that is, brothers, nephews, half brothers, and for safety's sake, every male member of the royal house. The ruling monarch's death, even severe illness, always signalled the approaching and unavoidable war waged by the young princes and their supporters. Unluckily, Shāh Jahān's temporary illness created a similar situation among his four sons: Dara Shikoh, Muhammad Shujā', Aurangzeb, and Murād Bukhsh. A series of disastrous battles brought the empire to the verge of collapse and the loss of precious human blood was incalculable. When Shāh Jahān rose from his sick-bed, he found to his dismay that the hidden hand of fate had turned the page of India's history. Aurangzeb was master of the stage and all the other minor and major members of the family had passed out of scene. The grief-stricken father reconciled himself to the humiliating existence of a prisoner and remained alive for seven and a half years. In their mental attitude, Dara Shikoh and his sister, Jahān Arā Begum, chose for themselves a field which no other member of their family had tried to investigate before them. Without exception, all Timurid princes had been lovers of art and culture, but sufism could not claim their attention as the primary conditions of that discipline were self-imposed poverty and resignation from the world. Significantly, both the brother and sister passed through regular course of initiation under the discipleship of Mulla Shāh Badakhshī and formally entered the Qādiri order. The Prince devoted all his life to the task of reading and writing about sufism as it existed in Islam and in other religions, particularly, amongst the Hindus. His acquaintance with Sanskrit enabled him to translate into Persian the classic of Hindu philosophy: the *Upanishad*. Also, he studied and prepared commentaries on portions of the *Vedas*, the translation of which had been left incomplete since the time

of his great grandfather. As pointed out by Albert Schweitzer in his *Indian Thought*, the philosophy of India entered Europe thanks to the genius of Dara Shikoh. For the first time, it was his *Oupnek'hat* in its Persian version, re-translated into French, which awakened the Western intellectuals to the richness and relevance of Indian wisdom. Dara Shikoh left from his pen: 1. *Sirr-i-Akbar*, above named translation, 2. *Majma' ul-Bahraian*, comparative study of major sufistic systems, 3. *Hasanat ul-'Arifin*, virtues of the saints, 4. *Risalah-i-Haq-nâma*, discourses on spiritual improvement, 5. *Sakinat ul-Auliya*, and 6. *Safinat ul-Auliya*, devoted to the lives of the saints, completed ca. 1049/1640.

POETS

Nûr Jahân Begum, Mehr un-Nisa (d. 1055/1645) was the daughter of Mirza Ghiyâs Beg I'timad ud-Dawlah and sister of Abul Hasan Asaf Khan, the prime ministers of Jahangir and Shah Jahan respectively. Initially, her wedding took place with Sher Afghan Khan, an Iranian noble of ordinary rank posted in Bengal. By deliberate mischief or mere accident, young Sher Afghan was slain in a violent scuffle with the provincial governor (1016/1607). Fortune smiled on the young widow. For, in less than four years, she entered Jahangir's *harem* as chief Queen and took in her hands the control of the empire. Coins were struck in her name and imperial *firman*s bore her signature. As regards her last days, popular memory has preserved a strikingly romantic episode that depicted her true character, of course. From her retreat in Lahore, she wrote to her ruling step-son Shah Jahan, expressing the last wish: a place for the grave. The shadow of her husband's tomb should ever fall on it. 'It will be a memorial to posterity of a woman's selfless devotion.' Possessing creative imagination and cultivated taste, Nûr Jahân Begum, through her stray verses, left a claim upon the writers of anthologies to include her name in their accounts.

Naziri, Muhammad Husain (d. 1023/1614) belonged to Nishâpûr

and arrived in the reign of Akbar. Poetry being most popular art of the age, his contemporaries soon acknowledged Naziri's exceptional merits. He chose Ahmadabad, Gujrat, for his residence, although, to attend the company of his patron, Khān-i-Khanān, whose military headquarters shifted from place to place, he stayed at many other cities of the empire. Once, Jahangir's invitation brought him to the Imperial Capital, and as recorded in the *Tuzuk*, the Emperor was very much pleased with the poet. Persian *ghazal* had the capacity to accept further refinement of expression, and that was subscribed by Naziri. His *Diwan* ever remained popular in the sub-continent.

Tālib-i-Amūli (d. 1036/1626) was poet-laureate at the court of Jahangir. He emigrated from Amūl, a small town in the south of Caspian sea, and soon established his position as literary genius of the age. Among his patrons was the lord chancellor of the empire Mirza Ghiyās Beg I'timād ud-Dawlah. In his *Tuzuk*, Jahangir recorded the conferring of the title of laureateship on Tālib and noted a few verses of the poet, which pleased the emperor's taste. Time has not been able to shake the reputation enjoyed by Tālib among the galaxy of literary men, whose presence made the period of Akbar and Jahangir 'the spring season of Persian poetry in India'. He left *Diwan* of verses and a few *masnawi* poems.

Ahwali (d. unknown) came from his homeland, Sistan, in the reign of Jahangir and passed his last days in Kashmir. Taqi Awhadi, the author of '*Arafat ul-'ashiqin*', saw him at Ajmer (1024/1615). Two years later, Ahwali found permanent place at the court of Mirza Safdar Khan, a nobleman of Chak connections, whose ancestors had been the rulers of Kashmir. Abd un-Nabī interviewed him there and obtained his poem for inclusion in the *Mai-Khanah*. The poem displayed Ahwali's field of interest. For, as noted by 'Abd un-Nabī: "he composed mostly in praise of the Prophet and his Family peace be upon them".

Bazmi, Mulla Abd ush-Shakūr, Shaikh Shukr ullah b. Shaikh Munawwar (d. 1073/1662) made a versified translation of *Padmawāt*, the Hindi classic of Mulla Muhammad Ja'isi (d. 999/1590). Bazmi used a derivative of Hazaj metre for composing the poem and informed at the end: 'I was 27 years old when this work was completed in

1028/1618. 'He named his version: *Rat Padam*, 1028/1618.

Dayri Kabuli, Ibrāhim Husain (d. 1040/1630) was born at Balkh and brought up in Kabul, where his father lived as a government servant in the reign of Akbar. He left home in young age much against the wishes of his father and wandered freely in the cities of the Mughal empire. His teacher in the art of poetry was Nau'i Khabushāni, whose attention greatly improved his style. 'Abd ullah Khān Firūz Jang, and then Prince Parwiz, son of Jahangir, assigned him important positions and he performed official duties in the cities of Ahmadabad and Burhanpur respectively. Also, he enjoyed the patronage of 'Abd ur-Rahim Khān-i-Khanān, whom he praised in his *qasidahs*.

Dūsti Samarqandi (d. unknown) was a scholar and poet during the reign of Jahangir. He had attained fame in Trans-Oxiana before coming to India. Abd ullah Khan Firūz Jang offered him hospitality and he passed many years with that nobleman till the latter was transferred from Agra as military commander of the Deccan affairs, 1025/1616. Then, Prince Khurram (Shāh Jahān) invited him and the poet accepted the offer of the crown prince. The author of *Mai-i-Khanah* interviewed him in 1028/1618. Nihawandi reported that Maulana Dūsti came over to the service of his master, Abd ur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan, and added that Dūsti's *qasidahs* in his possession were lost, and that he would include them later on if they could be traced. The poet left a *Diwan* of eight thousand verses.

Fuzuni Astrabadi, Mir Muahammad Hashim (d. unknown) arrived from Astrabad, Khurasan, in Bijapur via Mecca, the holy city of Islam, and entered the service of Muhammad 'Adil Shah, the sixth ruler of the line. At his master's request, he wrote a history of the dynasty naming it: *Futahat-i-'Adil Shahi*, 1054/1644. Earlier, it seemed, he had wandered across the cities of the Mughal empire, as paying several visits to India was a fashion among his countrymen. Abd un-Nabi saw him in Kashmir (1025/1616), where his patron was a local nobleman, Safdar Khan. As noted by the author of *Mai-Khanah*, he was engaged in writing a general history on an enlarged scale and intended to integrate his observations of contemporary life into it. Finally, the work appeared under the title: *Būhairah*. Fuzuni's *Diwan* contained verses of all

varieties. He dedicated his *Saqi-namah* to Shah 'Abbas the Great of Iran.

Faghfūr Gilāni, Muhammad Husain (d. 1029/1619) came from the province of Gilan, North Iran, and passed his life in the service of Prince Parwiz, son of Jahangir, the military governor of the Deccan with Burhanpur as his seat of residence. Apart from poetry, he embraced in his personal merits the knowledge of medicine as well as music. Before arriving in India, he saw many places and stayed for some time in Georgia, where the ruler of the province, Askandar Khan, employed Faghfūr as his court physician. Among his Indian patrons, Abd ur-Rahim Khān-i-Khānān treated him with much kindness and the poet expressed his genuine feelings of indebtedness in the *qasidahs* addressed to the nobleman.

Faraibi, Mir 'Abd ullah Mizeh (d. unknown) was a poet of Kashmir living in Jahangir's time. Abd un-Nabi Fakhr uz-Zamāni interviewed him while collecting material for the *Mai-Khanah*: 'Faraibi was happy in his homeland and had not paid attention yet, to collect his *Diwan*' (1025/1616).

Anisi Shamlū, Yul-quli Beg (d. 1014/1605) lived in the literary cricle of Abd ur-Rahim Khān-i-Khānān and was a friend of Naziri Nishapūri. Anisi inspired the modern poet, Iqbāl, to compose a poem in Urdu around the central idea supplied by Anisi's verse. His death occurred in Burhanpur, and he left, besides a *Diwan* of verses, the romantic poem in masnawi metre: *Mahmūd wa Ayāz*.

Anwar Lahori, Shaikh Nūr Muhammad (d. 1044/1634) gained recognition as a poet despite stiff literary competition in the reign of Jahangir. Taqi Awhadi was impressed by his intelligence as he saw Anwar in the city of Mandu. Jahangir in his long tour of Rajasthan, Malwah, and Gujrat, halted with his retinue in the almost deserted capital of the Sultans of Malwah. Anwar made his presence felt in the brilliant company of literary men, who recited their verses, debated over literary points, and often attacked each other with satires. Anwar started his career under the patronage of his name-sake, Mirza Anwar, son of Akbar's premier noble, Khan-i-A'zam Mirza Aziz, and was also supported by Mirza Aman Ullah, son of Jahangir's army chief, Mahabat Khan. In later days, his reputation as poet attracted the notice of Shāh Jahān, who enlisted him among the

literary men of his court. Anwar's *Diwan* of verses has survived.

'Arif Eigi, Siraj ud-Din Husain (d. 1035/1625) was a poet during the time of Akbar and Jahangir. 'Abd un-Nabi, the author of *Mai-Khanah*, preserved a detailed account of his life: "I was born in Eig, the seat of the Shabankarah, between Yazd and Kirman, and my father was chief of the area. After his death, my elder brother did not treat me well and I left home. Overwhelmed by the desire to see the world, I came to India and presented a *qasidah* in praise of Prince Salim, son of Akbar, at Allahabad. Alas, jealous tale-bearers spoiled my case and told the Prince that I first served his brother, Prince Danyal. Prince Salim ordered that I should be imprisoned in the fortress of Mandu, where I languished for two years. Then, I was pardoned and the Prince enlisted me as his courtier. But, I enjoyed wandering, and therefore, slipped away from Allahabad without seeking his permission. In Agra, I easily found a job among the legion of court-poets, and every comfort was available to me for five years till the old emperor died. As my earlier patron succeeded his father, I avoided him in view of my past conduct and trotted away from Agra towards Deccan, where Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah, the king of Golconda, received me kindly. Home-sickness being man's natural weakness, in a few months I voyaged back to Iran. At home, family quarrels made my life hell in five years, and I found myself compelled to take road a second time to India via Qandhar. My hopes were not belied, and the emperor, Jahangir, may God grant him life till eternity, graciously accepted me in the circle of his praise-singers. Generally, I spend my regular salary and casual earnings in travelling across this vast country, and there must be hardly an important place on the map of India, which I have not seen. In the meantime, I was punctual to recite *qasidahs* before the prime minister, I'timad ud-Dawlah. Thanks to his generosity, I possess five hundred bighas of land here in Bihar. Now, as you record my talk, I am fifty-two years old, 1028/1618." Similarly, Taqi Awhadi, also his friend, noted down additional reminiscences in his *tazkirah*. Arif left a *Diwan* containing nine thousand verses, a didactic poem: *Andarz namah*, and a *Saqi namah* composed on Ferdowsi's pattern.

'Arifi Musawi, Mir Muhammad Mirak (d. unknown) was born

in a village Zurabad, near Sarakhs, and received education in the town of Jam, Khurasan, where his family members had settled. In young age he stayed for some time in Mashhad and polished his taste in the literary company of Naziri and Qudsi. As Shah Abbas dismissed Muzaffar Husain Khan, his patron, 'Arifi was deprived of financial support and moved to India. The author of *Mai-Khanah* saw him in Jahangir's retinue and was impressed by his verses.

'Asri, 'Abdul Ghafur (d. unknown) came from Damghan, the birth place of one of the great poets of Iran, Minuchhiri, whose *qasidahs* vibrated with the diction of the pagan Arab poets. 'Asri stayed for some time in Lahore, where the author of *Mai-Khanah* saw him, and initially served under Mirza Yādgār, a noble of Jahangir. Thereafter, he moved to Kashmir and enjoyed the patronage of Mirza Safdar Khan, a scion of Chak rulers, whom Jahangir appointed governor of the province for a term of three years. 'Asri took care of Mirza Safdar's personal library, and found ample time for creative work. He possessed a *Diwan* of verses.

'Ata'i, Abd ul-Karim, Shaikh (d. unknown) belonged to Jaunpur, the city well-known as an educational centre, abounding in colleges. 'Ata'i's father, Maulana Fakhr ud-Din, was a learned man of the city, and his son was initially trained in scholarship, but he preferred to be a poet. Taqi Awahadi having met him at Agra (1020/1611) was impressed by his youthful personality and a similar observation was recorded by the author of *Mai-Khanah*, who interviewed the poet in Ajmer (1024/1611). Later on, Ata'i's verses attracted the notice of Mirza Sa'ib, the discerning critic and literary guide who made a selection from the poet's *Diwan* and preserved the verses in his popular *Bayāz*.

Auji (d. 1032/1622) lived as a poet in Kashmir during the reign of Jahangir. The author of *Mai-Khanah* saw him and borrowed his verses for including them in his *tazkirah*.

Adā'i, Mir Mau'min (d. 1030/1620) lived in Surat, Gujrat during the reign of Jahangir. He fled from his home-town Yezd, where he was accused of atheism and found his life in danger. Initially, his patron was Muhammad

Quli Qutb Shah, King of Golconda. In India he developed the image of pious man devoted to prayers and fasting, and made himself popular as poet.

Azhari, Sirāj ud-Din (d. 1044/1634) belonged to Kashmir and passed a few years in Agra during the days of Jahangir and Shah Jahān. Mazhari, a poet from Kashmir, was related to him. The two were implacable rivals and exchanged harsh verses. Azhari lost eyesight in old age, and Shaida Fatehpuri, the satirist, who retired to Kashmir, made poor Azhari the target of his biting remarks. Among the poets living in Kashmir in the reign of Shah Jahan, he was admired for his inimitable style.

Fitrat, Uways Beg (d. unknown) belonged to Kashan, Iran, and came to India in the later days of Jahangir. Initially, he started service under 'Adil Shah, King of Bijapur, but soon moved to North India. He left a *Diwan* containing 6500 verses, and two *masnawi* poems.

Ghazanfar (d. unknown) lived in Gujrat during the reign of Jahangir and was famous as poet. He wandered in young age through the cities of Iran and Trans-Oxiana, but the mood of home-sickness brought him back to Ahmadabad after a few years. In his estimate no region of the world was lovelier than his homeland and no buildings more magnificent than those situated in Gujrat. A Saiyed by descent and living the unworldly life of a sufi, he addressed warm verses to Jahangir. The emperor, camping in Gujrat, issued a *farman* of land grant to the poet. His *Diwan* of verses, containing interesting poems against jealous rivals and lazy officials like the kotwal = Police Chief, of Ahmadabad, showed Ghazanfar's excellence as a literary man. He left a *Diwan* of verses.

Ghūrūrī Kāshi, Mir Burhān (d. unknown) was born in Kashān and received literary training in Shiraz, where, among his young associates, Murshid Burūjardi gradually emerged as his chief rival. Ghūrūrī's overbearing attitude made him unpopular in the circle of his fellow poets and they scandalized him for cheating. The whole community cried shame in one voice: 'Maulana Ghururi read the *Qasidah* of the great poet, Anwari, claiming as his own addressing to the governor of the province of Lār. Abundantly pleased, the governor, who

must be semi-literate, stuffed Ghurūrī's pockets with money. Before the truth was disclosed, the Mualana fled to India.' The veracity of this story may be disputed, but there are ample indications by contemporary writers that the poet possessed a boisterous nature. Taqī Awhadī mentioned him with sarcasm, which Abd ul-Baqī Nihawandī compensated by his acclamations. Next to 'Abd ur-Rahīm Khan-i-Khanān, Ghurūrī's patron, at whose court he passed most of his life, was Muhammad Qutb Shāh, King of Golconda (d. 1035/1625). The author of *Mai-Khanah* has preserved a *Saqī-i-namah* of Ghurūrī.

Girdhar Dās (d. unknown) lived in the reign of Jahangīr and dedicated to the emperor his versified translation of the *Ramayana*, completed ca. 1034/1624.

Girāmī, Hasan Beg Shamlū (d. unknown) came from Iran in the reign of Jahangīr and held high offices in Gujrat and Bengal in succession till the time of Shāh Jahān. Girāmī was an acknowledged poet and left a *Diwan* of verses.

Hamid Kalanauri (d. 1028/1619) lived as a poet during the days of Akbar and Jahangīr and combined the training of a sufi. He made versified translation of *Chandāyan*, a poem in Awadhī dialect, the earlier form of Hindī, by Mulla Dāwūd, completed in 781/1397. The latter was a sufi living in Awadh during the time of Sultān Firūz Shāh and his successors. His poem, which acquired great popularity explained mystical problems through dialogues of allegorical characters: Mina, a princess, Dallalah, a bawd, Satan, a false lover, and Lūrak, husband of the above-named princess. Many religious teachers recited its verses in their sermons. Hamid's version appeared in *Hazaj* metre, familiar for composing *masnawī*, its title was: *'Ismat-namah*, 1016/1609.

Hayāti (d. 1028/1618) belonged to Gilan, which he left in young age and came to stay in Kashān. Taqī Kāshī, the contemporary author of *Khulasat ul-Ash'ar*, attested that Hayāti had already gained acknowledgement from the poets of his country before leaving for India. Having arrived in the reign of Akbar, he was offered hospitality by Hakim Abul Fath Gilanī, the emperor's boon companion. As Abd ur-Rahīm Khan-i-Khanān was

assigned the military command of the Deccan, Hayati accompanied that nobleman and resided in Burhanpūr. He constructed a house and a mosque and laid a garden in that city. Jahangir in his estimate placed him higher than other poets of his court. For, he chose Hayati to compose the lost portions of Amir Khusraw's poem, *Tughlāq namah*, the last literary exercise by the great poet. After he completed the task, Hayati was weighed in silver by the emperor's order (1019/1610). Also, he was the author of another *masnawi* composed in *Hazaj* metre.

Hāziq, Hakim Kamāl ud-Din (d. 1067/1657) was a physician, poet and nobleman of important position under Jahangir and Shāh Jahān. The latter sent him as ambassador of good will to Imam Quli Khan, king of Bukhara. Years ago, Hāziq's father, Hakim Humām, a trusted courtier of Akbar, had performed similar mission by the order of his master and visited the court of 'Abd ullah Khan. Hāziq died in Agra leaving behind a *Diwan* of verses.

Hindū, Pākhar Mal (d. unknown) belonged to the neighbourhood of Lahore and composed poetry under the pen-name mentioned above. Like his ancestors, he was a revenue expert and held the position of a civil servant during the reign of Jahangir. He presented one of his books to the emperor, who graciously accepted the work and was pleased with the author. Its chapters covered miscellaneous topics from ethics to alchemy and music. The title chosen for the book was *Farah afza*. Also, he was the author of a tale of love, *Ishqistan*, ca. 1037/1627.

Ibrāhim Fārsi (d. unknown) came from Shiraz and served as secretary to Ibrahim Khan Fath Jang, son of Jahangir's prime Minister, I'timād ud-Dawlah. Ibrahim was an expert in the field of juristic sciences and also, attained fame as a calligraphist and poet, ca. 1033/1623.

'Itabi Taklū, Hasan Beg (d. 1025/1616) passed early life in Isfahan as a court poet of Shah Abbas the Great and twice visited India. First, he arrived in company of the returning ambassador, Mir Ma'sum Nāmi, and presented his *qasidah* at the court of Akbar. Second time, he came in the reign of Jahangir and enjoyed the patronage of I'timād ud-Dawlah, the prime minister. Time destroyed all the enormous collection of the poet's

verses except one quatrain for which he obtained double reward from two emperors of his age. Once, in a fit of anger Shah Abbas was going to shoot him as he refused to drink with the Shah on the pretext of religious taboo. His spontaneous recitation changed the Shah's mood. He spared the poet's life and enhanced his dignity by giving him one hundred Tumans and a horse. Another poet, Mir Jūnūni, read the same quatrain claiming it as his own before the Mughal emperor, Jahangir, in India. A courtier Nūr ud-Din Qulī Safahāni, was present in the assembly. He promptly contradicted and disclosed the real author's name, who then lived in the Mughal capital. On being summoned by Jahangir from I'timād ud-Dawlah's house, the poet confirmed the truth, and further deemed it expedient to mingle it with a grain of falsehood. Said he: I composed it, of course, in praise of your Majesty'. Jahangir was very much pleased and rewarded 'Itabi with one thousand rupees and an elephant.

Jāwid, Derwish (d. unknown) was born in Qazwin, Iran, and chose for himself the career of an unworldly and pious sufi in early life. He was a youth of thirty, immersed in spiritual routines, when Abd un-Nabi, his fellow townsman and author of *tazkirah*, saw him having arrived in India fresh from Iran (1018/1609). A constant wanderer, he soon left for the holy cities of Mecca and Medinah and again appeared in India after many years, presenting himself before the grand Wazir, I'timād ud-Dawlah, at the time of Jahangir's visit to Gujrat (1027/1617). On the Wazir's recommendation, the Emperor summoned him to a private audience and was pleased by his manners. A royal order was issued for regular grant of maintenance allowance payable from the Ahmadabad mint, and Derwish Jāwid passed the rest of his life peacefully in that city. He was the author of a *masnawi* in Rumi's style, which both Abd un-Nabi and Taqi Awhadi have mentioned in their *tazkirahs*.

Kaifi (d. unknown) belonged to a Jewish family of Sabzwar, North Iran, and embraced Islam in young age. He wandered freely in the garb of a derwish for twenty years and witnessed, among other places, many parts of India. Taqi Awhadi saw him in Agra and Ajmer (1024/1615), and a year later, he was interviewed by the author of *Mai-Khanah* at Lahore. In mature age, he accepted service under Prince Khurram (Shah Jahan). He was the author

of a *masnawī* on the pattern of Rumi's masterpiece and named his work: *Agah-namah*.

Kāmi Qazwini (d. unknown) was a poet of Jahangir's time. He composed a *masnawī*, narrating the episode of the emperor's conflict with his general, Mahābat Khan. Jahangir was virtually arrested, but soon released by Mahābat Khan. As the dauntless and imperious queen, Nūr Jahān Begum, played key role in the whole affair, the poem was entitled *Fath-namah-i-Nūr Jahān Begum*.

Kāmil Jahrami, Maulana Qiwām ud-Din (d. unknown). His birth place was Jahram, a town near Shiraz, where he received his early education. He came to India in the reign of Jahangir and enjoyed the patronage of (i) the kings of Bijapur and Golconda, (ii) Mirza Abd ur-Rahim Khan-i-Khanan and (iii) Prince Khurram, in succession. Abd un-Nabi, who saw him in Patna, was struck by his wanderlust. He had visited all the cities of India from south of the sub-continent to the valley of Kashmir. And, he had halted in Azimabad on way to Bengal. Nothing of the five thousand verses contained in his *Diwan* have survived save the interesting *Saqi-namah*, he passed on to the author of *Mai-Khanah*. He had collected verses of eminent sufis in a personal handbook, naming it: *Murshid-i-Kamil*.

Khāki, Hasan Beg (d. 1022/1613) came from Shiraz and established his reputation as a poet during the days of Akbar and Jahangir. The emperors assigned him with important offices in Gujrat and Bihar respectively. He was the author of 1. a history for which he borrowed materials from *Jahan Ara* of Qāzi Ahmad Ghaffārī (d. 975/1567) and *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* of Nizam ud-Din Ahmad. Its double title was: *Muntakhab ut-Tawarikh / Ahsan ut-Tawarikh*, 2. an incomplete *tazkirah* of poets written in collaboration with sufi Mazandrani *But-Khanah*, and 3. a *Diwan* of verses.

Khisāli, Mulla Haidar (d. unknown) came from the city of Herat in the reign of Jahangir and was initially offered hospitality by Mirza Muzaffar Husain Safawi. The poet imparted instruction to the nobleman's children. Thereafter, he served under Mahabat Khan, the

military general, for five years. In the reign of Shah Jahan, he was appointed chief revenue officer = Diwan, of Kashmir, where he stayed for a long time. Khisālī's merits were calligraphy and poetry. His *Diwan* was popular among the contemporaries.

Lutfi, Mauzūn ul-Mulk (d. 1021/1612) came from Tabriz, Iran, in the reign of Jahangir. His father, Maulana 'Urfī Kamangar, was also a well known poet of Azarba'ijan. Initially, his patron in India was Abd ur-Rahim Khan-i-Kahnan, whom he congratulated on the birth of his second son, Mirza Darab Khan, in a chronogram = 994/1585. Jahangir conferred on him the title of 'Mauzūn ul-Mulk in recognition of his poetic gifts and appointed him controller of the seaport of Lahri, Sind. Thereafter, he was posted to Ahmadabad as chief of the mint of Gujrat. He was famous for his *Quatrains*.

Mahwi, 'Abd ul-'Ali (d. 1024/1615) belonged to Ardbil, North Iran, and received education in the cities of Shiraz and Isfahan. He was a friend of Murshid Burūjardi, in whose company he stayed at Qandhar as a court-poet of Mirza Ghāzi Khan Waqāri. Thereafter, he came to Ajmer and found employment under Jahangir's noble, Rustam Mirza Safawi. The author of *Mai-Khanah* saw him there and was impressed by his manners as he had hardly attained the age of twenty seven at the time. A year later, he died in the city of Burhanpūr leaving behind a *Saqi-namah*.

Malaki Qazwini, Mir (d. unknown) was the son of Mir Zahir ud-Din 'Ilmi. Both the father and son being scholars served at the court of the Safawid monarch, Shah Abbas the Great. Mir Malaki left for India and arrived in Agra at the juncture of Akbar's death (1014/1605). His elegy, mourning the emperor's death, made him familiar among the literary circles of the Mughal court. Jahangir despatched him to a number of military campaigns, and Mir Malaki, fighting under Mahabat Khan, Khān-i-Jahān Lodi and other highranking generals, proved his efficiency as a soldier. He approached the author of *Mai-Khanah* in Patna with a piece of *Saqi-namah* that was dedicated to Prince Parviz, son of Jahangir. The poem has survived.

Masih Kāshi, Rukn ud-Din (d. 1066/1655) belonged to a noble family

of physicians, who commanded influence and respect in Iran. Shah Abbas the Great accommodated him among his courtiers. Incidentally, the Shah was displeased and Masih came to India during the last days of Akbar. Jahangir enlisted him in the circle of his boon companions. Earlier, fearing the unpredictable consequences of Prince Salim's revolt against his father, Masih trotted away from Allahabad towards the Deccan, where Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah, king of Golconda, and his prime minister, Mir Muhammad Mu'min Astarabadi, received him with kindness. One day the Mir came to see Masih at his residence. In excitement and haste, Masih welcomed his guest by spraying alcohol instead of rose-water which was usual custom among the nobles. The mistake created odious scene and Masih was so much ashamed that he instantly fled from the Deccan. He witnessed the heydays of the Mughal empire. On the occasion of Shāh Jahān's coronation, he presented a *qasidha* congratulating the young sovereign. In old age, he returned to his hometown, Kashan. All his contemporaries respected him as a poet and scholar of high merits. He left a voluminous *Diwan* and a *masnawi* containing about two thousand verses: *Majmu'ah-i-Khayāl*.

Mehri (d. unknown) was lady-in-waiting of Nūr Jahān Begum. Like the queen herself, Mehri composed verses and left a *masnawi* called *Sarāpa-i-Mehri*.

Muhibb 'Ali Sindhi (d. 1055/1645) was born in Swistan, Sind, where his father, an emigrant from Samarqand, had settled in the reign of Akbar. He was a student at Thatta when Abd ur-Rahim Khan-i-Kahanān arrived there for conducting negotiations with Mirza 'Isa Tarkhān, the ruler of Sind, to accept Akbar's allegiance. The poet Shakaibi, Khan-Khanān's friend and companion, recommended young Muhibb 'Ali to his master, and he formally joined the imperial service. In the meantime, he devoted himself to spiritual exercise and came out as a sufi, but the connection with Khan-i-Khanān lasted till the nobleman's death (1056/1626) and Muhibb 'Ali stayed with his patron at Burhanpūr. Thereafter, Shāh Jahān granted him stipends showing great respect for his piety. In early life, not yet beyond thirty, he went on pilgrimage in company of Shakaibi and having returned from the holy cities of Mecca and Medinah, he passed

the rest of his life as a Derwish. His interest in poetry increased with age, and as he personally admitted, his guiding spirit in the art was Shaikh Sana'i of Ghaznah. Only scattered verses and extracts from his poems have survived.

Mujrim, Quli Khan Beg Shamlu (d. 1020/1611) witnessed the reigns of Akbar and Jahangir and established his position as a poet. Besides *Diwan*, he left a *masnawai* on the pattern of the old *manazara* = strife poem. Its name was *Mubahasa-i-Kuknar wa Tanbaku* (Disputation between Opium and Tobacco).

Munsif, Ghiyasa-i-Isfahani (1019/1610) came from Iran in the reign of Jahangir and was entertained in succession by the two noblemen, Mirza Ja'far and Mirza Rustam Safawi. Also, he visited the court of Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah, King of Golconda. He died young during the course of his journey falling suddenly ill in Burhanpur. The will left by the poet about his *Diwan* of verses, his horse, and the place of burial, later on came in possession of 'Abd un-Nabi through a friend of Munsif. He preserved it in the *Mai-Khanah* together with the poet's *Saqi-namah*.

Murshid Burujirdi (d. 1030/1620) belonged to Burujird, a town near Hamadan, and received early education in Shiraz. Mirza Ghazi, the Mughal governor of Qandhar in the reign of Jahangir, invited him to his court and he lived for some time in the brilliant literary company at Qandhar. After the Mirza's sudden death, he was extended patronage by Mahabat Khan, the general of Mughal armies who employed Murshid as tutor to his son, Mirza Aman ullah. Thereafter, he entered the imperial service and marched under Shah Jahan, to the Deccan, where he met his fellow-townsmen, 'Abd ul-Baqi Nihawandi, and the two friends lived together for two years. Murshid's *Diwan* of verses has survived.

Mustaghni, Muhammad Amin (d. 1054/1624) was the son of Sarfi Kashmiri, and like his father, gained reputation in the field of poetry. He witnessed the transition of power in Kashmir from Yusuf Shah Chak to Akbar. Having lived in Lahore for many years, in old age he returned to his homeland. His *Diwan* of verses has survived.

Nau'i Muhammad Reza (d. 1018/1609) came from Khabushan, a

village near Nisa, Khurasan, and obtained service under Prince Danyal, son of Akbar. After the death of the Prince (1013/1604), he secured the patronage of 'Abd ur-Rahim Khan-i-Khanān. While witnessing a tragic scene of Satti, the old Hindū custom of burning the widow with her husband's dead-body, he versified the event in a *masnawi* called *Sāz wa Gudāz*. For his *saqi-namah*, the poem addressed to the cupbearer, Khan-i-Khanān loaded him with the reward of astonishing value, and another poet, Rasmi Qalandar, justly exclaimed in a fragment: 'you gave to Nau'i what Amir Mu'izzi had received from Sultan Sanjar. 'In fact, Khan-i-Khanān had far exceeded the Great Seljuq in giving 'two thousand silver coins, one elephant, one horse of 'Iraqi breed, and a gold ornamented robe of honour. 'Mu'izzi could never have dreamed of these costly items. Nau'i's *Diwan* of verses has survived.

Nazri, Shāh Nazar (d. 1055/1645) belonged to Qumshah, a village near Isfahan, inhabited by the Afshār tribe of Turkish race. His training in early life was made by a sufi, Mir Mughis Hamadani, who gave him an awareness of spiritual discipline, and simultaneously, sharpened his sensibility for poetry. Additional to these merits, was the inherited aptitude for soldierly life. He sailed from the seaport of Hurmuz and arrived in Burhanpūr, the military headquarters of Khan-i-Khanān. Shortly after his joining service in the army, a confrontation occurred (1018/1609) between the Muhgals and Malik Anbar (d. 1035/1626). Abyssinian general and faithful servant of Bijapur king, whose genius and courage protected the Deccan kingdoms from tremendous onslaught of the North till he lived. Shah Nazar who fought under the command of Khan-i-Khanān's son, Mirza Iraj, was seriously wounded, and carried away, almost half dead, from the field. So bitter was the poet's experience of battle that he at once announced his future determination in a quatrain. 'If India were to be paradise, I shall prefer going to hell. The desire to visit Imam Reza's sacred shrine at Mashhad was a graceful way to go home. Khan-i-Khanān granted permission and paid lavish amount for expenses of the journey. Legends of his Indian visit were long remembered by his fellow-villagers and *tazkirah* writers collected them from later generations. A gallant sufi full of tender feelings towards less fortunate people, he picked up from the streets of Isfahan a fallen woman

Khwush-naqsh, as his wife. In the realm of literature, he adhered to the path shown by the great men of his category, and invariably composed quatrains.

Qaplân Beg (d. unknown) arrived from Badakhshan in the reign of Jahangir and rendered military service under Mirza Abd ur-Rahim Khan-i-Khanan in the Deccan. He possessed command as a poet and his *Diwan* of verses has survived.

Qâsim-i-Manezhah, Nawwab Mirza Qâsim Khân (d. 1040/1630) was the son-in-law of I'timâd ud-Dawlah, the prime minister of Jahangir, and husband of Nûr Jahan's younger sister, Menezha, hence the appellation mentioned above. He served as governor of Bengal and many other provinces. His father, Mir Murad, was a Saiyed from the town of Juwayn, Khurasan, and enjoyed the patronage of the monarchs of Deccan kingdoms before moving to North India. Akbar employed Mir Murad as tutor to Prince Khurram. The Mir was an expert of swordsmanship and archery. Qâsim Khan composed poetry and left a *Diwan*.

Rami, Shaikh Khizr (d. 1027/1617) belonged to Patna and lived a sufi's life of celibacy and self-imposed poverty. His death occurred at the age of seventy-two, the same year when the author of *Mai-Khanah* came to reside in the city of Patna. He left a *Diwan* containing about six thousand verses.

Rasmi Qalander (d. unknown) came from Yazd, Iran, and enjoyed the patronage of Abd ur-Rahim Khan-i-Khanan. Persuaded by some friends, he removed the sufi's garb and accepted job in the Mughal army. Abd ul-Bâqi Nihawandi, the author of *Ma'asir-i-Rahimi*, saw Rashmi in Golconda, 1024/1615, and was impressed by his literary merits. In a *qasidah*, praising Khân-i-Khanân, Rasmi mentioned all the important poets who received gifts from that nobleman and lived in his circle. Initially, a lover of freedom, he resigned from service and wandered away towards Kashmir, where the rest of his life was spent in religious and intellectual routines.

Raunaqi Hamadani (d. 1038/1628) lived as a poet during the reign of Jahangir. He composed a chronogram (1027/1617) when a derwish, Sabir

Isfahani, carried away the bones of 'Urfi (d. 999/1590) for burial to Najaf in compliance of the great poet's will that his mortal remains be mingled with the dust of that city ennobled due to its association with the name of his spiritual master and Imam, 'Ali b. Abū Tālib. Raunaqi collected his verses in a *Diwan*.

Sābri, Ghazanfar (d. unknown) came from Merv, the border city of Khurasan, and was enlisted among the poets of Jahangir's court. Taqi Auhadi, the author of *tazkirah*, had friendly relations with him and admired his verses.

Sā'i (d. unknown) belonged to an emigrant family of Mashhad and was employed as his librarian by Prince Shujā', the second son of Shah Jahan. He composed in Hindi as well as Persian, and left a *Diwan*. Among his *masnawi* poems, there were 1. versified version of Indian love tale, *Madhumalti*, under the title: *Pari Paikar*, 2. *Gham-i-dil*, and 3. a *Saqi-namah*.

Safi Safahāni (d. 1028/1618) came from his home-town, Isfahan, in the later days of Akbar and found employment under Mirza Ja'far Asaf Khan, who sent him on official duties to Kashmir and Sind. Being a man of care-free disposition, he joined the company of the Qalandars, a sect of wandering sufis, filled with exalted ideas: possessing nothing and possessed by nothing, and thus, Safi roamed for years from one end to the other of Indian sub-continent. The author of *Mai-Khanah* once met him in Mandu, Malwah, and obtained his verses for the above-mentioned anthology. Mahabat Khan, the general of Jahangir's armies, was impressed by his intelligence and persuaded him to change his mode of existence. At the noble's insistence, he gave up the Qalandar's robe and returned to normal life. The rest of his years passed in Mahabat Khan's service, controlling the management of his land-grants. When his master was posted as governor at Kabul, his death occurred there. A brilliant and witty poet, his contemporaries acknowledged him for a single verse: 'O God, guide me toward love. To be God must be enough, show, how to be a prophet.'

Sālih Tabrizi, Shaikh (d. unknown) arrived during the reign of

Jahangir. He was born in a family of learned men and passed early life in Qazwin. Trained in religious sciences and jurisprudence, he could not imbibe his education into his character and freely amused himself with wine and music. His talents for trade satisfied his lust for seeing the world. After many successful trading missions to Turkey, he turned to India and carried on his business activities in many cities of the sub-continent. On his way to Bengal, he halted at Patna and was received by the author of *Mai-Khanah* in his house. Abd un-Nabi felt very much pleased by hearing his verses. A copy of his *Diwan* deposited in the imperial library of the Mughals has survived.

Shahryār (d. 1038/1628) was Jahangir's son, married to the daughter of Nūr Jahān from Sher Afghan Khan. He had the backing of the imperious lady for throne after his father's death. But, her brother Asaf Khan, manoeuvred the situation in favour of his own son-in-law, Khurram. Like all Mughal Princes, Shahryār had the training of a poet, and when deprived of his eyes, lamented the tragedy in a chronogram: *Bi Gū Kār Shud Didah-i-Aftab* = 1038/1628.

Shakaibi, Muhammad Reza (d. 1023/1614) belonged to Isfahan and came to India in the later days of Akbar's reign. His patron was 'Abd ur-Rahim Khan-i-Khanān, in whose circle he rose to the position of a leading poet. In Thatta, Sind, Khan-i-Khanān rewarded him with eighteen thousand silver coins for his single poem, *Saqi-namah*.

Shamimi, Muhammad Mau'min (d. unknown) belonged to Yazd, Iran, and came to India in the reign of Jahangir, ca. 1028/1618. He found employment under Mirza Ahsan, son of Khwajah Abul Hasan Jahangir's Mir Bakhshi = chief paymaster. Mirza Ahsan, later on obtained the title of Zafar Khan from Shāh Jahan and left his reputation as next to 'Abd ur-Rahim Khan-i-Khanān for the lavish patronage he offered to literary men. Shamimi was an expert of calligraphy, music and poetry.

Shapur Tehrani, Khwajah Arjasp (d. unknown) was the first cousin of Jahangir's prime minister, I'timād ud-Dawlah, and visited India twice to explore trade prospects. Iranians had vast trading interests in Mughal India and their caravans laden with precious goods passed between the two

countries in all seasons of the year. Being a poet as well, Shapur was warmly welcomed by literary men in Lahore, Agra and other cities of the empire. Talib-i-Amuli, the poet laureate, addressed verses in his praise and copies of his *Diwan* circulated among the nobles of the court. The author of *Mai-Khanah* interviewed him in Lahore, and obtained his verses, 1025/1616.

Siraja Isfahani, Muhammad Qāsim (d. unknown) was in the service of 'Abd ur-Rahim Khan-i-Khanān and had friendly relations with 'Abd ul-Bāqī Nihawandī, the author of *Ma'asiri-Rahimi*. According to the latter's statement, Siraja spent one year in collecting the verses of 'Urfi Shirāzi and brought out his late friend's *Diwan* of verses with an introduction by Nihawandī, in 1026/1617.

Tabī', Isma'il (d. unknown) belonged to Sulqān, a village near Qazwin, Iran, and received early education in that city. His humour and ribaldry made him a welcome companion to men of every description, particularly, the upper classes, and he wandered freely in the cities of India from Gloconda and Bijapur to Agra and from Ahmadabad, Gujrat, to the cities of Bengal in the east. He was the disciple of Iran's great satirist, and the court-poet of Shah 'Abbas, Hakim Shifa'i (d. 1037/1627). The author of *Mai-Khanah* saw him in Patna around the year 1026/1617, and found in his possession a *Diwan* containing no less than three thousand verses.

Tajalli, Mir Husain (d. 1021/1612) arrived in the Deccan from Kashān and was patronized by Prince Danyāl, son of Akbar. Later on, he developed friendship with Naziri, the famous poet of the age, and passed all his life in Naziri's company at Ahmadabad, Gujrat. He was the author of the verse wrongly attributed to Nūr Jahān Begum (d. 1055/1645), which that great lady chose to be carved as epitaph on her tombstone. "No flowers will be placed at our grave. Nor will the nightingale sing its plaintive songs here. At night there would be no candle-light and no moth to burn its wings. We are poor strangers."

Tasalli, Mirza Ibrahim shirazi (d. unknown) lived as a poet in the court of Jahangir. He left a *Diwan* of verses.

Wahmi, Tahmasp Quli (d. unknown) lived as a poet at the court of Jahangir, and later on, enjoyed the patronage of Shah Jahan. His *Qasidah* on the marriage of Prince Dara Shikoh extremely pleased the emperor, and he lavishly rewarded the poet. Wahmi's *Diwan* contained all sorts of traditional verses.

Waqāri, Mirza Ghāzi Beg (d. 1021/1612) was the son of Mirza Jani Tarkhān, the semi-independent ruler of Sind, who declared his allegiance to Akbar after diplomatic negotiations successfully made by Khan-i-Khanān Mirza 'Abd ur-Rahim. Mirza Ghāzi served as governor of Qandhar in the reign of Jahangir. A poet of accomplished taste himself, composing under the pen-name mentioned above, he was extremely generous towards men of letters and many brilliant poets of the age had gathered around him in the city of Qandhar. The contemporary author, 'Abd un-Nabi Fakhr uz-Zamāni, studied Waqari's *Diwan* of verses.

Wasli, Muhammad Tahir (d. unknown) was the brother of I'timād ud-Dawlah Mirza Ghiyas Beg Tehrani, the prime minister of Jahangir. He arrived earlier in the reign of Akbar and composed *qasidahs* in praise of the emperor and the heir-apparent. He possessed a *Diwan*.

Ziya'i (d. unknown) was born in Jaunpur, the city of colleges like Shiraz, and acquired fame as a poet during the reign of Jahangir. He served in Gujrat under Shams ud-Din Jahangir Quli Khan, the governor of that province. In old age he resided at Patna, passing his time in the company of literary men. He left a *Diwan* of about four thousand verses.

Kalim Hamadani (d. 1061/1651) was poet-laureate at the court of Shah Jahan. Earlier, he had visited India during the time of Jahangir, and also, stayed for some time in the capital of Bijapur under the patronage of Ibrahim 'Adil Shah and his prime minister, Shah Nawāz Khan Shirazi. Kalim earned his reputation for contributing to the development of the peculiar style of *Ghazal*, called by the Iranian critics as *Sabk-i-Hindi*. Scholars in Iran traditionally held it as one of the three styles of their poetry, the other two being *Sabk-i-Iraqi* and *Sabk-i-Khurasani* in order of time. The *Sabk-i-Hindi* was distinguished by its philosophical depth, difficult allusions and artificial expressions. The geographical identification, said the Iranian

critics, was a mere convenience, it did not necessarily demarcate between the poets of the three races. In more recent estimate the *Sabk-i-Hindi* has come to be denigrated as a sign of decadence and lack of taste. Its name, reminding the Indian connection, was bound to cast reflection, rightly or wrongly, on the vast literature produced in the sub-continent and has not failed to create embarrassment. In his last days, Kalim was allowed by Shah Jahan to stay in Kashmir, where his object was to prepare the versified chronicle of his master's reign. Only about fifteen thousand verses, covering the early ten years, had been completed before the poet was overtaken by death, its proposed title was *Padshah-namah*.

Salim Tehrani, Muhammad Quli (d. 1057/1647) was patronized by Islam Khan, the noble of Shah Jahan's reign, whose victories in Assam he celebrated in a *masnawi* entitled, *Jang-i-Islam khan*. A verse of Salim describing the state of culture in Mughal India is very famous. He said: 'Iran does not possess conditions for the achievement of perfection. Henna's bright colour will not shine unless brought to India.' His last days were passed in Kashmir where a galaxy of literary men shed lustre around the provincial governor, Zafar Khan. His rivals accused him of plagiarization, but he was brilliant enough to face them. Salim left a *Diwan* of verses.

Shaida, Fatehpuri (1080/1669) was born at Fatehpur near Akbarabad, Agra and rose to fame as a poet. Satire being his chief gift, all the poets around him were humbled by his brilliant and powerful invectives. He witnessed the reign of Jahangir and passed the last days of his life in Kashmir with the permission of Shah Jahan. Shaida left *Diwan* of verses and a *Masnawi* entitled, *Faryad-i-'Ishq*.

Qudsi Mashhadi (d. 1056/1624) belonged to Mashhad, Iran and lived at the court of Shah Jahan. He left his name in the lucky list of writers and men of genius, whom the Mughal emperors rewarded with their body weight of silver. The occasion was Shah Jahan's accession to the 'Peacock Throne', marvel of jewels and gold (d. 1044/1634). In old age, he was employed for composing a versified chronicle and obtained the emperor's permission to live in Kashmir. The work appeared under the

title *Shah Jahan-namah* and contained about ten thousand verses. His *Diwan* was popular among the contemporaries.

Sa'ib, Mirza Muhammad 'Ali (d. 1080/1669) belonged to Isfahan and came to stay in India during the reign of Shah Jahan. His friend and patron was Zafar Khan, the governor of Kashmir, who himself composed poetry under the pen-name Ahsan. In his patron's company Sa'ib visited many parts of the country and went down to Burhanpūr, where Zafar Khan was temporarily posted to perform military duties. He was famous as a poet during his life-time for possessing a distinct style bearing the mark of his personality. His death occurred in Isfahan as he preferred to pass old age among his countrymen and wandered back from India. His *Diwan* acquired much importance and all the succeeding generations of poets assiduously imitated his style, and he guided their taste like a literary dictator. Sa'ib's other popular work was a collection of contemporary poets, *Bayāz*.

Ahsan, Zafar Khan (d. 1073/1662) was a noble of the reign of Shah Jahan and served as governor of the provinces of Kabul and Kashmir. He could compose lyrics of musical elegance himself, but more profitable to literature was his generous patronage enjoyed by so many poets of the age. At his invitation Mirza Sa'ib came from Isfahan to Kabul, and then, travelled to Delhi and other cities of India in his company. In Kashmir, he gathered a brilliant circle of literary men around him: Qudsi, Salim, Kalim, and Shaida, all arrived there during his tenure of governorship, not to mention, Ghani and other local talents, whom he encouraged for creative interaction. He left a *Diwan* of verses and a *Masnawi: Jalwah-i-nāz*.

Fāni, Mulla Muhsin (d. 1081/1670) was a leading scholar and poet of Kashmir in the reign of Shah Jahan. Prince Dara Shikoh treated him as a friend and secured for him the post of *sadr* = president of religious endowments, of the province of Allahabad. Fāni's integrity and administrative efficiency endeared him to the learned men of the whole province. Eager to attain spiritual enlightenment, he became the disciple of Shah Muhibb ullah Ilahabadi, a local sufi. Meanwhile a fateful event occurred in the far-flung corner of the empire which gave severe jolt to Fāni's even career. The Mughal armies captured the city of Balkh and its ruler, Nazar Muhammad Khan, fled away without offering resistance (1056/

1646). As his valuable commodities, treasury and library, were scrutinized by the Mughal officials, they found the *Diwan* of Fani's verses, and to their surprise, it contained lucid *qasidas* in praise of the Khan of Balkh. Shah Jahān felt offended by the report and dismissed Fani from the prestigious post. His explanation that the poems were composed before he entered the imperial service, could not convince the emperor. On the recommendation of Dara Shikoh, a pension was approved for him and the rest of his life passed in Kashmir. Among his disciples were Mulla Tāhir Ghani and Hājī Aslam Salim. His *Diwan* contained six thousand verses. Also, he composed *masnawis* on the model of Shaikh Nizami of Ganjah: 1. *Masdar ul-asar*, 2. *Naz wa niyāz*, 3. *Mah wa Mehr*, and 4. *Haft-akhtar*.

Ghani Kashmiri, Mulla Tāhir (d. 1079/1668) was one of the most outstanding poets born in Kashmir, his teacher being the sufi scholar, Mullah Muhsin Fani, whose influence determined the course of Ghani's life and career. A friend of Mirza Sa'ib, he actively subscribed to the shaping of a new diction that later on received, particularly in Iran, the appellation of *Sabk-i-Hindi*. Its hallmark being 'Search and inventiveness,' the net result was a craze for metaphors bordering of ambiguity. Reaction set in, quite late of course, and Ghani ceased to be relevant without losing much of his prestige. His brilliant personality besides poetry was the real cause of fame achieved by him amongst the contemporaries. Living a typical sufi's life of celibacy, piety and poverty, he left his house completely unlocked when going out. His own self, he said, was the only precious commodity there. Once, the important poets of the age of Shah Jahan gathered for a while in Kashmir. They obtained the emperor's permission to stay there in connection with the literary projects assigned to them. Ghani's natural cheerfulness made him the central figure of that enlightened circle. His genius was acknowledged by all of them. A care-free style of life was his peculiar characteristic, it came in the way of his creative endeavours. Unlike most of the sufis, who exhibited spectacular energy as poets and writers, he contributed in limited quantity. Personally, he did not bother to collect his own *Diwan* of verses during the life time. His pupils after him pieced together a concise *Diwan*. None the less, some of his verses served as spark to

blaze the thought of modern scholars specialized in the realm of Indo-Islamic thought. (*Ali Jawād Zaidi, *Diwan-i-Ghani Kashmiri* (ed.) introduction).

Azkār ul-ahrār : Anonymously written biography of the Naqshbandi sufi, Mir Abul 'Ala Akbarabadi. The author was a faithful disciple and served Mir Abul Ala till his death, 1061/1651.

Baqiya, 'Abd ul-Bāqī (d. unknown) came from Nain, a village in South Iran, in the reign of Jahangir and rose to fame under Shah Jahān, who ordered him to be weighed in silver for one of his poems (0146/1663). While staying in India Baqiya became an expert of Indian music. In old age, he travelled back to Isfahan, where the Safawid monarch, Shah Sulaiman, accommodated him in the circle of his court-poets. According to some writers, he returned to India and died in Benaras. Popular among his many poems was the sufistic masnawi "Zat wa Sifat."

Ashob Mazandarni, Muhammad Husain (d. 1099/1687) came from Mazandaran, Iran and was employed by Zafar Khan, the noble of Shah Jahān. Ashob spent many years with his patron in Kashmir. He composed a *masnawi*, in which as a novel device, he adopted four different metres of poetry to praise Shah Jahān, Dara Shikoh, and Zafar Khan Ahsan. Its title was l'jāz ul-bayān.

Askari Kashani, Mir Hashim (d. unknown) was a poet possessed with the rare quality of earning independent livelihood. He was a merchant and went with trading caravans to Turkey where his success encouraged him to explore similar market in the Deccan. Bijapur and Golconda being the traditional markets of Iranian merchants, Askari soon established himself and earned a lot of profit. He politely declined the offers of service, saying his trade required whole-time attention. But there was enough time at his disposal to enjoy the company of literary men; he was a friend of Zuhūri and Malik Qummi. Wealth filled his mind with novel plans: he must perform the pilgrimage and return home to spend the rest of life in comfort. Fate decreed otherwise, for, the ship carrying the pilgrims was wrecked by storm and he survived with much difficulty. In a few days, he was a penniless man as he landed at Surat. From Gujrat he travelled via Ajmer to Kashmir and

took refuge under the provincial governor, Hashim Khan and his successor, Safdar Khan. The latter sent Askari on official mission to Tibet and he brought back interesting information about the land of the Lamas. Impressed by his polished manners, Prince Khurram enrolled him on his personal staff and his remaining career passed under Shah Jahan. Among his friends was the author of *Mai-Khanah* who preserved his biographical details together with a piece of *Saqi-namah*.

Bihishti Shirazi (d. unknown) lived in Ahmadabad as a poet under the patronage of Prince Murad Bakhsh, the fourth and youngest son of Shah Jahan, who held the governorship of Gujrat. He composed a *masnawi* narrating the disastrous war of succession fought by Shah Jahan's sons: *Ashob-namah-i-Hindustan*, 1069/1658.

Danish, Mir Razi (d. 1070/1665) belonged to Mashhad and came to India in the reign of Shah Jahan. A verse of the poet pleased Dara Shikoh, who gave him one hundred-thousand rupees in reward. Danish moved from North India to Golconda where his father, Mir Abu Turab, was already residing. After some time, he returned to his hometown in Iran, and Abd ullah Qutb Shah granted him an allowance that he received annually till his death. The copy of Qutb Shah's *farman* concerning the above mentioned grant was available till the time of Azad Bilgrami (d. 1200/1785). Danish left a *Diwan* of verses.

Farughi, Mulla Hasan (d. 1077/1666) belonged to Kashmir and lived as a poet at the court of Shah Jahan. He composed two *masnawis* which made him famous, one, congratulating his master for building his new capital ShahJahanabad (1058/1648) and the other, praising the beauty and elegance of the garden planted by the emperor in Delhi and named *Hayat-bakhsh*.

Kashfi, Mir Muhammad Salih Husaini (d. 1061/1651) was a sufi and scholar from Tirmiz, Central Asia. Shah Jahan made him librarian of the royal library situated in the palace. He composed verses in Persian and Hindi. And, in local Indian language, he used the pen-name Subhani. He was the author of two books: 1. dealing with the virtues of the Prophet's cousin, 'Ali b. Abu Talib: *Manaqib-i-Murtazawi*, 2. depicting

the lives of the Prophet, his caliphs and his descendants. Death did not allow him to complete the work and it was carried to the end by another writer. Its title was *I'jaz-i-Mustafawi*, and 3. a *masnawi* poem, explaining the salient points of sufistic discipline: *Majmu'ah-i-Raz*.

Ma'lâm, Muhammad Husain Beg (d. unknown) came from Tabriz in the reign of Shah Jahân and found employment under Ja'far Khan, the Governor of Kashmir, at whose court the poet stayed for many years. His *Diwan* has survived.

Mashrabi (d. unknown) lived as a sufi in Kashmir and was contemporary of Zafar Khan, the Governor of that province under Shah Jahân. He had special attachment with Khwajah Khwand Mahmûd, the Naqshbandi sufi, who went from Gujrat to settle in Kashmir. Following the pattern of Khaqani, Mashrabi composed *qasidahs* about sufistic themes, in praise of the Prophet, founders of the sufi orders, and many other important saints. The collection survived as *Qasa'id-i-Mashrabi*.

Masiha, Shaikh Sa'd ullah (d. unknown) belonged to Panipat, a town towards the north of Delhi, and was respected for his saintly character. He was the adopted son of Muqarrab Khan, Shaikh Hasan, Jahangir's surgeon and friend. His contribution that made him famous among the poets of Shah Jahan's time was a *masnawi*, based on the great Hindu epic, the *Ramayan*. It appeared as *Ram-Sita*, and another *masnawi* of Masiha in praise of the Prophet was *Paighambar-namah*, ca. 1050/1640.

Munir, Mulla Abu'l Barakât (d. 1054/1644) belonged to Lahore and acquired literary fame during the days of Shah Jahân. Having served as secretary to the governors of Allahabad, Jaunpur, and Bengal in succession, Munir developed a high degree of efficiency in the style of *insha*, the category of prose used by civil servants for the drafting of orders, decrees, letters, and all sorts of miscellaneous bulletins. His collection, entitled *Insha-i-Munir*, continued as a popular handbook for the guidance of young students aspiring to take up appointments in the Mughal bureaucracy. According to Khan-i-Arzû, the un-erring critic of literature in his age, Munir was next to Faizi in the line of greater poets born in India. Then, he recounted Munir's four *masnawis* 1. *Ab wa rang*, in

praise of the gardens of Agra; 2. *Saz wa barg*, pleasures of chewing pān leaf and other current fashions; 3. *Nūr wa Safa*, aesthetic appreciation of the great mosque of Delhi built by Shah Jahan and the impressive design of its reservoir integral to mosque architecture; and 4. *Dard wa alam*, details of agony and pain tormenting a lover's heart. These long poems in various metres were collected under the title: *Char Gauhar*. Also, Munir's *Diwan* of verses was collected after his death by Jalal Tabataba'i. Independent of the above-named *Insha*, his exclusively prepared volume of Shāh Jahān's letters addressed to the rulers of Iran and Turan, provincial governors and princes, survived as: *Naubawah-i-Munir*. Also, Munir prepared a *Tazkirah* of poets, which ceased to survive. Ibrahim Khalil used it as one of his sources.

Nātiq (d. unknown) was a poet in the reign of Shāh Jahān. His son, Fā'iq, compiled his *Diwan* of verses.

Nāzim Mirza Farrukh Husain (d. 1081/1670) belonged to Herat and came to India in the reign of Shah Jahan. Prince Shujā gave him employment. In the war of succession, the Prince and his family were destroyed by the rival brother; and Nāzim, having lost his job, settled in Jahangir Nagar, Dacca, where he earned a meagre living by the profession of teaching. He left a *Diwan* of verses, and a *masnawi* entitled: *Yasūf-Zulaikha*.

Qāsim-i-Diwanah (d. unknown) belonged to the literary circle of Mirza Sa'ib, whom he acknowledged as his teacher in the art of poetry. He came from Mashhad and roamed freely in the cities of the Mughal empire. His surviving contribution was a *Diwan* of verses.

Rāqim, Sa'd ud-Din (d. 1100/1688) belonged to Mashhad, Iran, and arrived in India during the reign of Shah Jahan. His patron was the emperor's noble and prime minister, Islam Khan (d. 1057/1647). Rāqim impressed many poets by his style and left a *Diwan* of verses.

Reza'i Thattawi, Hāji Muhammad Reza (d. unknown) lived in Thatta, Sind, and was known for his poetry during the time of Shah Jahan. He prepared a versified translation of the popular tale of love,

Sasi-Pannu, under the title: *Zaba wa Nigar*, ca. 1052/1642.

Ruh ul-Amin, Mirza Muhammad Amin Shahrastani (d. 1074/1663) served the Qutb Shahi kings of Golconda and was raised by Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah to the status of Mir Jumlah - prime minister. Later on, he served the Mughal government under Shah Jahan and passed his last days in Agra. He was a patron of poets and composed verses himself. Noteworthy among his literary remains must be the *Diwan* and *masnawi* poems on Nizami's pattern. Their titles were 1. *Khusraw-Shirin*, 2. *Laila wa Majnun*, 3. *Asman-i-Hashtum* and 4. *Gulistan-i-Naz*, etc.

Sa'id Multāni, Muhammad Sa'id Khan, Mulla (d. unknown) was a scholar and poet during the reign of Shah Jahan. The emperor appointed him tutor to his youngest son, Prince Murad. Having regard for his philosophical temperament and wide knowledge Dara Shikoh invited him to his private assemblies. When Prince Murad was sent as governor to Gujrat, Mulla Sa'id accompanied his pupil and stayed as his *ataliq* in Ahmadabad. His request to be sent back to his home town on the plea of old age was granted by Aurangzeb, who bestowed on him governorship of the city of Multan. Mulla Sa'id's *Diwan* of verses has survived.

Sa'ida-i-Gilani, Be-badal Khan (d. unknown) lived as a poet at the court of Jahangir and attained greater fame under Shah Jahan. The latter trusted him for his integrity and made him custodian of the imperial jewels. His poems revealed the chronology of important ceremonies held at the court of Shah Jahan. The significant achievement of his career was the Peacock Throne, which he supervised for seven years till its completion. He was twice rewarded for his poems with his body-weight of silver. He had mastery in composing chronograms.

Māhir, Shaikh Muhammad 'Ali (d. 1089/1678) was the son of Hindu parents, adopted by Muhammad Zaman, a nobleman of Akbarabad Agra in the days of Shah Jahan, whose loving care opened good opportunities for young Mahir's education. Prince Dara Shikoh was fond of his company and honoured him with the title of 'Murid Khan'. After the fall of his patron, he renounced the world and passed his remaining life in the garb of a derwish. Mirza Afzal Sarkhwush was his disciple in poetry and enjoyed his

company in early age. Sarkhwush reported an interesting incident: "Once in my youthful immaturity, I said to my master: "The emperor's *bakhshi* is your friend and you suffer starvation. Just indicate, and he would help you with regular stipends." Mahir replied: "For years I am known as an unworldly man. Now, if I turn my face again to the world, I fear, my fate will be similar to the Hindu widow, who runs away in terror from the flames of her dead husband's burning body. And, the filthy scavenger would smash her head with violent blows before throwing her back into the raging fire." He composed a *masnawi* on the pattern of Khaqani's *Tuhfat ul-Iraqain*, and named it *Jam'-i-nishatain*. Also, he presented a *masnawi* to Jahān Ara Begum and obtained a reward of five hundred rupees from the princess. His *Diwan* of verses was popular among the contemporaries.

Saidi Tehrani, Mir Saiyed 'Ali (d. 1083/1672) came to India in the reign of Shāh Jahān and obtained service in the year 1065/1654. In his vivacious mood, he once addressed a verse to the Princess, Jahan Ara Begum, elder daughter of the emperor, when she passed on a visit to the garden. Princess Jahān Ara did not appreciate his boldness. She sent five hundred rupees to the poet, but ordered simultaneously that he should be turned out of Delhi. Saidi was a friend of Sarkhwush and left a *Diwan* of one thousand verses.

Saiyed Qāsim b. Mir Nur ullah (d. unknown) was a religious scholar and poet living in Hyderabad, Deccan. He wrote a metrical commentary on the Qur'an and named it *Matla'ush-Shams*, 1045/1635.

Sālik Yazdi (d. 1091/1680) was the disciple of Rukna-i-Kashi, one of the outstanding poets of Mughal history. Initially, he arrived in the Deccan and stayed at the court of 'Abd ullah Qutb Shāh, the king of Golconda. After some time, he travelled to Delhi and was patronized by Zafar Khan, the noble of Shāh Jahān. Another poet, Sālik Qazwini, living in the literary circle of the same patron, was his chief rival and the two exchanged lampooning verses. Sālik Yazdi's *Diwan* has survived.

Shādmān (d. 1079/1668) was born among the Khakar tribe of Punjab and rose to fame as a poet during the reign of Shāh Jahān. His ancestors

were chieftains of their tribe, whose predatory and rebellious habits caused serious concern to the Mughal government. Akbar's tactful policy gained their submission. They were given titles and enlisted to serve as soldiers and officers in the army. Shādmān witnessed the grand jubilee when Shāh Jahān formally assumed seat on the Peacock Throne. His *qasidah* on the occasion, praising the emperor and the throne, that marvel of jewels and gold, was rated as the best poem that reflected the sentiments of the entire court. Again, he participated in the coronation of Aurangzeb, and impressed the emperor by his literary abilities. Aurangzeb asked his secretary, Shaikh Abd ul-Aziz 'Izzat, to obtain a few verses of Shādmān for his personal diary. He left a concise *Diwan*.

Makhfi Rashti (d. unknown) was a poet during the reign of Shāh Jahān; his home-town being Rasht, Northern Iran. Earlier he stayed in the court of Imām Qulī Khan, governor of the Southern province of Fars under the Safawis. His *Diwan* of verses partially at least, seemed to have been mixed up with that of Zeb un-Nisa, Aurangzeb's daughter, as the princess also composed under the pen-name Makhfi and collected her *Diwan*.

Tajalli, Mulla 'Ali Reza (d. 1088/1677) came from Shirāz in the reign of Shāh Jahān and acquired fame for his talents among the poets of the emperor's newly raised grand capital, Shāhjahānabād (1058/1648). 'Ali Mardan Khān employed him as tutor to his son, Mirza Ibrahim. He was the author of a *masnawī*, entitled: *Mi'raj ul-Khayāl*, and left a *Diwan*.

'Uluwi (d. unknown) lived as a poet in the reign of Shāh Jahān. He composed a *masnawī* describing the Mughal army's expedition to reconquer Balkh, the city situated on the northern frontier of Mughal empire, under the command of Prince Aurangzeb. The title of the poem as proposed by 'Uluwi was *Iftitah-i-Sultāni*.

Wali Muhammad Narnauli (d. unknown) was a poet of the reign of Shāh Jahān. He composed a *masnawī* poem on Rumi's model and named it: *Masnawī-i-Latifah*.

Sarmad, Sa'id (d. 1068/1657) belonged to a Jewish family of Kashan. He embraced Islam in young age and was attracted by the order of wandering

sufis, often called *qalandars*, who emphasized on total renunciation, including clothes, preferably. His nude appearance and fervent attachment with pantheism, which he poured out in charming quatrains, made him a controversial figure. Naturally, the guardians of orthodoxy raised serious objection against his manners and ideas. They issued the decree, *fatwa*, condemning him as infidel. In pursuance of the sentence, Sarmad had to undergo the ordeal of death experienced many years earlier by another illustrious sufi, Husain b. Mansur Hallaj (d. 309/923). The day he was hanged, there was deep resentment in Delhi. Many contemporaries saw political reasons behind the tragedy. In fact, Sarmad was befriended by Dara Shikoh, a sufi himself more or less. After Dara's downfall, so many innocent souls were made to sacrifice their livelihood and positions, and needless to say, Sarmad was the unfortunate Dara's overt sympathiser. In the large community of Indo-Persian poets, Sarmad gained immortal position for himself as a writer of *quatrains*.

CHAPTER 8

'Alamgir : State of Literature During His Times

1069/1658 --- 1119/1707

Aurangzeb 'Alamgir ascended his father's Peacock Throne in Ramazān 1069/June 1658. The ceremony took place in Delhi's Red Fort. As the populace witnessed the insulting parade of Dara Shikoh, the capital sank in deep gloom. In this way, 'Alamgir announced his coronation. From day one, ominous happenings accompanied the reign. In the ongoing five decades, his actions clearly predicted that posterity would remember him as the last great Mughal. At the age of sixty five he crossed the river Narbada and bade final salute to North India with a silent vow to remain far away from Delhi (1092/1681). Indeed, the Deccan gave him a lot of trouble for twenty six years. Simultaneously, it offered him resting place till the Day of Resurrection and Judgement. After completing ninety years of age, he died amidst his army commanders and courtiers in a camp and was buried at Khuldabād near Daulatabād. The day was Friday, 28 Zu'l Qa'da. 1119/ February 1707.

One racial characteristic of the Turks made them less fortunate people despite their record as great rulers. Every Turk ruthlessly defied the simple and safe law of primogeniture when the question of succession confronted him. He wore the crown after soaking his hands in the blood of all near relatives: brothers; cousins, nephews, in short whomsoever he

suspected as possible claimant. That habit made the community of Muslim *ulama* and thinkers utterly helpless and did not allow them time to discover a peaceful remedy. None the less, the guilty survivor met awful punishment. It plunged him into the hell of eternal agony. The sin knocked at the gate of his conscience till the end of life. He found himself in a solitary world where no happy voice would ever greet his heart. Innocent pleasures departed from him with the grim warning that they would never cross his threshold in the future. Suspicion became an incurable disease and he did not allow his dear ones, sons in particular, to deliver him from grief and depression. Avoidance of kingly comforts originated from the same secret remorse and fear of retribution. There is an old saying the Muslims learned from their ancestors: *Harūn Rashid, the Abbasid Caliph, never smiled for a moment after slaying his prime minister, Yahya Barmaki and the family of the Barmaks.*

Unluckily, Aurangzeb did not apply his mind to consider sound advice offered by experienced and sympathetic counsellors. In regular succession, he blundered from one policy to another, which proved still more devastating. By destroying the Deccan kingdoms he created the Marathas. Earlier, they did not exist as a reckonable power; their emergence on the stage of history was due to his misadventure. As the only excuse, let us say, he complied with the spirit and character of imperialism.

In the field of literature and arts, the era of active patronage came to an end. 'Alamgir's peculiar nature and the staggering problems of daily administration made it impossible for him to appreciate the lighter side of life. In his scheme, showing consideration to the artists became a superfluous and meaningless practice. He strongly detested these classes, not excepting the poets. For to be frank, they were enthusiastic advocates of frivolities, chiefly, the drinking of wine, which was the mother of all vices. In actual practice, the shifting of imperial court from Delhi to the Deccan did not deter the prospects of literary men. They were supported by the nobility, the governors and high officers posted at provincial centres. Many of those free spirits were persuaded to accept some public employment. They heartily served as librarians in personal libraries of the nobles. Only, the job of tutors to the children of upper class

families was most disliked by them. Thus, the emperor's entanglements and aversion did not affect very adversely the creative ardour of men devoted to literary professions. The momentum supplied by former generations was so powerful that writers continued to pour out works of excellent quality throughout the period.

'Alamgir himself knew the art of writing impressive prose; he was an expert letter writer. His collection of *Ruqqa'at*, seemingly written in off-hand manner, manifested his command over style. Often, he intermingled his sentences with charming verses. This fashion was adopted for the first time by the inventors of *Maqamat*, brief pieces acknowledged as ideal prose, which reached its culmination in the *Gulistan* of Shaikh Sa'di of Shiraz.

A significant study undertaken during the reign of 'Alamgir concerned with Hanafi jurisprudence. The emperor took keen interest in the project and remained personally involved till it was completed. The team of theologians invited from various parts of the country examined the corpus of laws as they had been transmitted to them since the glorious days of Baghdad and Bukhara, and prepared an enormous collection of *Fatawa* = decrees. The work was precious in nature and its utility to the working jurists was beyond question. But, the language of the learned being Arabic, they liked to write in the same medium. Of course, 'Alamgir encouraged one of the scholars, 'Abd ullah Chalbi, to prepare a Persian version for everyman's advantage. The proposition could not materialize. An adverse order, issued in the eleventh year of the reign, narrowed down the scope of an important branch of literature. The writing of *Waqat-i nawis* and official chronicles, was stopped forthwith and the office preserving the record of annual events was closed. In fact, 'Alamgir must have perfect awareness of the value and necessity of historical knowledge; but he deemed the historians as a dangerous tribe. Despite precautionary measures, however, scholars continued to note down personal observations and left extremely revealing reports. Most noteworthy of that category was the work of Mustafid Khan Muhammad Saqi.

From the time of 'Alamgir, the demarcation of literary men into three

categories was almost visible: 1. direct emigrants from Iran and Central Asia. 2. Their second or third generation residing in the sub-continent and 3. men of purely Indian origin. None the less, in command of expression and refinement of ideas the distinction could hardly be made. The Hindustani writers handled the language gracefully and the share of their contribution was equally rich.

Although not of a higher order from literary point of view, a special branch of prose established its importance and made rapid progress from this period onwards. It was *Insha* = official drafting. Customarily, administrative work in various government departments was carried out in highly technical rather complicated prose; and the youths aspiring to enter Mughal bureaucracy were supposed to gain satisfactory proficiency in writing miscellaneous official papers.

Its practical utility made *Insha* writing a valuable qualification. Collections of *Dastūr ul-ʿAmal* and *Siyaq* = rules defining taxation practices, became objects of keen demand in the book market. Besides court bulletins, letters and despatches, the understanding of legal documents became essential for the educated classes. Particularly, experts of revenue matters were encouraged by enlightened readers to preserve their knowledge in the form of manuals.

PROSE WRITERS

ʿAlamgir Aurangzeb. Muhyā ud-Dīn (d. 1118/1707) As Prince, he had received the best education and imbibed fine taste for scholarship and literature. After ascending the throne, he took steps which confounded his contemporaries as well as later historians. Nonetheless, he enjoyed the company of men distinguished for their learning and culture, some of his favourite courtiers were brilliant wits of the age. Overwhelmingly busy with the affairs of state, he could still find time to write letters, which by their freshness and charm of style, confirmed his position among the masters of Indo-Persian prose. Their admiring reader

will hardly discern in his character the ruthless despot or harsh bigot; for, emerging from the pages in between the lines he will find the image of a polished and amicable sovereign. The collection of these letters, initially brought out by more than one editor under different titles, has the familiar name: *Ruqqa 'at-i- 'Alamgiri*.

'Āli, Nī'mat Khan, Mirza Nūr ud-Din Muhammad (d. 1121/1709) belonged to a family of emigrant physicians from Shiraz and was born in India. Having completed education in the city of his ancestors, where his father had sent him, he returned to the Deccan and entered the service of Aurangzeb. By his polished manners and brilliant wit, he soon became the emperor's trusted courtier and was conferred the title mentioned above. As a poet, his genius displayed itself chiefly in the field of satire; nobles of the realm apart, quite often, the emperor gave liberty to the poet's invectives against himself. Perhaps, it was 'Alamgir's secret intention to accommodate in his company a person sufficiently redeeming his own dry seriousness. In beliefs, both were each other's antithesis: the one, a rigid Sunni, and the other, a free and frank Shi'ah. The poet was as much bold in his sarcasm as the emperor was conceding and mild towards him. 'Ali left many works in verse and prose: 1. *Auraq-i-gul*, 2. *Khwan-i-nī'mat*, two collections of poetry, 3. *Sukhan-i- 'Ali*, a didactic *masnawi* full of lengthy discussion; 4. *Rāhat ul-qulūb*, satires against contemporaries; 5. *Waqa'ī' Hyderabad*, a diary of the siege of Golconda, exposing in subtle humour the folly and futility of the whole design; 6. *Jang-namah*, account of the war of succession amongst the sons of Aurangzeb, 7. *Shah namah-i-Gurkāni* or *Shah 'Alam-namah*, versified chronicle of Mughal dynasty down to Shāh 'Alam's reign; and 8. *Nimat-i- 'ūzma*, commentary on the Quran.

'Abd ul-Haiy (d. unknown) was the author of a history named *Tarikh-i- 'Alamgiri*.

'Abd ul-Karim (d. unknown) belonged to Thanesar, Punjab, and was the author of a book on sex education: *Khilwat-zār-i-insāni*, 1084/1673.

'Abd ul-Karim, Shaikh Muhammad (d. unknown) was a scholar during the time of Aurangzeb. His deep interest in the poetry of Hafiz, the lyrical genius, prompted him to collect the phrases of philosophical and

mystical importance occurring in the *Diwan-i-Hafiz*. He arranged them alphabetically and gave brief meaning of each as in a dictionary. The work was entitled simply *Istilahat-namah*, completed in 1071/1660. Also, he left a collection of official documents and letters: *Zād ul-Mutarassilin*.

‘Abd ul-Karim (d. unknown) lived in Lahore and was the spiritual successor of Shaikh Adam Banūri, a sufi of the time of Shāh Jahān. He was the author of a monograph on the teachings of his fraternity *Tartīb us-Sulūk*.

‘Abd ul-Karim b. Shaikh Farid Ansari (d. unknown) was the disciple of Shaikh Ahmad of Lucknow, a sufi of Qādiri order, living in the reign of Aurangzeb. He wrote a tract on the teachings of sufism, explaining the need for a spiritual guide, divine love, creation of Adam, and dignity of Muhammad, the Prophet on whom be peace. Its title was *Mahram ul-Asrar*, 1110/1698.

‘Abd ul-Khāliq b. ‘Ata ullah (d. unknown) came from Herat and served the Mughal government during time of Aurangzeb. A scholar by training, he was aware of the emperor’s religious temperament. He wrote a book in three sections with further sub-divisions containing miscellaneous subjects in which devotees of religion were chiefly interested. In the first two sections, he accommodated biographies of the Prophet, his caliphs, companions, the twelve *Imāms*, and a large number of saints. Then, there were topics relevant to the sufis: prayers and pious practices, essential for spiritual purification. The work was dedicated to the emperor and appeared under the title: *Majmu‘ah-i-‘Alamgiri*.

‘Abd ullah Chalbi (d. unknown) came from Ottoman Turkey in the reign of Aurangzeb. The emperor employed him in his favourite project, the compilation of legal decrees. The team of scholars who compiled the legal decrees in original Arabic were Mir Miran Abul Farah, Mulla Jamil of Jaunpur, Shaikh Muhammad Hasan of Jaunpur, Qazi Inayat ullah of Monghyr, Shaikh Wajih ud-Din of Gopamao, ‘Abul Khair Thattawi, Shaikh ‘Abd ur-Rahim and many others. As desired by the emperor, another team was constituted to make simultaneous translation of the decrees into Persian under ‘Abd ullah Chalbi. It seemed that ‘Abd ullah

Chalbi's Persian version of *Fatawa-i- 'Alamgiri* remained incomplete.

'Abd ul Latif Musawi (d. 1123/1711) served as secretary on the staff of Aurangzeb. The emperor being overwhelmingly busy, often authorised 'Abd ul-Latif to draft letters on his behalf and despatch them to nobles of the empire. The collection, preserved by 'Abd ul Latif himself, appeared as: *Taj ul-Insha / Ruqqa'at-i- 'Abd ul-Latif*.

'Abd un-Nabi (d. unknown) lived in Ahmadnagar when Aurangzeb closed his campaigning career in the Deccan. He was the *qazi* of that city. He wrote a book containing detailed information about his native place Ahmadnagar and other Deccan provinces. Having made the entries in alphabetical order, as in a dictionary, he named it *Jami'ul-ulûm*. The later portion of that book appeared separately under the title *Muntakhab-i-Tarikhi-i-Bahri*.

'Abd ur-Rahim, Shâh (d. 1231/1719) was a religious scholar of Delhi during the days of Aurangzeb. His son, Shâh Wali ullah, attained greater fame. He was associated for some time with the emperor's grand project, *Fatawa-i- 'Alamgir*, but soon returned to his original profession of teaching theological sciences to young students, who gathered around him. He left a tract on sufism: *Irshad-i-Rahimi*, and a collection of letters addressed mainly to his disciples: *Anfas-i-Rahimiyah*.

'Abd ur-Rahman b. Abu'l Hasan (d. unknown) came from Bastâm, Iran, and was employed at the court by Aurangzeb. His father, Abu'l Hasan, was known for his knowledge of jurisprudence. Abd ur-Rahman wrote a book on *tajwid*=science of recitation of the Quran in sixteen chapters and a *khatimah*=termination, and dedicated the work to the emperor. Its title was : *Miftah-i-Rahmani*.

'Abd ur-Rasûl (d. unknown) was the disciple of Mir Nûr ullah Ahrari of Lahore and like his teacher earned his living by the profession of teaching. He wrote commentaries on Shaikh Sa'di's *Gulistan* and *Bûstân*, and prepared a collection of model letters for the instruction of his young pupils. Its title was *Insha-i- 'Abd ur-Rasûl*, ca. 1099/1688.

'Abd ur Rasûl (d.unknown) was a sufi scholar living in the

neighbourhood of Sitapur, Awadh, during the time of Aurangzeb. His spiritual guide was Shāh Mujtaba Laharpuri. At the instance of his Shaikh, he wrote a book explaining the thoughts and recollections—*azkār*, in vogue among the roaming order of the sufis, the Qalandariyah. Its title was: *Mishbah ut-Talibin*, completed in 1081/1670.

‘Abd ul-Wahhāb Alamgiri (d. unknown) served under Aurangzeb and survived till the reign of Muhammad Shāh. He borrowed material from Taqi Awahdi's *tazkirah* of poets, and prepared a handbook of select verses for the amusement of literary men. He named it *Guldastah*, ca. 1155/1742.

‘Abd ul-Wāsi‘ Hansawi (d. unknown) was a professional teacher during the time of Aurangzeb. His *Madrasah* in Delhi had the reputation of a prestigious institution for its academic excellence. Like all men of his class, Mulla ‘Abd ul-Wāsi wrote commentaries on a large number of textbooks. The more popular among them was: *Sharh-i-Būstan*, ca. 1118/1706. His scholarly contribution was a dictionary of unfamiliar indigenous words that found their way into Indian Persian: *Gharā‘ib ul-Lughat*. Also popular was his treatise on grammar: *Dastūr ul-‘Amal-i-Hansawi*.

‘Abu’l Barakāt b. Husām ud-Din, Shaikh (d. unknown) was a theologian during the reign of Aurangzeb. He participated in the grand project of the age, an exhaustive survey of Hanafī jurisprudence under royal patronage, *Fatawa-i-‘Alamgiri*. His independent and concise work in the same field was a collection of legal judgements borrowed from such classical sources as *Hidāya*, *Sharh-i-Waqāya*, and *Fatawa-i-Qāzi Khan*. Its title was *Majma‘ ul-Barakāt*, ca. 1116/1704.

Abu’l Hasan Khwajah (d. unknown) served as permanent secretary under the governors of Orissa in the reign of Aurangzeb. His collection of letters revealed important facts concerning the history of Orissa and gave details of activities pursued by local officers under the orders of the emperor. Its title was *Ruqq‘at-i-Hasan*, ca. 1098/1686.

Abu’l Khair Thattawi (d. unknown) was a religious scholar of Thatta, Sind, during the time of Aurangzeb. The Emperor invited him to assist in

the preparation of the legal decrees: *Fatawa-i-'Alamgiri*.

Abū Sa'id alias Ja'far Muhammad Khunakwāri Husaini (d. unknown) lived in the reign of Aurangzeb and belonged to the free wandering order of sufis, the Qalandariyah. He was the author of a tract on the sufi practice of *zīkr*-recollection, that is, repetition of Divine formula. A universally expounded rule in all mystical systems, it may be called a supererogatory prayer for spiritual purification. The Muslim sufis prescribed it in two manners: 1. *Zīkr-i-Jalī*=loud recollection, when the tongue and the heart were both involved, and 2. *Zīkr-i-Khafī*=silent recollection, that is, the tongue will be silent and only the heart repeated the sacred name of God with every breath. Later on, every fraternity identified itself with distinctive formulas. Abū Sa'id described the practices of eight Sufi orders belonging to the Indian sub-continent, and divided his tract in ten chapters. He named the work: *'Adab uz-Zīkr*, completed in 1097/1686.

Abu Sa'id b. Mir Muhammad Reza (d. unknown) emigrated from Shiraz and stayed in Akbarabad Agra during the reign of Aurangzeb. He was a scholar of astronomy and composed a versified tract explaining the subject in five chapters. Its title was: *Tuhfat un-najm*, completed in 1110/1698.

Ahmad Ahmadābādī, Maulana (d. 1112/1700) was a religious scholar of Ahmadabad, Gujrat, during the time of Aurangzeb. His father, Shaikh Sulaiman, was also a learned man and pupil of Shaikh 'Abd ul-Haq of Delhi. Both the father and the son attained fame as teachers and trained a large number of students. Maulana Ahmad's special fields were philosophy and jurisprudence. His widely read book, amongst others, was: *Furūz ul-quds*.

Ahmad Beg Khan, Najm ud-Din Ahmad (d. unknown) arrived from Isfahan, Iran in the reign of Aurangzeb and stayed in the Deccan, where military campaigns detained the emperor till his death. He dedicated his work of general history to Aurangzeb. Its title, a chronogram giving the date of completion, was: *Tirāz ul-Akhbar*, 1052/1642.

Ahmad Quli Safawi (d. unknown) was *Waqa'i-nawis* - news reporter of Bengal during the time of Shāh 'Alam Bahadur Shāh. He attempted a historical work, specially casting light on the times of Aurangzeb, and named it *Tarikh-i- 'Alamgiri*.

Akmal, Mirza Kāmil Beg (d. 1131/1718) was a poet and sufi living in Kashmir during the days of Aurangzeb and his successor. Akmal claimed his descent from Khwajah Ahmad Yasawi, a saint of Trans-Oxiana (d. 562/1166). The Mughal emperors held Akmal's family in esteem ever since his grandfather arrived from Badakhshan in Akbar's reign. He was a poet and author of many works, mostly of interest to the sufis: 1. *Jawahir-i-asrar*; 2. *Bahr ul- 'irfan*; and 3. *Mukhbir-i-asrar*.

'Alawi Khān. Hakim, Mir Muhammad Hāshim (d. 1162/1748) was born at Shiraz, Iran, where his family members were renowned for their medical skill. His father, Mir Muhmmad Hadi, pursued the same career himself. He came to India during the later days of Aurangzeb, who conferred on him the title mentioned above. His intellectual and professional merits made him an influential man in the reign of Muhammad Shah. Nadir Shāh took him away as his personal physician, but he managed to escape and arrived back in Delhi. His death occurred at the advanced age of eighty-one years and he was buried, according to his will, in the courtyard of Shaikh Nizām ud-Din Auliya. 'Alawi Khan left many authentic works on the science of medicine: 1. *Majma'ul-Jawāmi*; 2. *'Ashrah-i-Kamilah*; 3. *Tuhfah-i-Muhammad Shāhi*; 4. *Tazkirat ul- 'ilaj*, and 5. *Qarabadin-i- 'Alawi Khan*.

'Ali Akbar b. Muhammad Amir (d. unknown) lived as a sufi in Kashmir during the days of Aurangzeb. He composed a dictionary explaining the meanings of sufistic phrases and named it: *Lawami*?, completed in 1107/1696.

Allah Yār Uzbek, came from Balkh and obtained service at the court of Aurangzeb, whom he praised in a tasteless piece of prose mixed with poetry; its title was *Ausaf-namah-i- 'Alamgiri*. Another work of similar nature was presented by Allah-Yār to the emperor's second son, Prince A'zam, which was named *A'zam-namah*. As superintendent of game, he

trained the princes in the art of hunting and wrote a tract for their instruction: *Mir' at us Said*, 111/1699. He composed poetry under the pen-name 'Nasibi' and his *Diwan*, containing *qasidahs*, has survived.

Amar Singh, Rai (d. unknown) was a revenue expert of the time of Aurangzeb. He gained the confidence of Nizam ul-Mulk Asaf Jah I, who took him to the Deccan and made him *Mustaufi* = chief auditor of his treasury. Rai Amar Singh lived till the days of his patron's son, Nāsir Jang (d. 1164/1750) and left an administrative manual: *Qanunchah-i-bahrah bakhsh*.

Amin ud-Din Khan Harawi (d. unknown) emigrated from Herat in the reign of Aurangzeb and stayed in India for the rest of his life. He was the author of two books: 1. dealing with the subject of geography in which the author collected valuable information about India and finished it in the year of Aurangzeb's death (1119/1707), *Ma'lumat ul- Afaq*, and 2. a voluminous encyclopaedia of sciences, and significant, perhaps in the series of great books produced by Medieval Muslim scholars in that category; its title being *Rashahat ul Funun*, 1123/1711.

Arzāni, Muhammad Akbar b. Hāji Muqim (d. unknown) was a physician and scholar of medicine during the days of Aurangzeb and his successor, Shah 'Alam Bahadur Shah, I. His writings acquired fame and were utilized as textbooks in the teaching syllabus of Islamic medicine throughout the sub-continent. Among them may be mentioned: 1. a translation of the Arabic: *Asbab wal'ilaj* by Najib ud-Din Samarqandi, the physician of Sultan Ulugh Beg (d. 853/1449), which appeared as: *Tibb-i-Akbar*, 2. a commentary on a section of Avicenna's *Qanunchah*, under the title: *Mufarrah ul-qulub*, 3. a guide book for professional physicians: *Mizan ut-tibb*, 4. a similar manual: *Mujarrabat-i-Akbari*, 5. a pharmacopia dedicated to the memory of the saint, 'Abd ul-Qādir Jilāni, *Qarabadin-i-Qadiri*, and 6. a translation of *Tibb un-Nabi* by Jalal ud-Din Suyāti (d. 911/1505). Also, Arzāni possessed knowledge of Indian classical music and translated Mirza Tan Sen's *Budh-prakash*, a manual written in Hindi, naming it: *Tashrih ul-mausiqi*.

Ashna, Inayat Khan, Muhammad Tahir (d. 1081/1670) was a

noble of the reign of Aurangzeb and acknowledged by his contemporaries for his good taste of poetry. He was the son of Zafar Khan Ahsan, whom Shah Jahan treated as one of his trustworthy and competent servants, and assigned the governorship of many provinces besides the positions of '*Daroghah-i-huzar*' - chamberlain, and '*Daroghah-i-kitab-khanah*' - royal librarian. After Aurangzeb succeeded in gaining the Mughal throne, Ashna went into voluntary retirement and settled in Kashmir. He prepared an abridged history of Shah Jahan's period from various official chronicles, particularly, 'Abd ul-Hamid's work, and named it *Mulakhkhas*. Also, he left a *Diwan* of verses.

Asraf Khan, Mir Muhammad Husaini (d. unknown) held the position of secretary under Aurangzeb. He was the son of Amir Khan, Mir 'Abd ul-Karim, a nobleman of Sind (d. 1131/1718), whom the emperor chose to perform many important duties including the governorship of Kabul. Ashraf Khan preserved the collection of Aurangzeb's letters addressed to his father, Amir Khan, and published them under the title: *Raq'a'im-i-Kara'im*.

Ashraf Mazandrani, Mulla Muhammad Sa'id (d. 1120/1708) belonged to the family of learned men holding much influence in the Safawid court of Iran. His mother was the sister of Mulla Muhammad Baqir Majlisi, the eminent theologian of the days of Shah 'Abbas the Great. Aurangzeb employed Mulla Ashraf for imparting instruction to his daughter, Zeb-un-Nisa. Ashraf was a man of extraordinary intelligence and his lectures overflowed with unrestrained repartees. A confirmed poet himself, Ashraf left deep impact on the mind of the young princess and gave her an awareness of the range of tragic situation a human being may encounter. She was prepared by her teacher to live with the indifference of a stoic and keep herself engaged in the joyous activity of intellect that could be available only through poetry. Ashraf's *Diwan* of verses was a happy gift his age offered to posterity: "I stayed inside the wine-tavern for about a month: By chance, it was *Ramazan*, really I did not know." He found eternal abode at Munghyr, Bihar.

'Ata ullah (d. unknown) was the author of a history describing the events of war of succession between Aurangzeb's sons. Its title was:

Jang-namah-i-Muhammad Mu'azzam Shah wa Muhammad A'zam Shah, 1119/1707.

'Atārūd, Munshi Shivak Ram (d. unknown) was a poet of Thatta, Sind, and served as secretary to the provincial governor during the reign of Aurangzeb. Qānī Thattawī, the scholar of the city, treated 'Atārūd as his friend and mentioned him in his *tazkirah* of poets. A collection of eighty-five letters was preserved by one of his pupils, and brought out as *Ruqqa'at-i-'Atārūd*.

'Aziz ullah (d. unknown) was a scholar during the reign of Aurangzeb. He wrote a history bearing contemporary events: *Zinat ut-Tawārikh*, 1100/1688.

Badi' ul-'Uqūl was an anonymous book of anecdotes supposed to be translated from original Sanskrit in the reign of Aurangzeb ca. 1082/1671.

Badr ud-Din Sirhindi (d. unknown) was a sufi and acknowledged Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi, the Mujaddid (d. 1034/1626), as his spiritual preceptor. He wrote a number of treatises which were eagerly read by the sufis in their circles. Being associated with the saints of the Naqshbandi order, his chief interest was to collect material for their biographies. Among his books were: 1. *Karamat ul-auliya*, dealing with miraculous qualities of the sufis; 2. *Wisal-i-Ahmadi*, describing the supernatural merits of Shaikh Ahmad Mujaddid; 3. *Hazarat ul-quds*, biographical notices of the Naqshbandi saints; and 4. a general anthology: *Sanāwat ul-Atqiya*.

Bahadur 'Ali (d. unknown) was the son of Ja'far Allah Wirdi Khan, who served as Faujdar in a number of districts, namely Mathura, Muradabad, and Gorakhpur etc, in the reign of Aurangzeb. He prepared prose digest of the legends occurring in Ferdowsi's *Shah-namah*, and dedicated his work to the emperor's favourite eunuch, Bakhtawar Khan, naming it: *Shah-namah-i-Bakhtawar Khāni*, 1093/1682. Also, Bahadur 'Ali left a book of anecdotes bearing moral instructions. Its title was: *Khulasat un-Nasa'ih*, 1101/1689.

Bahrām (d. unknown) was the son of 'Ali Mardān Bahādur, a noble of

the days of Akbar and Jahangir. Bahram witnessed the early period of Aurangzeb and was the author of a book of anecdotes: *Mahram-i-râz*.

Bahr ul-Lughât: A dictionary of anonymous authorship. The first page in the chapter prefixed with only one available manuscript in possession of the author of *Farhang-i-Nizâm*, was found missing. Hence, the author's name, if at all mentioned in the beginning, became oblivious till another copy of the work is accidentally discovered. His patron, Shaikh Husain Chishti, entitled Muqarrab Khan, was a noble of Aurangzeb. At the noble's instance the *Bahr ul-Lughat* was written in 1069/1658.

Bakhtâwar Khân, 'Abd ur-Rahman (d. 1096/1685) was the chief eunuch of Aurangzeb possessed with literary ambitions. He employed a scholar, Baqa Saharanpuri, in his service, who transferred the authorship of his works to the eunuch by way of flattery. A history of the Mughals from Babur to Aurangzeb, containing brief remarks about the sufis, theologians and poets in the end, was an interesting contribution of which Bakhtâwar Khan earned the credit. Its titles were: *Mir'at ul- 'Alam A'inah-i-Bakht*, 1078/1667. Also, Bakhtâwar Khân was the supposed author of a *tazkirah* of sufis: *Riyaz ul-Auliya*, 1090/1679.

Bakht Rai, Munshi (d. unknown) lived in the reign of Aurangzeb and translated from Sanskrit a book of interesting anecdotes. He named it '*Aja'ib ul-Qisas* or *Shahistan-i- 'Ishrat*.

Baqa. Shaikh Muhammad Baqa Saharanpuri (d. 1094/1683) belonged to the city of Saharanpur, North India, and was a follower of Shaikh Ahmad Mujaddid's son, Muhammad Ma'sum Sirhindi, who gave him instruction in sufi discipline. Iftikhar Khan, a noble of Aurangzeb, treated Shaikh Baqa with kindness and secured his livelihood, by offering a government job. Bakhtawar Khan, an influential eunuch enjoying Aurangzeb's confidence, also extended his favours to Shaikh Baqa. There was a tacit understanding between the two; the Shaikh's chief work: *Mir'at al- 'Alam*, appeared under the eunuch's authorship. The book, a blending of history and biography, has an introduction, seven chapters, an appendix and an epilogue. There are interesting observations on contemporary events and personalities. Shaikh Baqa intended to bring

out an enlarged edition of the above-mentioned work, but old age and death did not allow him to complete the project. It was pursued by his disciples and younger relatives, who arranged the Shaikh's miscellaneous notes naming the new version as: *Mir'at-i-Jahan-numa*, 1095/1683. His other, although lesser known, contribution was *Riyāz ul-Auliya*, an anthology of the sufis.

Barnāwi, 'Ala ud-Din Chishti (d. unknown) was the author of a *tazkirah* depicting the lives of Chishti sufis, particularly, of the branch whose seats were Barnāwah and Rapri, the two towns near Shikohabad, Uttar Pradesh, North India. It was entitled *Chishtiyah-i-Bihishtiyah*, ca. 1076/1665.

Bedil. Khwajah Muhammad (d. unknown) lived in the reign of Aurangzeb and was the author of a romantic tale in ornate prose. Its theme gained much popularity in the Deccan, where poets and prose writers repeatedly made it the subject of their attention, till at last, Mulla Wajhi transferred it into Dakani Urdu, 1045/1635. Bedil's version appeared as: *Qissah-i-Husn wa Dil*, 1095/1684.

Bhag Chand. Munshi (d. unknown) was a civil servant of Mughal government during the reign of Aurangzeb and prepared a collection of historical letters. The volume contained letters from: 1. Humayun to Shah Tahmasp Safawi of Iran, 2. Shah Tahmasp to his provincial governor and noble, Muhammad Khan, posted at Herat, 3. Akbar to the Ottoman Sultan of Turkey, 'Abd ullah Khan Uzbek of Bukhara, and the Khans of Trans-Oxiana, 4. Shāh 'Abbas the Great to Akbar and the Ottoman Sultan, 5. Jahangir to Shuja' Ahmad, king of Kashghar, 6. Shāh Jahān to the Safawid monarchs of Iran, kings of Bijapur and Golconda, Nazr Muhammad and other rulers of Trans-Oxiana, 7. Aurangzeb to Shāh Jahān, his brothers, nobles of the empire, and 8. Jahān Arā Begum to Aurangzeb. These letters revealed important developments from the time of Humayun to the beginning of Aurangzeb's reign. In the end, Bhāg Chand appended a letter written by Nizām ul-Mulk Tūsi, "greatest administrator of the East next to Yahya Barmaki". Yahya was the prime minister of Hārūn Rashid, Abbasid caliph. Nizām ul-Mulk addressed to his sovereign Malik Shāh Saljūqi (d. 485/1092). Bhāg Chand's collection appeared under the title:

Majma' ul-Insha.

Bhim Sen (d. unknown) belonged to Burhanpur and served under Rao Dalpat Bandelah, a military officer of Aurangzeb. He closely witnessed the Deccan scene, where the last Great Mughal passed thirty years fighting fruitless wars, first, against the Bijapuri and Qutb Shāhi kingdoms, and then, against the local Marathas. Bhim Sen travelled on official duties from Delhi to Trivendrum and made interesting observations about the conditions of life during his time. His memoirs began with Aurangzeb's raid on Hyderabad and closed on the death of Prince Kam Bakhs, the ultimate episode in the war of succession between the late emperor's sons. Thus, in his account the author covered about half a century and named the work: *Nuskhah-i-dil-kusha*, 1120/1708. Also, his collection of letters survived under the title: *Munsha' at-i-Rangin*, ca. 1121/1709.

Bhūpat Rāi (d. unknown) was in the service of Ra'd Andāz Khān, the Faujadar of Banswarah in the reign of Aurangzeb, and performed the duties of the Faujdar's personal secretary. Bhūpat Rāi prepared a collection of letters which cast light on many important administrative practices of the Mughal government; its title was *Insha-i-Raushan kalām*, ca. 1100/1688. Also, he prepared a *Bayaz* - select verses of poets, under the title: *Mahāsin ul-Kalām*, and a manual of rhetorics: *Dastūr-i-Shigarf*. The latter contained in its appendix a discussion on the techniques of calligraphy.

Bishap Rai b. Har Karan (d. unknown) lived during the days of Shāh Jahān and Aurangzeb, and was the translator of *Singhasan-Battisi*, a Sanskrit collection of thirty-two anecdotes, narrating the virtues of Rajah Bikramajit, the king of ancient India, remembered for his justice and wisdom. The work was completed in 1061/1650.

Chaildah, Shaikh Mansūr b. Chānd Muhammad (d. unknown) was a sufi of Gujrat living during the time of Aurangzeb. He wrote biographies of saints who belonged to his area and included discussions concerning the discipline of sufism. Its title was: *Tuhfat ul-qari*, completed in 1119/1707.

Chander Sen b. Kāshi Dās Kāyasth (d. unknown) lived in the

reign of Aurangzeb. He made a translation of *Bhagwat Puran*, in 1092/1685.

Chath Mal, Munshi (d. unknown) was a professional secretary living in the reign of Aurangzeb. He prepared a collection of imperial *farmāns*, official memoranda, and letters. Many poems of historical significance, such as elegies and chronograms on the death of important persons, were included in the work. Its title was: *Karnamah-i-Waqi'ah*. Also Chath Mal composed a *masnawi*, naming it: *Gul wa bulbul*. It was completed, according to a chronogram, *Nuskhah-i-shauq*, in 1121/1709.

Dāna, Muhammad 'Alī (d. 1101/1689) was the son of Maulana Ashraf of Mazandran, the celebrated scholar and teacher of Princess Zeb-un-Nisa. Like his father, Dāna was a poet and lived in Murshidabad, Bengal, where he died in young age within the life-time of his father. Dāna's pupil, Ja'far, collected his *Diwan*, containing about four thousand verses, 1151/1738. Also, Dāna wrote a *masnawi* poem *Manajat un-Najat*, and a farce in verse: *Shahr-ashob*.

Darwish Muhammad Aimanabadi (d. unknown) belonged to a town in district Gujranwalah, Punjab, and served as physician on the staff of Aurangzeb. Earlier, he had been rewarded by Shāh Jahān for treating a lady of the *harem*. His book dealing with the science of medicine in seven chapters appeared under the title: *Tibb-i-Aurangzebi*, ca. 1066/1655. Also, he was the author of two *masnawi* poems: *Miftah-i-hikmat* and *Hir wa mahi*.

Dā'wūd Mishkati (d. 1097/1686) was a sufi of Kashmir living in the reign of Shāh Jahān and Aurangzeb. He was the author of a *tazkirah* of sufis, mostly of his own region. Its name was: *Asrar ul-abrar*.

Dharam Narāyan b. Kallyān Mal (d. unknown) was in the service of Aurangzeb and attempted an independent translation of *Lilawati*, a mathematical and astronomical treatise, translated earlier by Shaikh Faizi. He dedicated the work to the emperor and named it: *Bada'i ul-funūn*, completed in 1072/1661.

Debi Dās b. Bal Chand Sandilawī (d. unknown) was born in Darbhanga, Bihar, on 9 Ramazan 1054/1644, and educated at Ajodhya, in Awadh. His family originally belonged to the town of Sandilah, near Lucknow. Having pursued religious education with diligence, he succeeded to his heart's desire and attained '*Jīwan mukt*'= spiritual enlightenment. The rest of his life was spent as an ascetic. He translated from Sanskrit a book of knowledge, *Sartat*, containing cosmography, personal law, sex education and musicology etc. As appendix, he included the reply of Baba Lāl Bairāgi to the metaphysical questions raised by Prince Dāra Shikoh. Also, there were discourses of Gorakh and other spiritual guides full of wonderful and remarkable statements'. Debi Das completed the work of translation in the 16th year of Aurangzeb's reign 1084/1673, and named it: *Khulasat ul-Khulasah*.

Did Mal b. Chat Mal Khattri (d. unknown) belonged to Sirhind, Punjab, and was appointed to his father's post in revenue department during the time of Aurangzeb. Both the father and son were talented writers. Did Mal prepared a collection of letters using many rhetorical devices naming the work: *Insha-i-Muraqqa'*, 1128/1716.

Fakhr ud-Din, Hāfiz (d. unknown) was the grandson of Shaikh 'Abd ul-Haq Dihlawī, the scholar and sufi of Akbar's reign, and adhered to his family's custom of imparting instruction to students. He had a library of large size in his house. Fakhr ud-Din made Persian translation of an Arabic monograph, which was the abridgement of Ghazali's *Ihya ul-'Ulum* by an anonymous writer, or perhaps, by Shaikh Muhammad b. 'Usmān Balkhi, the 8th/14th century scholar. The translation appeared under the title: *Ain ul-'Ilm*.

Faqir ullah b. Muhammad 'Aziz (d. unknown) was a scholar of Islamic medicine during the time of Aurangzeb. Following the footprints of his illustrious predecessor, Ziya-i-Nakhshabi (d. 750/1349), and inspired by his contemporary, Muhammad Quli Jāmi, court-physician of 'Abd ullah Qutb Shāh, king of Golconda (1056/1646). Faqir ullah prepared an independent version of Pandit Kuka's book on sex, *Kāk Shastra*, retaining the same title earlier chosen by Nakhshabi, *Lazzat un-Nisa*.

Fazil Muhammad (d. unknown) lived in Delhi during the reign of Aurangzeb and was the author of a dictionary. It contained a large number of Arabic words, many being of rare use in Persian. The author did not mention the date of compilation; only his praise of Alamgir as a God-fearing and benevolent monarch, indicated that it must have been completed before the year 1119/1707. Its title was: *Lughat-i-'Alamgir*.

Fazli Lāhori (d. unknown) was a sufi of Lāhore. His father died leaving him to the care of his uncle, who was a learned man like other members of the family. Fazli received spiritual training under the guidance of Shāh Muhammad Fāzil, a sufi scholar living in Lāhore (d. 1099/1688). He was the author of a book on sufism: *'Ain-ul-tasawuf*.

Fazl ullah Khān (d. unknown) was the cousin of Mirza Faqir ullah Saif Khan, the noble of Aurangzeb, and author of a tract on music. At the emperor's instance, Fazl ullah compiled a Turkish-Persian dictionary. All the Mughal princes and royal ladies were regularly instructed in Turkish. It served as an emotional link which bound them with their Central Asian background. Aurangzeb being eager that his sons and daughters should learn the language of his ancestors, asked Fazl ullah to prepare an aid-book. The work contained three sections: syntax, verbs, and nouns. It appeared as: *Lughat-i-Turki/Lisan us Salatin*.

Ghulām ullah, Bhikan Siddiqi (d. unknown) was a resident of Hansi, Punjab, where his ancestors came to settle from Ghaznah. He witnessed the reign of Aurangzeb, whom he dedicated his dictionary, *Ashhar ul-Lughat*, completed in 1082/1671.

Haji Bahādur. Khwajah 'Abd ullah (d. 1099/1087) was a free wandering derwish of the Naqshbandi order. His place of birth was Kohat, North-West Frontier. He wrote a sufistic treatise: *Miftah ud-Daqa'iq*.

Haji Tashkandi (d. unknown) lived at the court of Aurangzeb and his successor, Shāh 'Alam Bahādur Shāh I. He imparted instruction in Turkish to the members of the royal family. The Mughals entertained deep attachment toward the language of their ancestors and all the princes, including the ladies of the imperial palace, assiduously developed proficiency in Turkish idiom and speech. The tradition lasted till the time

of Muhammad Shāh who was articulate in Turkish. Hājī Tāshkandī composed a Turkish grammar for the guidance of his students. Its title was: *Tāj ul-masādir*, 1113/1701.

Hamid ud-Din Khān (d. unknown) was a trusted servant of Aurangzeb whom the emperor assigned many important civil and military functions. Addressed by his contemporaries as: *Nimchah-i-'Alamgiri*, he collected anecdotes about his master and prepared extracts from imperial orders and letters. The work appeared under the title: *Ahkām-i-'Alamgiri*. Another collection bearing his name and containing letters from the reign of Shāh Jahān to that of Aurangzeb survived as: *Insha-i-Hamid ud-Din*.

Hāzir Yār Beg (d. unknown) lived as a sufi in Lahore during the days of Aurangzeb and was the author of a book dealing with topics of interest to the men of his fraternity: *Tuhfah-i-Muhammadiyah*, completed in 1100/1688.

Himmat Khān, Mir 'Isa (d. 11092/1681) was the son of Islam Khan, Mir Ziya ud-Din Husain, whom Aurangzeb treated with kindness and entrusted many high positions. Himmat Khan attempted in prose the romance of two legendary lovers, *Kamrūp wa Kāmlata*. And, his friend, Lāiq, a poet who enjoyed his patronage, prepared its versified version, naming it: *Dastūr-i-Himmat*, 1096/1684.

Hirāman (d. unknown) was in the service of Khwajah Nūr, entitled Mu'tamad Khan, the military governor of Gwalior in the reign of Aurangzeb. His father, Girdhar Dās, also held important positions. He picked up the thread where it was left by Shaikh Jalāl Hisāri and wrote a history of the city of Gwalior adding information upto 1078/1668. Like his predecessor's work its name was: *Gūwāliyar-namah*.

Husain Jābiri Ansari, Shaikh (d. unknown) was a physician during the reign of Aurangzeb and possessed efficiency in many other branches of scholarship. He prepared a Persian version of *Bara us-Sa'ah*, a tract written by the great philosopher and physician, Muhammad b. Zakariya Rāzi (d. 311/922), and dedicated his work to Prince A'zam, governor of Gujrat in the reign of his father. Its double title was: *Tuhfah-i-Shahī*

Dastūr ut-tibb.

Ibrāhīm Ma'sum b. Shaikh Zain Chishti (d. 1098/1686) lived as a sufi in Fatehpur Sikri, Akbar's deserted capital, during the time of Aurangzeb. He wrote a *tazkirah* of Chishti sufis using extensively the *malfūzāt* literature as source material for his work. Special attention was paid by the author to describe the life of Shaikh Salim Chishti, the saint of his own town. The book appeared under the title *Silsilat ul-Islam*.

Imāmi, Imam ud-Din Illahabadi (d. unknown) lived as a sufi poet in Allahabad during the time of Aurangzeb. He left a monograph on rhetoric and prosody: *Dauhat us-Sana'i*, 1084/1673.

Ināyat ullah b. Shaikh Dāw'ūd (d. unknown) belonged to Hazarah, Punjab, and lived as an independent scholar during the time of Aurangzeb. He prepared a collection of letters and official papers, additionally containing miscellaneous topics of juristic nature: *Kanz ul-Wasa'iq*.

Isar Das Nāgar (d. unknown) initially started service under the chief qāzi of Ahmadabad. Thereafter, his position was further raised by the governors of Gujrat in the reign of Aurangzeb. He attempted a history of that monarch on annalistic pattern covering the account of thirty-four years and collected original information concerning the provinces of Malwah and Gujrat. It was named *Futūhat-i-'Alamgiri*, 1101/1690.

'Ismat ullah Saharanpuri (d. unknown) was a scholar of astronomy. Shaikh Baha ud-Din Amili, a genius of extraordinary imagination who lived in Safawid era (d. 1030/1620), wrote a book on the subject in Arabic; its title was *Tashrih ul-Aflak*. 'Ismat ullah prepared a commentary on it in Persian and dedicated the work to Aurangzeb. Its title was *Sharh-i-Tashrih ul-Aflak* 1087/1676.

'Iwa'z Beg, Mulla (d. unknown) lived at the court of Prince A'zam, the son of Aurangzeb. He wrote a book on music to oblige his patron, who was keenly interested in it and paid lavishly to the musicians serving under him. Its title was *Risalah-i-Mausiqi*.

‘Izzat, Shaikh ‘Abd ul-Aziz (d. 1088/1677) was a scholar and trusted servant at the court of Aurangzeb. His father, Shaikh ‘Abd ur Rashid, came from the holy city of Mecca and settled at Agra. A learned and pious man, he was assigned teaching job in the imperial *Madrasah* and obtained usual cash stipends from the imperial treasury as *Madad-i-Ma’ash*. ‘Izzat developed contacts with Islam Khan and his son, Himmat Khan, the two nobles of Aurangzeb. They introduced him to the emperor, who was impressed by ‘Izzat and enlisted him on his personal staff with an initial rank of five hundred. As the emperor’s ideology in matters of religion was not a secret, so ‘Izzat wrote a tract proving legitimacy of all the four orthodox caliphs. The families of ‘Izzat and Khān-i-Arzū were related and the fathers of the two had been life-long friends. In his poetry, ‘Izzat displayed maturity and balance. His *Diwān* of verses was popular among contemporary men of letters.

Ja’far Badr-i-‘Alam (d. unknown) belonged to a sufi family of Ahmadabad, Gujrat, famous for their learning and saintly qualities. His father and grandfather were personally known to the Mughal emperors, who held them in high esteem. Ja’far’s father, Jalāl Maqṣūd-i-‘Alam, served as Sadr = chief of religious endowments, of the empire, during the time of Aurangzeb. Ja’far was the author of a detailed *tazkirah* of saints. The first twenty sections were biographical in nature and the last four contained relevant traditions of the Prophet. Its title was *Rauzat-i-Shahi*, ca. 1109/1698.

Jagjiwan Dās Gujrati (d. unknown) started his career as intelligence officer before the close of Aurangzeb’s reign. The latter’s successor, Shāh ‘Alam Bahadur Shāh, gave him a robe of honour in the year of his accession (1119/1707). Jagjiwan Dās was the author of: 1. a history presenting brief and sketchy description of India from early times to the death of Aurangzeb, and having one more chapter almost an eyewitness report on the reign of his master, Shāh ‘Alam Bahadur Shāh; its title was *Muntakhab ut-tawarikh*, and 2. a manual, utilized by professional secretaries, *munshis*, that contained essential information about the functioning of various government departments. It appeared as *Dastūr ul-‘Amal*.

Jalāl ul-Din (d. unknown) lived in Delhi and was the author of sufistic treatise written at the instance of his brother Jamāl ul Din and other friends. He arranged the topics dealing with spiritual and ethical education in seven chapters and the work *Gulzar-i-Jalali* was completed, as he said, in the ninth year of Aurangzeb's reign 1075/1664.

Jama'i, Ziya ud-Din Husain (d. unknown) collected letters addressed to Aurangzeb by his nobles, particularly, Himmat Khan, and named it *Insha-i-Khas ul-Khas*. According to chronogram given in the beginning of the book, its title was *Khas ul-Insha*, 1074/1663.

Jamal ullah Qadiri (d. 1142/1730) belonged to a sufi family of Punjab and proclaimed his allegiance to the Qadiri-Naushahi sub-order. He was the author of a book *Haqa'iq ul-Asar*, and collected the *malfuzat* = sayings, of his spiriual guide, Sahikh Shihab ud-Din Hamani, under the title *Rumuzat-i-Khufiyah*, ca. 1113/1701.

Jān Muhammad (d. unknown) was employed as a *munshi*=secretary, by Rājah Daulat-Mand Khan, a nobleman of Aurangzeb. He left a collection of official decrees and despatches known as: *Insha-i-Jan Muhammad*.

Jaswant Rāi, Munshi (d. unknown) belonged to the neighbourhood of Lahore and was born in a Kayasth family; as proudly claimed by him, all his ancestors were proficient as *munshi* = scribes, and held positions in revenue department. Born in the period of Aurangzeb, he travelled to the South in search of livelihood, for, the imperial camp and court were there. Sa'adat ullah Khan, Muhammad Sa'id, the governor of Carnatac, was impressed by his abilities and offered him employment. Besides a *Diwan* of verses, Jaswant Rāi wrote a biographical account of his patron, naming it: *Sa'id-namah*, ca. 1135/1722, and left a collection of miscellaneous papers: *Musawwadat*.

Jeth Mal (d. unknown) was in the service of Mu'tabar Khan, a noble of Aurangzeb, posted in the Deccan, and held the post of *munshi*=secretary. He left a collection of letters and official despatches drafted by him on behalf of his master. It supplied information about the capture of

Sambhaji, raids of Dhannaji, mutiny of the Mughal soldiers demanding arrears of pay, activities of the European traders in the area, and many other important and interesting happenings of the Deccan scene. Its title was *Kār-nāmāh-i-Jeth Mal*, 1117/1705.

Jiwan, Mulla Shaikh Ahmad (d. 1130/1717) was a religious scholar and sufi during the time of Aurangzeb. He belonged to Amethi, a town in Awadh, but passed most of his life in Delhi, where he served as teacher in the Madrasah of the capital. Aurangzeb quite often read out passages from books of jurisprudence and philosophy seeking their explanation; and the Mulla would elucidate them in his convincing style. The emperor, therefore, deemed himself as a pupil of Mulla Jiwan. Of his many books popularity was gained by a commentary containing select verses of the *Qur'an*, which dealt exclusively with matters of *ahkām*=laws. Its title was *Tafsir-i-Ahmadi*.

Junaid Bilgrāmi (d. unknown) was the author of genealogical tables ascertaining the lineage of two distinguished families of India, the Saiyeds of Bilgrām and Barah. The work appeared under the title : *Junaidiyah*.

Kalim Ullah Jahānabādi, Shāh (d. 1142/1729) was grandson of Ustād Ahmad, the architect of Taj Mahal, and lived in Shāh Jahān's newly founded capital, Shahjahanabad or simply Jahānabād. Hence, Jahānabādi, where he commanded much respect as a sufi. The span of his long life coincided with Aurangzeb's campaigning career in the Deccan and he died after crossing the age of eighty in the reign of Muhammad Shāh. As a young man, he passed a few years in the holy cities of Mecca and Medinah and was educated by teachers who infused him with greater fondness for sufism than making him a theologian. In Delhi, his residence was situated in Khānum Bazar, a bustling locality between the Red Fort and the capital's congregation mosque, *Jami'masjid*; and he was buried in his own house after death. The British occupation forces at the time of suppressing the Revolt of 1857 razed the entire area to the ground. Only the grave of Shāh Kalim ullah was left in its place, perhaps as a mark of respect for his saintliness. The Shāh had formal links, as customary during his days, with all the sufi orders current in India; but he was essentially a Chishti in his leanings and loyalties. The Chishti sufis being

conciliatory in their attitude towards the Hindu system of *Vedānta* and *Yoga*, Shah Kalim ullah followed the convention by accepting the Hindus as his disciples. As regards the Shi'ahs, none of them was practically initiated into the order by him; but unlike Shah Wali ullah (d. 1174/1762) and Shah 'Abd ul-'Aziz (d. 1239/1824), Shah Kalim ullah overtly avoided polemical debates against them. Maintaining the practice of *Chishti* saints, who kept aloof from sectarian controversies, he moved a step forward and advised friendliness with the Shi'ah community. His views on other sufi practices were similar to those of his *Chishti* predecessors. He approved *sama'* = sufi music, *zīkr* = recollection of Divine name, *muraqibah* = contemplation, and *habs-i-nafas* = breath control. Regarding the *habs-i-nafas* some sufi orders invented an interesting legend, surely to emphasize its independent rather Islamic origin. They said: Khizr, the Prophet blessed by God with everlastingness, and living hidden from common sight, taught the device to an early sufi, Khwajah 'Abd ul-Khāliq Ghujduwāni (d. 575/1179), Ghujduwān being a village near Bukhara. So it was his legacy. None the less the *Chishti* sufis in their open mindedness, did not bother giving its credit to the Hindu Yogis. Shah Kalim ullah, an arduous writer, for thirty-two treatises in Arabic and Persian were ascribed to his authorship concerned himself all his life with matters of interest to the sufis. The number of his surviving books being not less than nine, two of them have sustained the attention of scholars; 1. discourses on miscellaneous subjects *Kashkol-i-kalimi*, and 2. collection of letters, *Makṭūbat-i-Kalimi*.

Khāfi Khān, Muhammad Hāshim (d. unknown) originally belonged to Khwāf, a town in Khurasān, often spelt as Khāf. His father Khwaja Mir Khwāfi, served under Shāh Jahān's youngest son, Prince Murād Bakhsh. Khāfi Khan passed early life and received education in Burhanpur and other cities of the Deccan before he started active career in the reign of Aurangzeb. Nizām ul-Mulk I employed him as *Diwan* = chief revenue officer, of his estates during the days of Farrukh Siyar. Personally occupying high position and close to many nobles of first rank, he witnessed all the events, which occurred so rapidly after the death of the last Great Mughal. He was a gifted narrator and proved his intelligence in casting light on every worth-mentioning occurrence; the war of

succession between Shāh Jahan's sons and Shuja's disappearance in Arakan hills, the raiding career and guerilla activities of Shivaji and Sambhaji, the fall of Saiyed brothers, the punitive measures of 'Abd us-Samad Khan against the Sikhs in Punjab and the execution of Bandah Bairagi, and also, the establishment of English factory at Hoogli, Bengal. Khāfi Khan's original plan was to arrange his material in three volumes. The first volume to which he could not give final shape, was intended to be the story, quite frequently repeated, from earliest Islamic conquest to the end of the Lodis. The second, forming the main bulk of his writing, presented the Timurids on the scene from Bābur to the fourteenth year of Muhammad Shāh. It contained portions where the author spoke from personal knowledge and has left a lot of authentic evidence. And, the third volume, contents of which could not be put together in finished form, was meant to deal with various provincial dynasties. The project was carried to completion after laborious attention of seventeen years. Modern scholars have accused Khāfi Khan of copying verbatim from other sources without acknowledgment. Particularly, he borrowed from Muhammad Sādiq b. Muhammad Salih and Mir Abul Fazl Ma'muri. Its title was : *Muntakhab ul-Lubāb*.

Khair-andesh Khān, Muhammad Khān Muhsin uz-Zamān

(d. unknown) was a physician in the reign of Aurangzeb, who honoured him with the title mentioned above. His place of residence was Etawah, North India, where he supervised a hospital. He was the author of a medical textbook in twenty-two chapters, *Khair ut-Tajarib*, completed in 1095/1683.

Khalifah Shāh Muhammad (d. unknown) lived in the neighbourhood of Qannauj, North India, and was famous as a scholar during the time of Aurangzeb. His teachers were the scholars of Bilgram, particularly, Saiyed Khair ullah Bilgrami (d. 1114/1702), where he passed many years of his early life. The authorities of *madrasah* education included his collection of letters in their syllabus of teaching and Khalifah remained a well-known figure during the centuries that followed. The name of the collection, as determined by a chronogram, was *Majmu'ah-i-Faza'il*. Among the young students, it was current as *Insha-i-Khalifah*.

Jami'ul-Qawānīn, 1085/1674.

Khalil, Mirza (d. unknown) came from Khurasan and served as secretary to Aurangzeb's daughter, Zeb-un-Nisa (d. 1113/1701). The princess was trained in literary scholarship and occasionally wrote essays and letters. Mirza Khalil collected and compiled them under the title: *Zeb-ul-Munsha'at*. Among his own contributions were a collection of personal letters, *Ruqqa'at-i-Khalil*, and a *Diwan* of verses, ca. 1070/1660.

Khawāriq us-Sālikīn: Anonymously written work praising the spiritual attainments of the saints of Kashmir. The author must be the inhabitant of the same area and completed it in 1109/1697..

Khulāṣat us-Siyāq was anonymous work on *Siyāq* = government rules applicable, chiefly, to revenue and taxation matters. The author whose name ceased to exist due to loss of pages in the beginning, wrote an introduction and gave brief history of the development of *Siyāq* in the Indian sub-continent. According to him, a large number of writers were taking interest in the subject, but there was much confusion in their statements. His aim was, therefore, to attempt a comprehensive *Siyāq namah*. Oddly enough, he could not avoid serious question marks. First, in reckoning the time span, from Muhammad b. Sam Ghorī to Lodi Sultans, he recorded "four hundred and a few years". It was a period of two and a half centuries only. Secondly, his claim that office work till the time of Akbar was conducted in Hindi and that Persian was introduced by Shaikh Abu'l Fazl and Rajah Todar Mal, may again be disputed. Perhaps, the predominance of Hindus in all offices below the rank of provincial Diwan, led him to the above-mentioned assumption. As regards the core of his writing, it contained valuable information and the author established his wide knowledge of the field. He seemed to have spent enough time in revenue service, for, he knew the smallest details concerning every duty. With explanatory notes, he enumerated the designations of civil servants and the miscellany of taxes they realized. He completed the work in "forty-seventh year of Alamgir's reign" naming it: *Khulāṣat us-Siyāq*, 1115/1703.

Khawājah Khwurd, Muhammad 'Abd ullah (d. 1075/1664) was

the son of more eminent sufi, Khwājah Baqī Billah (d. 1012/1603) and was born in Delhi, where his father had emigrated from Kabul. Originally, his ancestors belonged to Bukhara and were representatives of the Naqshbandi order. Among his friends was his father's spiritual successor, Shaikh Ahmad Mujaddid. Khwājah Khwurd was a poet and left a collection of *rubai'iyat*. His elder brother, Khwājah Kalān, was the author of a tract explaining the distinction between various sufi orders, its title was *Mubligh ur-Rijal*, completed in 1060/1650. Khwājah Khwurd believed in the validity of sufi music as he discussed in one of his tracts, *Risalah-i-Sama'*. The collection of *Malfūzat-i-Khwājah Khwurd* has survived. Also, he was the author of a concise book, *Nūr-i-Wahdat*.

Khweshgi, Khalifah, Shaikh Ghulām Mu'in ud-Din 'Abd ullah (d. 1106/1694) belonged to Qasūr, Punjab, and was a Chishti sufi. Spiritual discipline was hereditary in the family; his grandfather had friendly terms with Shaikh Ahmad Mujaddid, Shaikh 'Abd ul-Haq Dehlawi, and many other men known for their piety. Initially, Khalifah Khweshgi served as an officer of Mughal government and was posted in succession to Bengal and the Deccan during the time of Aurangzeb. In Burhanpur, he enjoyed the company of Shaikh Burhān ud-Din Raz-i-Ilāhi. Having resigned from service, he settled in his home-town, where he had inherited a library from his ancestors; and devoted all his time to the leisure of reading. He left many works: 1. commentaries on Rūmi, Sa'di and Hāfiz; 2. an account of Khweshgi saints, *Akhbar ul-auliya*; 3. a general anthology of sufis, *Ma'arif ul-Wilayat*, ca. 1077/1666, and versified translation of 'Abd ullah Yafi's book of anecdotes, *Khulasat ul-mafakhir*.

Kifayat Khān, Mirza Ja'far (d. 1095/1683) was a calligraphist serving at the court of Aurangzeb. The emperor liked his style and honoured him with the title mentioned above. He was an expert of *Shikastah*, the script traditionally used for the writing of *Farman* = imperial decree. Among the surviving specimens of Kifayat Khan there is a copy of Shaikh Sa'di's *Gulistan*. Being distinct in character, his style of calligraphy was called *Kifayat Khani*.

Lā'iq Jaunpuri, Mir Muhammad Murād (d. unknown) was news-reporter of Lahore during the reign of Aurangzeb and had literary

friendship with Himmat Khan, Mir 'Isa, an important nobleman of the age. As a token of gratitude to Himmat Khan, whose youthful death saddened the poet, he versified the Indian tale of romance, *Kamrūp wa Kamlata*, and named his version *Dastūr-i-Himmat*, 1096/1685.

Lutfullah b. 'Abd ullah Qādiri, Shaikh (d. 1107/) lived in Thatta, Sind, during the time of Aurangzeb and was respected for possessing a sufi's pious character. He wrote tracts on spiritual knowledge, *Irshād ut-Talibin* in five chapters, 2, *Tuhfat us-Salikin*, and 3, *Minhaj-i-Ma'rifat*.

Madho Dās Gujrāti (d. unknown) lived in the reign of Aurangzeb and was the author of a love tale, having its origin in ancient India's folk-lore, *Qissah-i-Maneka wa Manohar*, completed in 1098/1686.

Malik-zādah Munshi, Lal Chand (d. unknown) belonged to Multan and was the disciple of Mulla Jamāl ud-Din Uwaisi, a sufi scholar of the city. Prince Mu'azzam, eldest son of Aurangzeb, employed him as secretary in his office. He had keenly observed the drama of events from the reign of Shāh Jahān onwards; and his references cast revealing light on many important happenings before the last Great Mughal closed his eyes in the Deccan. In connection with his official duties, he travelled from Peshawar to Aurangabad. Being an accomplished secretary = *munshi*, he prefaced to his work a lengthy discussion regarding the character and object of secretarial art = *insha*, as distinct category of literature, its gradual development in India and the well-known *munshis* having lived during and prior to his times. The book appeared under the title *Nigar-nāmah-i-Munshi*, 1094/1683.

Ma'mūri, Mir Abu'l Fazl (d. unknown) was a trusted official on the staff of Aurangzeb and held positions of honour during his active career. In the battle of Samogarh, he remained close to his master throughout the fateful day and proved his devotion and courage. Ma'mūri wrote a history of contemporary events from which Khāfi Khān borrowed extensively, and in many cases, copied verbatim without bothering to acknowledge. Its precise title being unknown, scholars have mentioned it after the author's/emperor's names: *Tārīkh-i-Ma'mūri/Aurangzeb-nāmah*.

Marwiyat-i-Ghausiah :Anonymous translation of *Bahjat ul-Asrār*, utterances of Shaikh 'Abd ul-Qādir Jilāni, the great saint of Baghdad (d. 561/1166). The translator omitted the chain of transmitters referring them to the original. He was in the service of Nawwāb Alif Khān alias Mirza Alif Beg, an army officer, who came from Badakhshan during the time of Aurangzeb. The work of translation was undertaken at the instance of the above-named nobleman.

Medini Mal (d. unknown) belonged to Etawah, North India, and lived in the reign of Aurangzeb. He composed a treatise on arithmetical principles following *Lilawati* as model, for, he divided the material in ten chapters. Its name was *Bada'ī' ul-Funūn*.

Miran Bhik, Shāh, Mir Muhammad Sa'id (d. 1131/1718) was the spiritual successor of Shah Abu'l Ma'ali Ghurbāti, the sufi-scholar of Lahore. Among his own devotees and disciples there were so many eminent men, namely, Rājah Sabha Chand Nādir, the trusted counsellor of Zulfaqar Khan, Jahandar Shah's minister; Shāh Bahlol Barki, the commentator of the *Diwan* of Hafiz; and Shāh Lutf ullah of Anbala, who collected anecdotes of Shah Bhikan's supernatural qualities in a book, *Samarat ul-fawad*. Another disciple, Saiyed Alim ullah Husaini of Jalandhar, collected his sayings under the title *Nuzhat us-Salikin*.

Mirza Khān (Jān?) b. Fakhr ud-Din Muhammad (d. unknown) lived in the reign of Aurangzeb and enjoyed the patronage of his son, Prince A'zam. In response to the request of his patron, he wrote a voluminous book on the ancient learning of the Hindus, casting interesting light on aesthetics, music, dance, palmistry, prosody and many other topics. It appeared under the title, *Tuhfat ul-Hind*, 1086/1675.

Mirza Muhammad (d. unknown) served in the government of Aurangzeb and was the author of a personal diary that began from the time when the last Great Mughal closed his eye in the Deccan (1119/1707). It gave interesting details of daily events and revealed the character and motives of courtiers, nobles and senior officials active on the scene. It survived as *Rūz-i-namchah-i-Mirza Muhammad*.

Mirza Muhammad b. Rustam, Mu'tamad Khān (d. unknown)

belonged to Jalalabad, a town in the south of Afghanistan. Aurangzeb conferred on him a *mansab* of one hundred and fifty and he started his career as a noble of small standing. He was a keen observer of events and witnessed the rapid decline of Mughal empire to the days of Farrukh Siyar. His works are: 1. *Tarikh-i-Muhammadi*, a general history, from the beginning of Hijra/622 A.D., and coming down to his own times 1190/1776. He claimed to have consulted about sixty historical works of Arabic and Persian for its compilation. 2. *Ibrat-namah*, memoirs written as eye-witness description of events from the later phase of Aurangzeb's Deccan campaigns to the year of Farrukh Siyar's assassination, 1131/1719. 3. *Jannat ul-Firdaws*, chronological tables of ruling dynasties mainly of the provinces. 4. *Tuhfat-ul-Muhibbin fi Manaqib-i-Khulafa-i-Rashidin*.

Mitter Sen Kayasth (d. unknown) belonged to Etawah, North India, and served as secretary on the staff of Prince Mu'azzam, eldest son of Aurangzeb. He prepared a collection of letters, containing correspondence exchanged between the emperor, Aurangzeb, and his nobles. It survived as *Ruqqa'at-i-Mitter Sen*, ca: 1082/1671.

Mufid Yazdi (d. unknown) arrived in India after roaming across the holy cities of Karbala and Najaf, and landed at the sea port of Surat, Gujrat. Prince Akbar, the eldest son of Aurangzeb, who was stationed at Ujjain, gave him employment. Although he enjoyed liberal hospitality of the Mughal prince, his loyalties remained unshaken and he was a devoted subject to the Safawid kings. In spite of interruptions due to his wanderings, he continued to improve his book, meant to describe the history of his native-town, on which he was working before leaving Iran, and finally finished it when he was in Delhi, 1088/1677. Interestingly, the work, containing five sections and a termination, preserved the author's eye-witness account of some of the major cities situated on the map of Mughal India: Surat, Burhanpur, Hyderabad, Sarangpur, Aurangabad, Delhi, and Lahore. Its title was *Jami'-i-Mufidi*.

Muhammad Afzal Ilahabadi (d. 1124/1712) lived as a sufi in the reign of Aurangzeb. His *khanqah* at Allahabad was centre of attraction for a large number of devotees. He was the author of, 1. a commentary on Jalal ud-Din Rumi's *Masnawi: Hall-i-Masnawi*, and 2. a treatise on the

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spiritual training of Rūmī made by his teacher, Shams ud-Dīn Tabrizī: *Tufrih ut-Talibin fī Irādat-i-Mawlāwī bi Shams ud-Dīn*.

Muhammad 'Alim (d. unknown) lived in Delhi during the reign of Aurangzeb. He was the author of a historical work of general interest. There were chapters in it devoted to the lives of saints, scholars and poets. Its title was *Muntakhab ul-Bada'i'* completed ca. 1125/1713.

Muhammad Amin, Alawi (d. unknown) was a scholar of the time of Aurangzeb. He composed a mathematical treatise, divided into a preface, two sections and a termination, *Khatimah*. Its title was *I'jaz ul-Hisab* completed ca. 1120/1708.

Muhammad Amin Dār (d. 1098/1687) belonged to Kashmir. His family profession was trade. He personally joined the Mughal civil service during the time of Aurangzeb and stayed in Lahore. Later on, he renounced the world, a condition for sufi discipline and formally entered the Naqshabandi order. He was the author of a book *Qatrat ul-Hayat*.

Muhammad Amin Siddiqi (d. unknown) served under Aurangzeb, who asked him to write a commentary on the Quran. Accordingly Muhammad Amin brought out his *Tafsir-i-Amini*.

Muhammad Bāqir b. Sharif ud-Dīn (d. unknown) lived in Lahore and was sufi of the Naqshbandi order. The spirit of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi, the Mujaddid, according to his claim, was in communion with him. Borrowing contents and ideas from the letters of Mujaddid and his son, Shaikh Ma'sūm, he prepared a guide-book for spiritual training of those interested in the sufi way of life. Its title was *Kanz ul-Hikayat*, 1080/1670.

Muhammad Ashraf b. Yūnus (d. 1104/1693) lived in Lahore during the reign of Aurangzeb and was acknowledged for his pious character and devotion to learning. He wrote a monograph dealing with ethical subjects in eight chapters; *Jamī' ul-Fawa'id*.

Muhammad Barāri Ummī (d. unknown) was a scholar and sufi of the time of Aurangzeb. His ancestor, Majnun Khān Qaqshal, commanded

influence at the court of Akbar. He was the author of, 1. a history of the Timurids, both the Central Asian and Indian branches, which came down to Shah Jahan, *Mujmal-i-Mufasssal*, and 2. an encyclopaedic work on the subjects of science, *Uqul-i-Asharah*, 1083/1672.

Muhammad Barkhwurdār, Bahr ul-'Ishq (d. 1093/1683) witnessed the reign of Aurangzeb and attained fame as a sufi in Punjab and North-West Frontier region. He was the son of Muhammad Naushah Ganj Bakhsh, founder of the Qadiri-Nushahi sub-order whose Khanqah was situated in a village, Sahanpal, in district Gujrat, Punjab. He gained the title, Sea of Love, mentioned above due to his spiritual qualities. Like his father, Muhammad Barkhwurdār was a talented scholar and writer. His chief work was *Jawami' ul-Asrar*.

Muhammad b. Lāl Beg (d. unknown) belonged to the reign of a Aurangzeb and was acknowledged for his theological scholarship. He studied the viewpoints, identical as well as divergent, held by the four Sunni Muslim schools of law over so many juristic issues, and prepared a guide-book for the *Qazis* and other officials who were concerned with legal matters and decided cases of dispute. Its title was *Jami' ur-Riwayat*.

Muhammad b. Shaikh Pir Muhammad Fārūqī (d. unknown) belonged to the town of Bilgram and was trained as a sufi under the spiritual guidance of Shaikh Habib ullah of Qannauj. The latter was acknowledged as a jurist as well. He translated into Persian his Shaikh's Arabic biography of the Prophet, *Rauzat un-Nabi*, and named his work *Madinat ul-'Ilm*, ca. 1120/1708.

Muhammad Bulāq (d. unknown) was a sufi of Delhi during the time of Aurangzeb. He claimed descent from Shaikh Nizām ud-Din Auliya and wrote a detailed biographical account of his illustrious ancestor. The book contained notices of members who continued the Shaikh's line in later generations. He gathered reports about his famous *khalifahs* responsible for spreading the influence of the Chishti order in various parts of the sub-continent. The title chosen for the book was *Matlūb ut-Talibin*, completed in 1111/1700. His other work dealt with the life of Shaikh Qutb ud-Din Bakhtiyār Kākī (d. 633/1235), *Rauzah-i-Aqtab* 1124/1712.

Muhammad Habib ullah Akbarabadi (d. 1160/1747) left Agra, his birth-place, in young age to seek livelihood in Delhi. He was employed by Princess Zeb un-Nisa, the daughter of Aurangzeb, whose service enabled him to pass life in literary pursuits. Subsequently, Aurangzeb's successors entrusted him with various positions of honour till the end of his career in the reign of Muhammad Shāh. Among his memorable works was a *tazkirah* of the saints buried in Delhi. Its title was *Zikr-Jāmi'-i-Auliya-i-Dehli*, completed ca. 1140/1728. Another contribution by him was a Persian version of the biography of Shaikh 'Abd ul-Qādir written by Shattanufi (d. 713/1314). Its original title in Arabic was: *Bahjat ul-Asrār*. His translation appeared as *Kashf-ul-Asar*. Also, he prepared a Persian translation with annotations of the Arabic dictionary, *Qamūs*, by al-Firuzabadi (d. 817/1414) naming it *Qabūs*, and dedicated it to Muhammad Shāh.

Muhammad Habib ullah Hashimi (d. unknown) lived in Lahore during the time of Aurangzeb and commanded prestige as a pious man. Originally, his ancestors emigrated from the holy city of Mecca and settled in Multan. He wrote a commentary on Nizami's *Makhzan-i-Asrār*, which appeared as *Miftah ul-Makhzan*, ca. 1080/1669.

Muhammad Husain Jaunpuri (d. 1081/1676) was a theologian and jurist of the time of Aurangzeb. The latter treated him with respect due to his scholarship. Initially, he served as *qazi* of his native town in the reign of Shāh Jahān. Aurangzeb appointed him *Muhtasib* of the imperial capital. He was associated in the grand project of compiling the legal decrees, *Fatawa-i-'Alamgiri*.

Muhammad Ja'far b. Muhammad Fāzil, Shaikh (d. unknown) belonged to Lucknow and was a scholar in the reign of Aurangzeb. His father was a sufi of the Qādiri order. He himself secured a secretary's job and prepared a collection of official letters: *Insha-i-'Ajib* 1118/1707.

Muhammad Jamil (d. 1123/1711) was the grandson of Mulla Shams Nūr, a Siddiqi Shaikh and scholar of the reign of Shāh Jahān, whom the emperor appointed *Mufti* = magistrate, of the imperial capital, and entrusted the education of his children. Muhammad Jamil Siddiqi was

included by Aurangzeb in his grand project, the compilation of legal decrees, *Fatawa-i-'Alamgiri*. Also, he wrote tracts on grammar *Mutawwal*, and sufism, *Tanbih-i-Jamili*.

Muhammad Kāzim (d. unknown) came from Shūstar, South Iran, and found employment under Sipahdār Khān, a noble of Aurangzeb. In acknowledgement of his professional skill and vast experience in the field of medical science, he was awarded the title of 'Hāziq ul Mulk'. At the instance of his noble patron, he wrote a book dealing with the lives of the prophets including the last Prophet, Muhammad, on whom be peace, the orthodox caliphs, and the twelve Imāms. Its title was *Ahsan us-Siyar*, completed in 1114/1702.

Muhammad Kāzim (d. 1092/1681) served as secretary to Aurangzeb. His father, Muhammad Amin, was Shāh Jahān's official chronicler and author of *Padshah-namah*. At the instance of his master, Muhammad Kāzim prepared an account of the first ten years of Aurangzeb's reign. It was full of flattery and completely ignored the misdeeds Aurangzeb perpetrated against his father and other members of the family before coming to the throne. By the end of his 10th year, the emperor ordered to stop its compilation. The book was named '*Alamgir-namah*'.

Muhammad Latif b. Muhammad 'Alī (d. unknown) was a civil servant in the reign of Aurangzeb and possessed wide knowledge of revenue matters; his hometown being Bharoach, Gujrat. He prepared comparative tables of revenue income from the provinces of the empire, also showing expenditure on various items, like army and imperial household etc., from the time of Akbar to that of his master. The work has survived under the title: *Mir'at ul-Hind*. Also, his tract dealing with jurisprudence appeared as *Quwwat ul-Islam*, ca. 1074/1663.

Muhammad Ma'rūf (d. unknown) was a disciple of Mulla 'Abd ur-Razzāq, the sufi scholar of Lahore during the reign of Aurangzeb. He prepared an abridged version into Persian of *al-Muntakhab*, the work ascribed to Shaikh Abd ul-Qādir Jilāni, saint of Baghdad and founder of the Qādiri order (d. 561/1165). The condensed translation of Muhammad Ma'ruf came out under the title: *Muntakhab ul-Ma'ruf*, 1119/1707.

Muhammad Mu'min Husaini (d. unknown) lived as a physician in the reign of Aurangzeb. His work on medicine, containing the popular confection, *Itrifal-i-Zamāni*, appeared under the title *Tuhfat ul-Mu'minin*, ca. 1080/1569.

Muhammad Murād b. Habib ullah (d. 1131/1719) belonged to Kashmir and was well known as a sufi during the days of Aurangzeb. An adherent of the *Naqshbandi* order, he wrote a book on Hanafi beliefs in ten chapters: *'Aqā'id-i-Muradat*. As he was the disciple and spiritual successor - *Khalifah*, of Shaikh 'Abd ul-Ahad Wahdat, he collected the *malfūzāt* and letters of his Shaikh under the title : *Gulshan-i-Wahdat*.

Muhammad Naqshbandi (d. 1114/1702) was the grandson of Shaikh Ahmad Mujaddid Sirhindi. He wrote a book on sufi discipline highlighting the standpoint of his own order *Tuhfat us-Sulūk*.

Muhammad Nūr ullah Ahrari (d. 1073/1663) was a religious scholar living in Delhi during the time of Aurangzeb. The emperor appointed him *Sadr* = chief of religious endowments, of the province of Shahjahanabad. He wrote commentaries on: Sa'di's *Gulistan*, 2. Rumi's *Masnawi*, 3. Jami's *Yūsuf wa Zulaikha* and 4. a Dictionary of difficult words in the *Insha-i-Abul Fazl*.

Muhammad Qāsim b. Sharif Khan (d. unknown) came from Iran and earned his livelihood as a physician in the reign of Aurangzeb. He wrote a book on diseases of the horse and prescribed their treatment; its name being; *Tuhfah-i-Kan-i-'ilaj-i-asf*, 1076/1665.

Muhammad Rashid Gujrāti (d. unknown) was a scholar in the reign of Aurangzeb and lived in Ahmadabad, Gujrat. One of his pupils, Muhammad Chiragh b. Shāh Murād Gilāni Gujrati, brought out Muhammad Rashid's collection of letters. Some of them were addressed to Aurangzeb by his nobles. Its title was *Jamī' ul-Funūn*, completed in 1077/1666.

Muhammad Razi ud-Din Khān (d. unknown) was employed as physician at the court of Prince A'zam, the son of Aurangzeb. He wrote a book explaining the properties of *Tiryāq* = antidote, sovereign remedy

against all kinds of poisons. The work was dedicated to the Prince and appeared under the title: *'Aja'ib ul-Ittifaq fi Shinakhtan-i-Tiryaq*.

Muhammad Reza b. Abu'l Fazl Sulaiman Shirazi (d. unknown) came from Shiraz and was employed by Aurangzeb as a court physician. He was the author of a *materia medica*, containing details about health and hygiene and a large number of diseases. It was dedicated to the emperor and gained popularity under the title: *Riyaz ut-Tibb*, ca. 1096/1685.

Muhammad Reza b. Muhammad Yúsuf (d. unknown) belonged to Delhi and served as Superintendent of the department of game in the government of Aurangzeb. He wrote a book bearing ninety-nine chapters on falconry and dedicated it to his master. Its title was *Dastár us Said*, 1099/1687.

Muhammad Reza Multani (d. unknown) belonged to Multan and lived as a sufi in Lahore. Initially, he served as government officer during the reign of Aurangzeb, but resigned from service before embracing spiritual discipline and completely renounced the world. He wrote a commentary on Rumi's *Masnawi* under the title: *Mukashifat-i-Rizawi*, ca. 1083.1673.

Muhammad Reza Shattâri Qâdiri (d. 1118/1707) served as Qazi of Lahore during the reign of Aurangzeb. He inherited the post from his father, Shâh Muhammad Fâzil, who was respected for his learning and sufi manners. Noteworthy among the works of Muhammad Reza were 1. *Adab-i-Muridi*, and 2. *Irshad ul-'Ashiqin*, ca. 1113/1702.

Muhammad Sa'id, Hâfiz (d. unknown) lived in Lahore and received training of sufi discipline under the guidance of Shâh 'Aziz ullah Lahori. He wrote a biography of his Shaikh; its name being: *Rahat-ul-Arwah*, completed in 1085/1674. Another work of Muhammad Sa'id, a tract on moral teachings, was *Tuhfat-i-Sa'idiyah*.

Muhammad Sâlih (d. unknown) belonged to Kâlpi, a town situated near Kanpur, North India, and served as *munshi* = secretary, during the time of Aurangzeb and his successor, Shâh 'Alam Bahadur Shah.

According to his statement, he worked under famous secretaries of the time, namely, Haqiqat Rai, Man Singh, Habib ullah, and Shaikh Nizam, whose guidance perfected him in the art of *Insha*. He collected petitions submitted by nobles of the empire and provincial governors to the emperor, Aurangzeb 'Alamgir, and the princes. Included as appendix was the bunch of miscellaneous rules = *Dastur ul-'Amal*. The title of the collection was *Da'im-Bahar*.

Muhammad Sâlih Thattawi (d. unknown) belonged to a learned family of Thatta, Sind. His father was *qâzi* of Siwistan. Early in life, he started his career as a civil servant of the Mughal government and became an expert of revenue matters during the reign of Aurangzeb. He wrote a book on his special field of interest: *Dastur us-Siyâq*.

Muhammad Shafi, Munshi (d. unknown) was secretary to Prince Muhammad Akbar, the rebel son of Aurangzeb, who passed the last days of his life as an exile in Iran (d. 1118/1706). He placed a memorandum before the government and nobles of Iran describing the miserable position of his master, the Prince. Its title was *Shahr-Ashob*.

Muhammad Shfi' b. Muhammad Sharif (d. unknown) lived in the reign of Aurangzeb. He brought out an enlarged version of Muhammad Baqa's general history, *Mir'at ul-Alam*, naming his work: *Mir'at-Jahan-numa*.

Muhammad Shâkir b. Mulla Badr ud-Din (d. unknown) belonged to Sirhind and was associated with Khwajah Muhammad Ma'sum. His father was a *Khalifah* = spiritual successor of Shaikh Ahmad Mujaddid. As Khwajah Ma'sum proceeded on pilgrimage to the holy cities of Mecca and medinah, he took his son, Khwajah Ubaid ullah in his company. The latter recorded his father's intuitions in Arabic, and preserved the notes as *Yawaqit ul-Haramain*. Muhammad Shâkir rendered the *Yawaqit* into Persian version, naming the volume, *Hasanat ul-Haramain* completed in 1071/1660.

Muhammad Taqi (d. unknown) was a physician of the time of Aurangzeb. He was the author of a book concerning his professional

subject, which he named after the emperor: *Riyāz-i-'Alamgiri*

Muhammad 'Umar Peshawari (d. unknown) was initiated into sufi discipline by Shaikh Sa'di Lahori, a pious man of Lahore (d. 1108/1696), and made further spiritual progress under the guidance of Shaikh Adam Banūri (d. 1053/1643) and his other contemporary teachers. He preserved their biographies in a book: *Zawahir us Sara'ir*, completed ca. 1112/1700. Also, the diary of his observations and thoughts survived under the title *Khazinat ul-Asrar*.

Muhammad Yaqūb Jangi (d. unknown) was a scholar of the reign of Aurangzeb and seemed to be an India-born Turk, whose parents had emigrated from Central Asia. He wrote a Turkish-Persian dictionary and named it: *Farhang-i-Turki*.

Muhammad Yūsuf Ataki (d. unknown) belonged to Attock, North Punjab and was a scholar during the days of Shāh Jahān. His father, Shaikh Rahmat ullah, emigrated from Kan'an, South Arabia, where Muhammad Yūsuf was born. Following the pattern of general histories, he prepared a survey of events and brought the work down to the reign of Shāh Jahān, to whom it was dedicated. Its title proposed by the author was *Muntakhab ut-Tawarikh*, completed in 1056/1646. As it contained original and detailed information about the events preceding Shāh Jahān's accession, another scholar, Shaikh 'Abd ush-Shakur Thattawi, of the reign of Aurangzeb, made its abridgement, perhaps, by the shrewd emperor's implied consent, in order to expose his father's own conduct in acquiring the throne. The title of the abridged version was *Intikhab-i-Muntakhab*, 1084/1673.

Muhammad Zamān Anbalaji Dehlawi (d. unknown) was a scholar of mathematics and astronomy and lived in the Mughal capital during the time of Aurangzeb and his successors. He composed a treatise on astronomy *Irtifa' ul-Jibal*, and another book on the same subject: *Ilham ul-Ghaib* (chronogram - 1120/1708). And, he was one of the commentators on Shaikh Baha ud-Din Amili's famous work, *Khulasat ul-Hisab*, the name of his commentary was *Ghayah-i-Juhd ul-Hussab*. One more commentary by him was *Hikam ur-Riyazi* (chronogram - 1120/1708)

on *al-Mulakhkhas*, of which the author in Arabic had been the earlier astronomer of Ulugh Beg's court, Mahmud b. 'Umar Chaghmini. Also, noteworthy by the same author was *Shams ul-Mashraqain* (chronogram - 1131/1719).

Muhammad Ziya Chaghta'i (d. unknown) served as an officer under Nawwab Sarwar Khan, son of Amir Khan, governor of Bengal and Bihar in the reign of Aurangzeb. He prepared a collection of *farmans*, imperial orders, and letters under the title: *Insha-i-Zarr bakhsh*.

Muhibb 'Ali Lahori (d. unknown) lived in Lahore during the time of Aurangzeb and went to Delhi in search of employment. He was encouraged by scholars of the imperial capital to prepare a collection of letters for the benefit of students. Accordingly, his work appeared under the title: *Insha-i-firasat* 1093/1682.

Muhyi ud-Din b. Shaikh 'Abd ul-Wahhab (d. 1100/1688) belonged to Ahmadabad, Gujrat and was famous as a learned theologian during the time of Aurangzeb. He was the author of a book on the Hanafi jurisprudence, *Majmu'at ul-Usul*.

Mu'izz ud-Din Muhammad Zarif (d. unknown) was a sufi of the Qadiri order and lived in Lahore during the reign of Aurangzeb. He wrote a treatise on the merit of prayers and thanks-giving, and dedicated it to the emperor. Its title was *Salat-i-Muqriba wa Durud-i-Musta'an*.

Mujtaba b. Mustafa (d. 1084/1673) belonged to Laharpur, a town in District Sitapur, North India and had reputation of a sufi scholar during the time of Aurangzeb. He was the author of a treatise dealing with ethical and spiritual teachings: *Anis ul-'Ashiqin*.

Mukhlis Khan b. Saf-Shikan Khan (d. 1112/1700) was a trusted noble of Aurangzeb and controlled the office of *Mir Bakhshi* = Chief paymaster, of his government. His collection of letters survived under the title: *Ruqqa 'at-i-Mukhlis Khan*.

Muluk Chand b. Murli Dhar (d. unknown) served as a civil servant under Yusuf 'Ali, deputy governor of Ujjain, during the reign of

Aurangzeb. Muluk Chand enjoyed the company of government dignitaries posted at Ujjain, who were all literary men and possessed high degree of efficiency in the art of *Insha* = drafting. Encouraged by them, he prepared a collection of letters and official documents. The first chapter contained as specimens some of the letters written by Aurangzeb 'Alamgir. Then, there were letters of rulers, princes, and nobles respectively in the following three chapters. Important and rare documents of Mughal government were placed in an independent section of the work. Titles of the royal ladies and other women engaged in palace duties were also mentioned by the author. The collection appeared as *Tasnif-ul-Muluk*, completed in the 38th year of 'Alamgir's reign, 1106/1694.

Mustafa Afghān b. Muhammad Sa'id (d. unknown) was employed in the service of Prince Muhammad A'zam, son of Aurangzeb and had the training of a religious scholar. In the 34th year of that emperor's reign, he compiled a dictionary bearing the initial words of the Qur'anic verses. But, instead of employing the more familiar alphabetical scheme, he picked up verses according to their place in each *sūra* of the Qur'an. In the preface, he said that works of such nature were undertaken prior to him. They tended to be voluminous and swelled upto twenty thousand words. He confined the number to four thousand words approximately. The opening word of each verse, in case ascertained, the place of the verse in a particular *sūra* would be easy to find out. His object was to provide practical facility to the reciters of the Qur'an. The title of the work came out from the chronogram: *'Alamat-i-Nujūm ul-Furqān* - 1103/1691.

Musta'id Khan, Muhammad Sāqi (d. 1135/1724) started his career as a protege of Bakhtawar Khan, Aurangzeb's trusted eunuch. Thereafter, he served as secretary to 'Inayat ullah Khan, *wazir* of Shah 'Alam Bahadur Shah I. Altogether, his tenure of active association with the imperial court was as long as forty years. Although the office of historiographer was abolished by Aurangzeb and he prohibited the writing of history, Musta'id Khan continued to take down his personal notes. For the first decade of Aurangzeb's reign, he had to summarize the *'Alamgir-nāmah* of Muhammad Kāzim, but, the remaining forty years of his condensed and pithy narrative were based entirely on his own

recollections. To save his master from the stigma of blunder, he described only the victories achieved by the Mughal armies in the Deccan wars, and made a clean sweep over defeats and debacles. The work appeared under the title: *Ma'asir-i-'Alamgiri* (chronogram of its completion - 1122/1710).

Muzaffar Khwāfi (d. unknown) was the author of a general history and brought the narrative to the end of Aurangzeb's reign *Tazkirat ul-Muluk*.

Najib ud-Din Shāh (d. unknown) belonged to Amethi, a town in Awadh, where he enjoyed the reputation of a sufi. He was the author of two books on sufism, 1. *Shawahid-i-Najibi* and 2. *Rāmūzat-i-Najibi*, ca. 1082/1671.

Nasir Husain, Saiyed (d. unknown) lived in the reign of Aurangzeb and was the author of a fairy-tale. Its chief character being a king, Lal Posh, the work gained popularity as *Qissah-i-Lal Posh*.

Nasr ullah b. Shaikh Nizām (d. unknown) was a scholar of the time of Aurangzeb. The emperor requested him to write a tract on fundamental religious beliefs. Accordingly, he wrote *Tazkirat ul-'Aqa'id*.

Ni'mat ullah b. Rahmat ullah. Hāfiz (d. unknown) lived in Lahore during the time of Aurangzeb and was known as an excellent reciter of the Qur'an. He prepared a guide-book for scholars of his field in fourteen chapters. The account of all the great reciters of the past, like Shātibī (d. 590/1194) and Ibn Jazari (d. 833/1429), and their distinctions, were explained by the author to apply them in demonstration. He dedicated the book to the emperor and named it: *Mufid ul-Qurra*, ca. 1100/1688.

Nizām Burhānpuri, Mulla (d. 1092/1681) lived in the reign of Aurangzeb and had reputation for theological and juristic learning. The emperor entrusted him with a project, which proved the most memorable literary achievement of his reign. After about eight years of labour, Mulla Nizām and his team of scholars prepared the legal digest of stupendous volume. Ever since it appeared, few books have provided such a clear guidance to Indian law courts in matters pertaining to Muslim, chiefly Hanafī, personal law as the *Fatava-i-'Alamgiri*.

Nishat, Kishan Singh b. Rai Prān Nāth (d. unknown) was a poet and scholar living in Siyalkot, Punjab, during the days of Aurangzeb. He was the author of a collection of letters *Ghara'ib ul-Insha*. Also, he translated from Sanskrit a book in praise of the Hindu god, Shiva, entitled *Shiv-puran*, ca. 1100/1688.

Nizām ud-Din Muhammad b. Muhammad Rustam (d. unknown) was a scholar during the reign of Aurangzeb. His grandfather, 'Abd ullah, emigrated from Khujand, modern Tājikistan. As stated by him, his friends observed that the people were busy and could not find time generally to recite Imām Tirmizi's *Shama'il un-Nabi*, canonized among *Sihah-i-Sittah* = the six perfect works on the traditions of the Prophet. Its reading ensured Divine blessing and dispelled all misfortunes. Responding to their desire and encouraged by the feeling that his name would survive as a panegyrist = *maddah*, of the Prophet, peace be on him, Nizām ud-Din Muhammad prepared an abridged version of the above named work. Its title was *Sharh-i-Shama' il un-Nabi*, 1108/1696.

Nondah (? Nand) Rai, Munshi (d. unknown) was employed by Ghazi ud-Din Khan (d. 1122/1710), the noble of Aurangzeb and general of the Mughal armies during that emperor's reign. Besides a few elementary books for the teaching of Persian, he prepared a collection of ninety-three letters dividing them in three sections. Their study, according to him, would enlighten the young students and make them successful letter-writers. The title of the work was: *Dastūr us-Subiyan*.

Nār ud-Din Lāhori (d. unknown) was a scholar of the reign of Aurangzeb and resided in Lahore, where his source of livelihood was teaching in the college of the city. He wrote a commentary on the Arabic grammar of Mir Saiyed Sharif Jūrjāni (d. 816/1413). The latter was a celebrated scholar, whom Timur-i-Lang treated, exceptionally, with much consideration and carried in his company from Shiraz to Samarqand. Among the great contemporaries of Mir Saiyed Sharif there were Khwajah Hafiz (d. 792/1389), Majd ud-Din Firūzabādi (d. 817/1414), Shaikh Muhammad b. al-Jazri (D. 833/1429), and Ghiyās ud-Din Jamshid Kāshi, the mathematician, etc. Mir Saiyed Sharif was the author, besides many works, of a concise tract on Arabic grammar, *Sarf-i-Mir*, which served as

textbook in the institutions of learning. Nur ud-Din prepared a commentary on it and dedicated the work to the emperor. Its title was *Sharh-i-Sarf-i-Mir*.

Pir Muhammad, Shah (d. 1163/1750) was a Husaini Saiyed and commanded respect as a sufi in Ahmadabad, Gujrat, during the time of Aurangzeb and his successors. Originally, his family emigrated from the holy city of Medinah and settled in Bijapur, Deccan, where Pir Muhammad was born a posthumous child. His uncle, 'Abd ur-Rahmān 'Ali, combined religious scholarship with practical interest in sufism. Tracing his lineage from Shaikh 'Abd ul-Qadir Jilani of Baghdad, he was acknowledged as a Shaikh of the Qādiri order by his contemporaries. Pir Muhammad received early education under 'Abd ur-Rahmān 'Ali's own guidance and showed signs of intelligence from tender age. As spiritual traditions were inherent in the family, the young nephew naturally swayed to his uncle's manners and carved out his line as a future sufi. At seven, he memorized the Qur'ān and made himself an accomplished reciter, *qari*. Having left home, he performed the pilgrimage to Mecca, an essential Islamic duty, when he was a boy of twelve and passed a few years in Medinah seeking higher education under the supervision of learned divines. They were impressed by the sharp intellect of their disciple and trained him in the two disciplines: traditional and spiritual. The years of adolescence were spent in roaming across the cities famous in Islam's history and visiting the shrines of pious saints, before finally voyaging back to homeland. Pir Muhammad Shāh moved from Bijapur to Ahmadabad and the reputation he gained in life-time made his *khanqah* a sacred place for seekers of spiritual blessings. A library attached to it may be estimated as one of the important repositories of Arabic and Persian manuscripts in the sub-continent. Pir Muhammad Shāh was a bi-lingual poet, composing in Persian and primitive Urdu, the indigenous *Dakani*. His noteworthy contribution among many minor tracts was a versified history, in *Mutaqarib* metre, of sufi orders with special reference to those prevalent in the Indian sub-continent. Its title was *Nur ush-Shuyukh*.

Qābil Khān, Shaikh Abu'l Fath (d. 1073/1662) belonged to Thatta, Sind, and served as chief secretary in the imperial office during the time of Aurangzeb, who conferred on him the title mentioned above. He collected

the emperor's letters addressed to Prince Muhammad Akbar and others. Some of them were drafted at the emperor's oral instruction by Qabil Khan himself and another secretary, Sadiq of Ambalah. The collection has survived under the title: *Adab-i-'Alamgiri*.

Qaiser, Abu'l Hasan (d. unknown) lived in the reign of Aurangzeb and was interested in musical science. He wrote a book dealing with the comparative account of music and its principles followed in the two countries, India and Iran. A number of books related to the subject were consulted by the author during the course of its preparation. Having divided into an introduction, two sections, and a termination, he named the work: *Ma'rifat un-Nagham*.

Qutb ud-Din Islamabadi (d. unknown) belonged to Islamabad, Kashmir, and lived during the days of Aurangzeb. The emperor treated him with consideration by way of bestowing land grant for maintenance. He wrote an Arabic-Persian dictionary and dedicated it to his master. Its title was: *Farhang-i-Qutbi*.

Ra'fat, Shaikh (d. unknown) belonged to Kashmir and lived during the days of Aurangzeb and his successor, Shāh 'Alam Bahādur Shāh I. He wrote in florid style an account of Aurangzeb's Deccan Wars and named it: *Futuhāt-i-'Alamgiri*. Also, he preserved details of the war of succession among Aurangzeb's sons. *A'īnāh-i-Jahān numā*, 1119/1707.

Rafi' ud-Din Muradabadi (d. 1218/1706) received instruction from Shāh Wali Ullah Dehlawi, went on pilgrimage to the holy cities of Islam and wrote his observations. *Halāt-i-Haramain*, 1201/1787. Also, he translated from Arabic a book on the Hanafi personal law, *Tarjumah-i-'Ain ul-'ilm*, and wrote a history of the Afghans, *Tarikh-i-Afaghinah*.

Rāj Karan, Khwajah (d. unknown) was a noble and civil servant in the reign of Aurangzeb, who conferred on him the title mentioned above. He was posted at Bareilly, and then, settled in Rohtak, a town north of Delhi. While in Bareilly, Khwajah Rāj Karan wrote, or translated from Sanskrit, perhaps, a collection of six anecdotes full of moral exhortations. The theme of all of them being providential mercy, ultimately coming to the

rescue of man in his difficulties. The work was entitled as *Gushā' ish-namah* completed in 1100/1688. Another collection of that author's translation of the Sanskrit classic, *Betal-Panchhisti*, appeared as *Tuhfat ul-Majalis*, 1103/1691.

Rasā, Mirza Izad Baksh (d. 1119/1707) was a noble during the reign of 'Alamgir, respected chiefly for his active interest in literature. He was the grandson of Mirza Ja'far Asaf Khan, whom the emperor Akbar sent as governor of the Deccan and assigned many other responsible positions. Holding the governorship of Agra at the juncture of Aurangzeb's death, he incurred the wrath of Prince A'zam, the second son, who suspected him of disloyalty, and Rasā, a man of extremely sensitive nature, protested against the insult by committing suicide. He left a *Diwan* of verses and a few treatises in prose, noteworthy among them being the collection of letters, *Riyāz ul-Widad*.

Rasūl-numa, Saiyed Hasan (d. 1103/1692) was a teacher and sufi of Delhi during the time of Aurangzeb. His blessings had a miraculous quality. He could raise his devotees to spiritual and transcendental plane; and they were enabled to see the Prophet, Muhammad, peace be on him, in their visions. Hence, Saiyed Hasan became famous by the title mentioned above. A profound scholar of the Qur'anic commentary and science of traditions, he lived in voluntary poverty and trained a large number of students in the two disciplines. He left glossaries on many important theological works and a tract on sufism: *Haqiqat-i-tā bi Sū-i-tust*.

Raunaq (d. unknown) left a collection of interesting documents. The first few pages of the single manuscript preserved in the Aligarh Muslim University are missing. Hence, no information about the author or the date of the work could be traced. In his collection, Raunaq arranged: 1. Prefatory notes written by eminent men over their own or others' books. They were, to wit, Dārā Shikoh, Jalāl Tabatabāi, Munir Lahori, Mir Najāt, and many others; 2. Inscriptions on stone slabs composed by important writers and fixed above the gates of forts, palaces, mosques, and other monuments; 3. *Farmāns* issued by the Safawid and Mughal emperors; 4. Treaties signed by the kings of Bijapur and Golconda; 5. *Hasb-i-ul-hukum* = oral order, of Prince Shujā' drafted by Mulla Mahmud Jaunpuri; 6.

Letters exchanged between emperors, princes, and famous men, to wit, (i) Qāzi Nūr ullaḥ to Shaikh Abul Fazl, (ii) Shāh 'Abbās of Iran to Jahangir, (iii) 'Adil Shāh of Bijapur to Shāh Jahān, (iv) Qutb Shāh of Golconda to Shāh Jahān, (v) Princes Aurangzeb and Shujā' to Shāh Jahān, (vi) Asaf Khan, Shāh Jahān's prime minister, to Hasan Khan, Safawid noble of Khurāsān, (vii) Musawī Khan to 'Alamgir (viii) 'Aqil Khan Rāzi to contemporaries, etc. And, there were many valuable papers of similar nature. The collection bore the title: *Majmu'ah-i-Raunaq*.

Raushan Rāi (d. unknown) was a civil servant during the time of Aurangzeb. He was spiritual disciple of a sufi, Miyān 'Abd ul-Ghanī, and had large circle of scholar-friends, with whom he regularly exchanged letters. Like all gifted letter-writers, Raushan Rāi had consciousness of artistic maturity, and left his collection under the title: *Inshā-i-Rangin*. The year of completion came out from a chronogram: *Daryafāḥ Inshāi-i-Rangin* - 1092/1681.

Raushan Zamir, Mirza (d. 1076/1665) served as bakhshī, pay master, and news-writer of the sea-port of Surat, Gujrat, in the reign of Aurangzeb, and was acknowledged as a scholar and poet. The emperor once paid him seven thousand rupees as reward for a single quatrain. His special field of interest was Indian classical music. He translated Ahubal's Sanskrit tract on music and dance, *Parijatak*, into Persian adding his own comments where necessary. Mirza Raushan Zamir's version bears three sections dealing with: (i) vocal music, (ii) musical instruments, and (iii) dance.

Rāz-i-Ilāhī. Shaikh Burhān ud-Dīn (d. 1083/1672) was a sufi of the Chishti-Shattari sub-order and lived in Burhānpur, Deccan, during the time of Aurangzeb. He strictly adhered to the discipline of his Chishti predecessors in his attitude towards the men of worldly glory and never deviated from the path of self-chosen poverty. Once Prince Aurangzeb, serving as viceroy of the Deccan under his father, expressed desire to see the Shaikh and wrote; "You may come to me, and anyway, I can come to you as well." The Shaikh replied: "There is a third course. Neither of us shall take the trouble of seeing each other. Thank you." One of his disciples was 'Aqil Khan Rāzi, Mir Askari, the trusted noble of Aurangzeb, who compiled his utterances under the title: *Samarat ul-*

Hayāt. A tract from Shaikh Burhān's own pen was: *Wasiyat nāmāh*.

Rāzi. 'Aqil Khān, Mir 'Ali 'Askari (d. 1108/1696) joined service under Aurangzeb when the latter held viceroyalty of the Deccan provinces in his father's reign. He received training of sufism in early life and came under the influence of the Shattari saint, Burhān ud-Din Rāz-i-Ilāhi, living in Burhānpur. As a token of gratitude to his spiritual preceptor he adopted the pen-name, Rāzi. His contemporaries recognized him as an accomplished poet and manuscripts of a number of his *masnawis* besides a *Diwān* of verses are available in different libraries. Aurangzeb treated him as a trusted courtier and made him *daroghah-i-ghusāl khānah* = official of the chamber where the Mughal emperor invited his nobles for secret consultations. Being a man of colourful personality, he was scandalized by rumour mongers for having a romance with princess Zeb un-Nisā, in fact baseless calumny. A brilliant writer of prose and poetry, Rāzi left many works: 1. memoirs, describing the events of the first five years of his master's reign. He exercised his pen with sufficient liberty and reported some of the facts which Aurangzeb would have preferred to hide. The various titles of the book were: *Halāt-i-'Alamgiri* / *Waqi'at-i-'Alamgiri* / *Zafar nāmāh-i-'Alamgiri*, 2. A biographical sketch of his spiritual guide, Shaikh Burhān ud-Din. Its title was: *Samarat ul-Hayāt*, 3. A monograph on the teachings of sufism as inculcated by the saints of the Shattari order, *Naghamāt ul-'Ishq*, 4. Another collection of miscellaneous discourses concerning the same discipline, *Kashkūl*, 5. Versified version, in *masnawi* form, of Mulla Muhammad Jaisi's Hindi classic, the *Padmavat*, under the title: *Shama' wa Parwanah*, 6. Another *masnawi* narrating the love tale: *Manohar wa Madhumalti*. And 7. a *Diwān* of verses.

Risālah-i-Sariri, was an anonymous translation of *Singhasan battisi*, a Sanskrit classic of thirty-two anecdotes narrating the virtues of ancient India's king, Rājah Bikramajit. As every anecdote struck the mystical note attributed to the throne, which the Rājah occupied at the time of dispensing justice, the translator chose the above mentioned title (*Sarir* = throne). His name remained untraced; although a chronogram indicated the date of its completion in the reign of Aurangzeb, 1084/1673.

Rûh ullah (d. unknown) was the son of 'Inayat Khan Wâzih, the noble of Aurangzeb, who held important position till the time of Shâh 'Alam Bahâdur Shah I. Rûh ullah attempted a work on warfare following the pattern of Fakhr-i-Mudabbir's *Adâb ul Harb wash Shujâ'ah*, one of the earliest books of Persian written in the sub-continent. For, its author was introduced to Sultân Muhammad b. Sâm Ghori, who granted him audience. And, he presented the book to the Sultân's viceroy, Qutb ud-Din Aibak. Rûh ullah wrote about the Mughal army, a giant organization of sturdy soldiers accustomed to fight big battles on vast plains, and giving a sad account of its performance in guerilla skirmishes with the Marathas, whose chief advantage was their geography. Aurangzeb was trapped in the fatal situation experienced centuries ago by Cyrus the Great in Afghanistan, and later on, by Napoleon in Spain. The author dedicated the book to the emperor and named it: *Tuhfat ush-Shujâ'ah*.

Sa'd, Mulla (d. unknown) lived in Patna and served as a teacher in the city's Madrasah. His period of life coincided with the reign of Aurangzeb. Mulla Sa'd wrote glossaries and commentaries on textbooks for the guidance of his students. His labour covered Nizâmi's *masnawis*, Shaikh Sa'di's two famous books, the *Diwan* of Khwajah Hâfiz, Nasir ud-Din Tûsi's *Akhlaq-i-Nasiri*, and all other classics prescribed in the syllabus of education during those days. Among the Mulla's surviving works are: 1. the above-mentioned glossaries, 2. an epitome of Rûmi's *Masnawi*, and 3. a tract on prosody, *Mizan ul-Ash'ar* ca. 1116/1704.

Sadr ud-Din b. Sâdiq Husaini (d. unknown) was a scholar during the reign of Aurangzeb. He made translation of Shaikh Amili's astronomical tract, *Tashrih ul-Aflak*, under the title *Tafrih ul-Idrak*.

Safi b. Wali, Mulla Safi ud-Din Ardbili (d. unknown) arrived from Qazwin, Iran, and found employment under Asâlat Khan, a noble of Aurangzeb, serving as faujdar of Muradabad, North India. Later on, he was attached to the establishment of Princess Zeb un-Nisâ, daughter of Aurangzeb. Having performed the pilgrimage, he returned to his former job, and remained engaged in creative activities till advanced old age. Among the works of Mulla Safi there were 1. *Tuhfat ul-Akhyar*, a universal history, 1076/1665, 2. *Zeb ut-Tafasir*, a commentary on the Qur'an

dedicated to the Princess, 1081/1670; and 3. *Anis ul-Hujjaj*, a guide-book for the pilgrims to the holy cities of Mecca and Medinah, 1088/1677.

Saif Khān, Faqir ullah (d. unknown) was a noble during the reign of Aurangzeb and took keen interest in music. He wrote a book on that subject, naming it *Rag-Darpan*.

Saiyed Husain (d. unknown) was the author of a Turkish-Persian dictionary composed in the reign of Aurangzeb. Its title was *Amdan-namah-i-Turki*.

Sajawal Sirhindi, 'Abd ul-Haq (d. unknown) was a disciple of the sufi of his town, Shaikh Ma'sum, son of the famous Mujaddid, Shaikh Ahmad. At the instance of his spiritual guide, he translated from Arabic two books much consulted on the Hanafi Shari'ah = personal law, and dedicated them to Aurangzeb: 1. Imām Burhan ud-Din 'Ali's *Hidaya*, and 2. Imām Mahmūd b. 'Abd ullah's *Waqaya*, 1076/1668.

Sar-Khwush, Mirza Afzal (d. 1127/1715) enjoyed military rank and rendered service as a young man in the reign of Aurangzeb. He soon changed his style of life and passed the rest of his years in the leisure of reading and writing. He lived in Delhi although his birth-place was Kashmir. Among his pupils, Bindraban Das Khwushgu became more famous after him. He left a *Diwan* of verses which seems to have been lost; and a *tazkirah* of poets *Kalimat ush-Shu'ara*, completed in 1093/1682. Also, he versified the famous romantic legend of Punjab, *Savi Pannu*, and named his *masnawi* version, *Husn wa 'Ishq*.

Shāh Nawāz Husaini (d. unknown) served as secretary to Saiyed 'Izzat Khān, *Diwan* = revenue chief, of Bengal in the reign of Aurangzeb. He drafted official memoranda on behalf of his superior officer, meant to be despatched to the imperial court, and preserved copies of those documents. Later on, the collection appeared, with Husaini's brief introduction, under the title: *Zakhirah-i-Jawahir*.

Sher 'Ali (d. unknown) belonged to Qasūr, Punjab, and was a sufi of the Naqshbandi leanings, living in the reign of Aurangzeb. He prepared a collection of letters and official documents for the benefit of young

students, who desired to learn the secretarial art. Its title was *Insha-i-Faiz Bakhsh*, 1118/1707.

Sher Khān Lodi (d. unknown) was a scholar of the reign of Aurangzeb. He passed early life in Bengal, where his father served under Prince Shujā'. His *tazkirah* of poets, also containing notices of a considerable number of poetesses, made him famous among literary men. Its title was *Mir'at ul-Kayal*, completed ca. 1102/1690.

Shivaji (d. 1091/1680) was the Maratha leader and founder of their power, whose rising was in reaction to the policy of Aurangzeb. A collection of correspondence exchanged between him and Prince Akbar, Aurangzeb's rebel son, and also a few letters addressed to and replied by Aurangzeb, survived under the title: *Khutāt-i-Shivaji*.

Shihāb ud-Din Ahmad Tālish (d. unknown) belonged to Tālish, a town in the province of Gilān, Irān, and served under Mir Jumlah, Muhammad Sa'id, the commander of Aurangzeb, whom the latter despatched to annex Kūch Bihar and Assam. Shihāb ud-Din accompanied the army and witnessed the expedition till Mir Jumlah's death, when he was coming back in 1073/1663. In his view, the Mughal commanders committed blunders in planning the campaign, a number of soldiers were uselessly killed, and the central authorities, the emperor in particular, were not informed of the actual developments. He, therefore, prepared a report recounting the mistakes and telling the whole truth. The work was entitled: *Fathiyah-i-'Ibriyah*.

Sujān Rāi Bhandāri (d. unknown) distinguished himself as *munshi* = secretary, in the reign of Aurangzeb. He was born at Batāla, a town in Punjab, and belonged to the Khattri caste. His contemporaries recognized him as a man of learning, for, besides command in calligraphy so closely connected with the profession of a *munshi*, he possessed knowledge of Sanskrit as well as Persian. The fruit of his wide and varied scholarship was a general history, *Khulasat ut-Tawārikh* completed in 1107/1696. Beginning from India's legendary past, he carried it down to the accession of Aurangzeb. The book acquired great popularity and extracts from it were translated by a number of Western scholars into French and English.

An Urdu recension of it, entitled *Ara'ish-i-Mahfil*, was prepared by a 19th century poet, Mir Sher 'Ali Afsos, which was much read and quoted as a specimen of developing Urdu prose. There are interesting descriptions in *Khulasat ut-Tawarikh* regarding the climate, culture and ancient traditions of India. Equally instructive are the author's observations on contemporary events, particularly, the war of succession fought by Aurangzeb. And, Sujān Rāi claimed to have consulted thirty works for the compilation of his collection of letters *Khulasat ul-insha / khulasat ul-makatib*, ca. 1105/1693.

Sulaimān, Maulana (d. unknown) was a scholar of Kurdish origin living in Ahmadabad, Gujrat, as *khalifah* = spiritual successor, of Shaikh 'Abd ul-Haq Dehlawi (d. 1052/1642). His son, Shaikh Ahmad, founded a college, Madrasah-i-Kurdiyah, in that city which became famous as a seat of learning. Maulana Sulaiman was supposed to be the author of eleven books, of which five have survived. Noteworthy among them are 1. a dictionary of the science of prosody containing about two hundred terms in alphabeical order, *Majma' ul-fawa'id* and 2. a biography depicting the supernatural qualities of Shaikh 'Abd ul-Qādir Jilāni, the founder of the Qadiri order, *Manba' ul-Khairat*, completed ca. 1050/1640.

Sultān Bāhū b. Bāyazid (d. 1102/1691) Sultān Muhammad belonged to Siyalkot, a town in Punjab, and received early education in Delhi where his father was an official of Mughal government under Shāh Jahān. He preferred the unworldly life of a sufi and entered the Qadiri order. Like all men of his class he directed his attention chiefly towards the humbler folk and adopted regional language, Punjabi, to communicate with them. As poet, he sang the message of mutual tolerance, abstinence from sinful life, and Divine love, which had its unfailing appeal due to his transparent sincerity. Also, he was a prolific writer in Persian and supposed to have left as many as thirty books apart from the *Diwān* of verses. Important among his works were 1. *Hujjat ul-Asrar*, 2. *Miftah ul-'Arifin*, 3. *Kalid-i-Tawhid* and 4. *'Ain ul-Faqr*.

Taj Muhammad Qādiri (d. unknown) was a sufi and scholar living in the reign of Aurangzeb. He prepared a summarized handbook on the

Hanafi law meant for practical guidance of the *qāzīs* and other judicial authorities; its title was *Khulasat ul-Maxa'il*.

'Ubaid ullah. Khwājah (d. 1083/1672) was the son of Khwājah Muhammad Ma'sūm and grandsom of Shaikh Ahmad Mujaddid Sirhindi. Following his family tradition, he addressed letters to his friends and disciples. The collection survived as *Khazinat ul-ma'arif*.

Ulfat, Ujāgar-Chand (d. unknown) belonged to 'Azimabad Patna, where he was known for his aristocratic living and literary polish. A Kāyasth by caste, he possessed innate intelligence and love of literature for which his community made itself prominent in Mughal society. All his friends were men of letters, among them being Pandit Khwushgu, the author of *Safinah*. Ulfat prepared a collection of important and interesting letters *Insha-i-Gharib*, ca. 1083/1672.

Wāmiq, Ikhlās-kesh Khān (d. 1143/1730) was born in a Hindu family at Kalānaur, modern Haryana, and embraced Islam in presence of Aurangzeb. The emperor conferred on him the title mentioned above. In the reign of Farrukh Siyar, he rose to the post of chief *Bakhshi* of the empire, a position next to the prime minister. Saiyed Husain 'Ali Khān of Barhah, the Wazīr's younger brother, treated him with confidence. On the latter's recommendation, Muhammad Shāh raised his rank from five thousand to seven thousand. Wāmiq composed poetry and maintained friendly relations with literary men of his age; although, Khān-i-Arzu frankly treated him as an ordinary versifier. He attempted a history of the reign of Farrukh Siyar, its name was *Tarikh-i-Farrukh Shahi*. And, his collection of letters survived under the title: *Ruqqa' at-i-Ikhlās-kesh Khan*.

Zāhid, Mir (d. 1101/1689) belonged to Herat, modern Afghanistan, and served as news-reporter of Kabul in the government of Shāh Jahān. Aurangzeb elevated his rank and appointed him *sadr* = chief of religious endowments of that province. In later life he resigned from imperial service and turned his attention to sufi discipline. He delivered lectures to students in Kabul and gained reputation for scholarship and piety. His works on scholastic philosophy, logic and metaphysics, mostly written in

Arabic, found entry into the colleges of traditional learning. An extremely devoted and hard-working teacher, Mir Zāhid almost reincarnated classical masters of the past through his commentaries and glossaries on their works, especially Nasir ud-Din Tusi's *Tajrid ul-Kalam*, Shaikh ul-Ishraq Suhrawardi's *Hayakil un-Nur*, 'Azd ud-Din Shirāzi's *Sharh-i-Mawaqif*. All commentaries were remembered after the author's name: Mir Zāhid, or the three together as: *Zawahid-i-Salāsah*. In Persian, he wrote a commentary on the Qur'ān, *Tafsir-i-Zahidi*.

Zauqi, Saiyed 'Abd ul-Wāhid (d. unknown) started his career under Prince A'zam, the son of Aurangzeb, and gained literary success by gradual efforts. In the days of Muhammad Shāh he passed on to the service of Mubāriz ul-Mulk Sarbaland Khan, the noble of the age, who held in succession the governorship of Kabul, 'Azimabad, Gujrat, and other minor places (d. 1154/1742). Zauqi's best friend was his fellow townsman, Mir 'Azmat ullah Be-Khabar, in whose company he polished his art. He wrote poetry and prose with equal felicity. Besides the *Diwān* of verses, he attempted a small tract in prose containing moral discourses entitled: *Shakkaristan-i-Khayal*.

Ziya ullah Bilgrami, Saiyed (d. 1104/1692) lived as sufi in Bilgram during the time of Aurangzeb, and had large number of literary friends and disciples. His collection of personal letters with an introduction written by Mir 'Abd ul-Jalil Bilgrami, survived under the title: *Insha-i-Dastūr-i-Ilāhi*. Another collection of the author containing official documents was: *Dastūr ul-Hijja*.

POETS

'Abd ul Fattāh 'Askari (d. 1090/1680) was a sufi of Gujrat during the time of Aurangzeb. He was a Husaini Saiyed and managed a *madrasah* at Ahmadabad to which the emperor had sanctioned lavish grant. His discourses on the philosophy of Rūmī were attended by a large number of students. He prepared an abridgement of the *Masnawī* under the title: *Durr-i-Maknūn* and wrote a detailed commentary on its six volumes:

Miftah ul Ma'ani. Earlier, two scholars, namely, Darwish Muahmmad, a sufi disciple of Khwajah 'Ubaid ullah Ahrar (d. 909/1503) and the versatile genius, Husain Wa'iz-i-Kashifi (d. 911/1505) had attempted to bring out Rumi's epitomes. 'Abd ul-Fattah followed their footprints in the above named *Durr-i-Maknūn*.

'Abid, Khwajah 'Abd ur-Rahim (d. unknown) was a poet and free wandering sufi with strong leaning towards pantheistic philosophy, which was reflected in his verses. Nasir 'Ali had been his literary friend and the two passed many years together. Abid composed a *Diwan* of verses, ca. 1108/1696.

Afsari, Shaikh Kamāl ud-Din (d. unknown) lived as a sufi in Delhi and was the spiritual successor = *khalifah*, of Mir Saiyed Ahmad of Kālpi. He acquired literary fame in the reign of Aurangzeb and was the author of a long didactic poem, *Rah wa Raihan*.

Afzal, Shāh Muhammad Afzal (d. unknown) was a descendant of Shāh 'Abul Ma'ali, the famous sufi of Lahore. Respected by the people of that city for his piety, he was keenly devoted to poetry and was a rival of Nasir 'Ali (d. 1108/1696).

Ahmadi, Mir Saiyed Lutf ullah (d. 1143/1730) was a sufi of Bilgram, popular as Shāh Laddha Bilgrāmi. In early life he renounced army career and turned to spiritual discipline. Shāh Burhān Shattari, a saint of Burhānpur, was his earlier teacher. Then, he travelled to Kālpi in North India and passed many years in the *khanqah* of Mir Saiyed Ahmad, a derwish of pantheistic leanings. Having returned to his home-town, Bilgram, he lived till the age of ninety. As a mark of devotion to his Shaikh, Mir Saiyed Ahmad of Kālpi, he composed poetry under the pen-name, *Ahmadi*.

Ahsan ullah (d. unknown) lived in Delhi during the time of Aurangzeb and was the author of a romantic tale, its principal characters were a young princess, Giti afrūz, a prince, Qais, and a wise carpenter, whose name suggesting his qualities, was 'Aqil. The title of the work was: *Anis-i-Ahsan*, ca. 1092/1681.

Ahsan ullah Lāhori, Hāfiz (d. unknown) was teacher in a *madrasah* at Lahore and compiled a text-book that was included in the syllabus of education. It contained selections from the verses of classical poets and its title was: *Miftah ul-Afwah*, completed in 1106/1694.

‘Alawi, Muhammad Tahir Husaini (d. unknown) came from Kashan, Iran, in the reign of Aurangzeb, and settled in Kashmir. As a poet, he treated Jalāl Asir as his literary guide and imitated his style. He left a *Diwān* and the *masnawi* poem: *Haddad wa Hallāj*.

‘Ali, Mir Najib (d. unknown) served as a revenue officer in the reign of Aurangzeb and was posted at Akbarabad, Agra, to collect *Jizyah*, the poll-tax, which the emperor, in observance of the law of Islamic state, and at the cost of utter unpopularity, had imposed on his non-Muslim subjects. ‘Ali was famous for his poetry and left a *Diwān* of verses.

‘Ali, Nāsir ‘Ali Sirhindi (d. 1108/1696) was one of the two outstanding poets, the other being Mirza Bedil, whose enigmatic style cast a spell around them and fascinated the following generation of poets. Together, they diverted the character of Indo-Persian poetry. Nāsir ‘Ali’s influence, unlike Bedil, proved to be ephemeral; but, it was too late before men of sound literary taste began to feel they had been sent off the track by their guide. Critics doubtfully presume that political decadence led to intellectual morbidity, revealing itself in ambiguous expressions of those two great men of the age. Initially, Saif Khan, the governor of Sirhind in the reign of Aurangzeb, offered patronage to young Nāsir ‘Ali, with whom the poet moved to Allahabad and stayed there till Saif Khan’s tenure of governorship was terminated by death. Then, he wandered away to the Deccan, where Aurangzeb was campaigning, and obtained from Zul’faqār Khan, the emperor’s military commander and noble, a big reward of ten thousand rupees for his single piece of *ghazal*. But at that juncture, Nāsir ‘Ali, a care-free wine-drinker hitherto, had been a transformed man. He had turned to sufi discipline after having renounced the world and its pleasures. From the Deccan, he returned to Delhi and settled there as a poor and pious hermit. His reputation amongst literary men of the capital remained undiminished till his death. Mirza Afzal Sar-khwush laughingly told him one day: ‘People say, you have stolen the notebook of Mulla

Nadim Kashmiri whose verses you recite as your own. "Nāsir 'Alī promptly answered Sar-khwush by his spontaneous composition." And, his verses were adjudged as better than those composed by Sar-khwush. For over a century, Nāsir 'Alī's *Divān* of verses had been an object of veneration for his enamoured imitators.

Alif, Mirza Alif Beg (d. unknown) was the son of Mirza Ulugh Beg, an emigrant from Badakhshan, Trans-Oxiana, who served as a military commander of modest rank under Aurangzeb. Alif Beg, passed his life in 'Azimabad Patna, where he was famous as a scholar and poet. He left a *Divān* of verses.

'Arif Lahori, Khair ullah (d. unknown) lived in Lahore and was acknowledged as a poet in the reign of Aurangzeb. Among his literary friends were Sālik Qazwini and Himmat Khan, the latter was the governor of Allahabad, and had invited 'Arif to live with him. 'Arif composed a *masnawī*, praising the virtues of Mas'ūd, son of Sultān Mahmūd, as a hero of history and named it: *Mas'ūd-nāmāh*, 1118/1707.

'Arshi Akbarabadi, Mir Muhammad Mu'min (d. 1091/1681) was the son of Mir 'Abd ullah *Mushkin-qalam*, the great calligraphist of Shah Jahān's reign. Sulaiman Shikoh, son of Dara Shikoh, and other princes of the royal family, were his pupils in the art of calligraphy. He lived like a sufi in Agra and survived till the advanced age of ninety. Essentially a poet, he drew inspiration from Shaikh Sa'dī's *Gulistan*, and attempted a book on the same pattern, naming it: *Shakkaristan*, 1031/1621.

'Aziz, 'Aziz ullah (d. unknown) lived in 'Azimabad Patna, and was the son of Mulla Mubārak, the tutor of Aurangzeb's daughter, Zeb-un-Nisa. 'Aziz possessed serious scholarship, but his contemporaries acknowledged him as a poet.

Bayān, Mirza Mahdi (d. 1100/1688) was a poet and nephew of Talib-i-Amūli, the poet-laureate of Jahangir. He arrived in the reign of Aurangzeb and passed his life in the Deccan. Bayān left a *Divān* of verses.

Bayāni (d. unknown) belonged to the Deccan and lived during the days of Aurangzeb. He picked up an old and popular tale of two legendary lovers: Mahyār and Chanderbadan, and rendered it into Persian. Oddly enough, the poet used two metres, *Hazaj* and *Mutaqarib*, in that *masnawī*. It appeared as: *Ishq-namah*, 1105/1693.

Bāzil, Mirza Muhammad Rafi' (d. 1124/1712) was a poet in the period of Aurangzeb. His father and uncle emigrated from Mashhad in Shāh Jahān's reign and held high positions in the Mughal government. Bāzil himself was a trusted servant of Aurangzeb, who appointed him governor of Gwalior and Bareilly in succession. His contribution as a poet was a *masnawī*, lengthy poem in epic metre, narrating the life and achievements of the Prophet. It covered the period between Revelation = *bi'sat*, and death. For borrowing details, the poet utilized the *Ma'arīj un-Nabuwah* of Mu'in ud-Din Farahāni (d. 907/1501). His intended project was to bring the poem down to the days of 'Alī, which remained incomplete as Bāzil died. He composed forty thousand verses. The topic being appealing, other poets picked up the thread and carried their own continuations under different titles. Bāzil's proposed name of the poem was: *Hamlah-i-Haidari*. Also, he prepared a collection of letters: *Munsha'at-i-Bāzil*.

Bedil, Chanderman (d. unknown) lived as a poet in the reign of Aurangzeb. He prepared a prose version of the *Ramāyan*, the great Indian epic and one of the major classics of Hindu philosophy, narrating the story of Rām, popular god of the Hindus. The project was accomplished in 1097/1685. Later on, Bedil gave poetic garb to his favourite work by dividing it into six sections. The first five were narrated in *Hazaj* metre whereas the sixth and last came out in *Mutaqarib*. He dedicated the versified *Ramāyan* to Arangzeb, adding verses in praise of the emperor's religious habits. Its title, announced in a chronogram, was: *Nargisitan-i-Ram*, completed in 1104/1692.

Bekhwūd, Mulla Jāmi (d. 1084/1673) lived in Lahore and enjoyed the patronage of Nāmdār Khan, whose father, Ja'far Khan, was the *wazir* of Aurangzeb. He had friendly relations with Mirza Afzal Sar-khwush, the author of *Kalimat ush-Shu'ara*, who praised Bekhwūd for his skill in

composing chronograms. He left a *Diwān* of verses and an interesting *masnawī*, entitled *Husn wa Dil*.

Binish Kashmiri (d. unknown) enjoyed the patronage of 'Inayat Khan Ashna, a noble during the reign of Aurangzeb, whom the emperor granted retirement from active service and he settled in Kashmir. Binish composed a number of *masnawīs* in praise of the beauty-spots situated in his hometown. Mirza Afzal Sar-khwush picked up for his *tazkirah* two verses as specimens from his *Diwān*. The titles of his *masnawīs* were 1. *Binish-i-absār*, 2. *Ganj-i-rawān*, 3. *Guldastah*, 4. *Shur-i-Khayāl*, 5. *Rishtah-i-gauhar*, and 6. *Jawahir Khanah*.

Chanābi (d. unknown) belonged to the town of Gujranwala, Punjab, where he was known for his poetry and successful profession of medicine. His father, Hakim Derwish, was also a physician, whom Shah Jahān honoured by conferring land-grant. Chanabi's span of life coincided, more or less, with the reign of Aurangzeb. He depicted the popular love tale of his area, *Hir wa Ranjha*, in *masnawī*, using the familiar derivative of *Hazaj* metre, and named it: *'Ishqiyah-i-Punjab*, 1110/1698.

Fanā'i Kashmiri (d. unknown) lived as a poet in the reign of Aurangzeb and was the disciple of a sufi, Shaikh Luqmān b. Shaikh 'Usmān. He composed a *masnawī* in praise of prophets and kings. The work contained the account of his spiritual guide, Shaikh Luqmān, and praise of the emperor, Aurangzeb. Its title was: *Jahan-namah*.

Fardi, Mirza Barkhwurdār Beg (d. 1119/1707) lived in Ahmadabad, and served under Prince Muhammad A'zam, the son of Aurangzeb, who held the governorship of Gujrat during his father's reign. Fardi was the disciple of Mirza Bedil and notorious for writing satires.

Fikrat, Mir Ghiyās ud-Din Mansūr (d. unknown) came from Iran in the reign of Aurangzeb and obtained rank and service. His appealing style as a poet soon made him popular among the literary men of Delhi. Sar-khwush, the author of *Kalimat us-Shu'ara*, praised Fikrat's pleasing manners and mentioned him as one of his friends. Fikrat's *Diwān* was popular among his contemporaries.

Fitrat, Musawi Khān, Mir Mu'izz ud-Din (d. 1101/1689) was a scholar and civil dignitary in the reign of Shāh Jahān and continued to hold important positions under Aurangzeb. Interested chiefly in reading and writing, he sought retirement from official career and settled in Delhi, where his house was the meeting place of all types of enlightened spirits, particularly, poets and young students. Fitrat left a *Diwān* of verses. Also, he prepared a book of verses and presented it to Aurangzeb's favourite eunuch, Bakhtawar Khan. It was entitled: *Gulshan-i-Fitrat*. His another surviving work was a collection of prose pieces: *Mansūrāt-i-Fitrat*.

Ghāfil Mazandarani, Muhammad Ismā'il (d. unknown) served on the imperial staff of Aurangzeb and held the rank of secretary. He was a calligraphist, an accomplishment in which the emperor was keenly interested himself. Making copies of the Qur'an was not a pastime for Aurangzeb; it was his source of livelihood, and therefore, serious occupation. The emperor and his secretary inspired each other by their skill, but there was obvious gap between labour and genius. Aurangzeb had in his collection a rare copy of the Qur'an written by Yāqūt, a great master of the art of calligraphy (d. 656/1258). Ghāfil successfully restored some of its pages that had been destroyed and no calligraphic expert, not even the emperor, could be able to discern the imitation from the original. Ghāfil was a successful poet and his contemporaries acknowledged him as a man of literary abilities. Sar-khwush, the author of *Tazkirah*, who compiled his work about four years before the death of Aurangzeb, wrote with a bitter feeling that Ghāfil's unworthy son wasted away his father's *Diwān* of verses.²⁷

Ghālib, Muhammad Sa'id Quraishi (d. unknown) belonged to 'Azimabad Patna, and lived in the company of 'Aqil Khan Rāzi in Delhi. He wrote brief commentaries on the classical works concerning philosophical and religious subjects, numbering about fifty. Also, he was acknowledged as poet of Aurangzeb's reign.

Ghanimat, Muhammad Akram (d. 1110/1698) was a poet of Punjab. His place of birth was Kunjah, a small town near Lahore. His teacher in poetry was Muhammad Zamān Rāsikh. He was motivated by

the romance of a spoiled youth, Mirza 'Aziz, whose father was the faujdar of Siyalkot, to compose a *masnawi* entitled *Nairang-i-'ishq*. 'Aziz fell in love with a boy, Shahid, whose profession was singing and dancing, and requested his poet friend, Ghanimat, to narrate the affair in verse. The number of couplets in *Nairang-i-'ishq* conformed to the numeral value of Ghanimat - 1500. Its year of completion was 1096/1684.

Ghulām 'Ali b. Muhammad 'Ali (d. 1128/1716) belonged to the Deccan and served under Aurangzeb, who appointed him chief of a fortress. He was the elder brother of Nawwāb Sa'adat ullah Khan, the governor of Carnatic under Aurangzeb and his successors, whom Nizām ul-Mulk 'Asaf Jah retained as such in his position. Encouraged by his friend, Muhammad Reza, Qizilbāsh Khan, Ghulām 'Ali composed an ethical *masnawi*, much of its portion devoted to the praise of the Prophet and 'Ali. Corresponding to the numerical value borne out by the letters of 'Ali, the poem was spread over one hundred and ten sections - *Lam'at*. In a section, the author described the history of his ancestors, the Arabs, who sailed to India and settled along the South-Western Coast as Nawa'it. Its title was *Lam'at ut-Tahirin*, 1108/1696.

Girāmi, Mirza 'Abd ur-Rahman (d. 1124/1712) was the son of Mirza Mirak Mu'in, a noble of Aurangzeb, whom the emperor honoured with the title of Amānat Khan. His own title was Wizārat Khan and he served as Diwān = chief revenue officer, of the province of Malwah. There was a special touch of elegance in Girāmi's verses and all his contemporaries, Khwushgu in particular, praised him as a poet. His *Diwan* contained about six thousand verses.

Govind Singh, Guru (d. 1120/1708) was the tenth and last *guru* = spiritual guide, of the Sikhs, who gave ultimate shape to the social structure of his people and pitched the community on abiding ground. The founder of the Sect, Nānak Shāh (d. 945/1538) was closer to Muslim pantheistic sufis in his thinking and preaching. Prior to Govind Singh, the creed of his followers was easily taken as an offshoot of sufism. By the same logic, Thomas Patrich Hughes found it reasonable to accomodate 'Sikhism' in his *Dictionary of Islam*. Historical situation being otherwise, Guru Govind Singh swayed the Sikhs away from their original position.

Personally, he was a staunch devotee of the Hindu goddess, Durga. He allowed Hindu influences to dominate freely over their social traditions and rites. From Nānak the messenger of peace, to Govind Singh, the advocate of militancy, Sikhism traversed a long distance and during the course changed its face beyond recognition. A *masnawi* poem, overflowing in diction with the genuine sentiments of a brave hero and born rebel, has been ascribed to his creative genius. Its title was: *Zafar-namah*.

Hairat, Mirza 'Ināyat ullah (d. unknown) came from Bukhara and was raised to the rank of a noble at the court of Aurangzeb. Later on, Shāh, 'Alam Bahādur Shāh further enhanced his position and conferred on him the title of 'Qaswar Khan. He was a scholar and poet with inclination towards sufism. One of his friends, Fakhr ud-Din Ahmad, collected his *Diwan* of verses in Hairat's own lifetime.

Haqiri, Rūz-bihān (d. unknown) came from Kashān, Iran, and earned his living by soldierly profession. He fought under Mir Jumla in the war of succession among the sons of Shāh Jahān and composed a *masnawi* narrating the whole events and ultimate victory of Aurangzeb, *Aurang-namah*. Another *masnawi*, of didactic nature was: *Nusrat ul-Murtaza*, 1075/1661.

Hāshim, Muhammad Hāshim (d. unknown) was father-in-law of Mirza Afzal Sar-khwush, the author of *Kalimat ush-Shu'ara* (1120/1708). He has been mentioned as an expert calligraphist and a poet. His special field was quatrain.

Hifzi, Hifzullah Khan (d. 1112/1700) was the son of Shāh Jahān's great prime minister, Sa'd ullah Khan. He served as governor of Thattah, Sind, in the reign of Aurangzeb. A contemporary of Nāsir 'Ali, the latter's influences were evident on his poetry. He left a *Diwan*.

Husāmi, Shaikh Husām ud-Din (1115/1703) served as a soldier in the army of Aurangzeb and was a minor poet. He has been remembered chiefly for being the father of an illustrious literary man, Khān-i-Arzu. He attempted to versify, but left incomplete, the popular love tale of India: *Kamrūp wa Kāmlata*.

I'jāz, Muhammad Sa'id (d. 1117/1705) belonged to Agra and was instructed in the art of poetry by 'Izzat, Shaikh 'Abd ul-Aziz. He emigrated to Delhi, where Mirza Bedil and Nāsir 'Ali acknowledged his literary merits. The last phase of his life passed in Multan, the governor of that province being his patron. Khwushgu possessed a copy of his *Diwan* and quoted selected verses from it in the anthology: *Safinah*.

Ilqa, Miyān Sādiq (d. unknown) was a scholar and poet and resided in Delhi, outside Shāhjahānabād, during the days of Aurangzeb. In later life he turned into a *majzūb*, that is, drawn away from the world of external senses, and lived the life of complete resignation and poverty. He imparted lessons from Shaikh Nizāmī's *Makhzan-i-asrar* during the reign of Shāh 'Alam Bahadūr Shāh (d. 1124/1712). Khwushgu, the author of *Safinah*, has claimed to be one of his disciples. Ilqa wrote a book in old age explaining the delicate points of sufistic discipline, which, sadly enough, a ruffian stole away from his cottage. Its title was *Char-kaifiyat*.

Ima, Saiyed Hasan (d. 1119/1707) was a poet of Bilgrām living in the time of Aurangzeb and was recognized for possessing mature scholarship. His elder brother, 'Abd ul-Wāhid Zauqi, survived longer. Death closed Ima's literary career in young age. His *Diwan* acquired popularity among contemporaries.

Istaghna, 'Abd ur-Rasūl (d. 1082/1671) belonged to Kashmir and served in succession under Prince Shūjā' and Prince Akbar, the brother and son of Aurangzeb respectively. He was popular among the poets of Delhi, but retired to his homeland in old age. The literary men of Kashmir acknowledged his abilities and studied his *Diwan* of verses with eagerness. The *Diwan* has survived.

Jūnūn, Khwajah Abu'l Fath Khān (d. 1124/1712) belonged to Kashmir and held the post of chief revenue officer = *Diwan*, under Aurangzeb and his successor, Shāh 'Alam Bahadūr Shāh I. He was posted in succession at Gorakhpur, Lucknow and 'Azimabād, where he died in Farrukh Siyār's reign. According to his will, his body was transferred from Patna 'Azimabād to Gorakhpur for burial. Jūnūn was well known as a poet and left a *Diwan* of verses.

Jānūnī (d. unknown) lived as a poet in the reign of Aurangzeb and witnessed the Mughal army's campaign at Hasan Abdāl, North West Frontier, where operations to correct the mutinous tribes continued for two years. Jānūnī composed a *masnawī* containing over six thousand verses; its title was *Latifah-i-Shauq*, completed in 1100/1688.

Jāya Tabrizi, Mirza Darāb Beg (d. 1118/1706) belonged to an emigrant family from Tabriz and lived in Kashmir during the time of Aurangzeb. As a young man, he enjoyed the literary company of Mulla Tahir Ghani and Mirza Sa'ib, when the latter came to visit his hometown. Poetry being the boon of the family, an unkind satirist ridiculed his father and elder brother by playing upon their names, Sāmri and Guya respectively. In the estimate of critics, Jāya has been accepted as next to Ghani among the leading poets of Kashmir. His *Diwan* of verses is available.

Khāksār, Shukr ullah Khān (d. 1112/1700) was son-in-law of 'Aqil Khan Rāzī, the famous noble of Aurangzeb's reign, and held important position in Mughal government. In poetry he was the disciple, and after Rāzī's death, permanent supporter, of Mirza Bedil. His concise *Diwan* and a commentary on Rūmī's *masnawī* have survived.

Madhūsh (d. unknown) was younger brother of the famous poet, Mir Jalāl ud-Dīn Siyādat, and lived in Lahore during the later days of Aurangzeb. He left a *Diwan* of verses.

Mā'il, Mirza Qutb ud-Din (d. 1108/1696) was a resident of Delhi. His father belonged to the old nobility of the times of Aurangzeb. Both he and his elder brother, Mirza Nizām ud-Din Nawazish Khan, possessed titles and ranks. His teacher in the art of poetry was Musawī Khan Fitret. And, Shūhrat, Hakim Husain, adjudged him as the most accomplished among his literary companions. Mā'il left a *masnawī*, a *Saqi-namah*, and a *Diwan*.

Mufid Balkhi, Mulla (d. 1090/1679) was an emigrant from Balkh, modern Afghanistan. He lived in the city of Multan, but the fame of his verses crossed as far away as Agra and the Deccan. Mirza Afzal Sar-

khwush was one of his contemporaries, who acknowledged his talents and mourned his death in a chronogram. Sar-khwush and Khan-i-Arzu made selections from Mufid's *Diwān*.

Muhammad 'Abid (d. unknown) was a sufi-scholar living in the time of Aurangzeb. Like most of the men of his class, he exercised his genius in the field of poetry and also, wrote a commentary on Rumi's *Masnawi*. According to his claim, all the earlier commentaries were utilized by him during the course of pursuing his project. The title of his work was *al-Mughanni*, 1100/1689.

Muhaqqar, Shaikh Muhammad Afzal (d. 1114/1702) lived in Allahabad as a pious sufi and was the spiritual successor = *khalifah*, of Mir Saiyed Muhammad of Kālpī. His place of birth, where he passed early life, was a village, Saiyedpur, between Zamāniyah and Ghāzipur. The circle of his devotees was quite large and he was respected for his scholarship and unworldliness. Also, he composed charming verses and left a *Diwān*.

Muhtaram (d. unknown) lived as a poet in the reign of Shāh Jahan and survived till the time of Aurangzeb. He left a *Diwān* of verses.

Munsif, Khwajah Baba, Fazil Khān (d. 1128/1715) belonged to a Saiyed family of Samargand and arrived in India during the reign of Aurangzeb, who acknowledged his scholarship by conferring on him the title mentioned above. After Aurangzeb's death, he survived many years and passed his old age in Lahore where 'Abd us-Samad Khan, the the governor of Punjab, treated him with kindness. Munsif's *Diwān* of verses has survived.

Nasih, Mirza Gharib (d. unknown) was a poet in the reign of Aurangzeb. His *Diwān*, mostly containing *ghazals*, has survived.

Nusratī, Shāh Nasr ullah alias Ghulām Ahmad (d. unknown) belonged to Rohtak, a town situated in the north of Delhi, and passed his long span of life as a free wandering Derwish during the reign of Aurangzeb. He composed a versified account of various spiritual orders and their leaders, who had been active in the sub-continent. The curious rubric, given to each chapter, was *Jamān* = madness. There were lengthy

discussions explaining the ideas of Ibn 'Arabi. The title of the poem, containing about five thousand verses, was *Jānān ul-Majānīn*, completed in 1109/1697.

Rāsikh, Mir Muhammad Zamān (1107/1695) belonged to Sirhind and was a leading poet in the reign of Shāh 'Alam Bahādur Shāh (d. 1124/1712). Earlier he was in the service of Prince A'zam, when the prince served as governor of Gujrat under his father. The literary tradition continued in the family, and his son, Wajdān, devoted himself to poetry with equal seriousness. Rāsikh's contributions were a *Diwan* of verses and a *masnawi*, entitled *Dad wa faryad*.

Reza, Jalāl Maqsūd-i-'Alam (d. 1057/1674) was a sufi of Ahmadabad, Gujrat, and son of the more celebrated sufi and scholar, Saiyed Muhammad Maqbūl-i-'Alam. He composed sufistic poetry in Persian as well as the local dialect, Gujrati. Aurangzeb appointed him *Sadr* = head of religious endowments, of the empire after Musāwi Khan retired from service, 1052/1642. Reza's *Diwan*, has survived.

Sa'ādat (d. unknown) was a poet of Kashmir during the time of Aurangzeb. He composed a versified history of his native land and named it *Sulaimān-Bāgh*, completed in 1094/1683.

Sābiq, Rafi' ud-Din Husain (d. unknown) was a poet of the time of Aurangzeb. He came from Iran and settled in Lahore. His *Diwan* of verses has survived, 1103/1691.

Salim, Hāji Aslam (d. 1119/1707) belonged to Kashmir and made significant contribution as a poet. Born of Hindu parents, he embraced Islam under the influence of Mulla Muhsin Fani, famous for his piety and scholarship. He entered the service of Prince A'zam, the second son of Aurangzeb, and passed many years in Ahmadabad, Gujrat, where the prince was posted as provincial governor. As the Prince shifted to the Deccan, Salim came to Delhi and made a brief stay in the company of Mirza Bedil, who was an admirer of his poetry. In old age he returned to Kashmir where he enjoyed the leisure of reading and writing in peaceful retirement. He left a *Diwan* of verses,

Saqim, 'Abd ul-Ghafar (d. unknown) was a poet and scholar employed in the establishment of Princess Zeb-un-Nisa, eldest daughter of Aurangzeb. He was the author of two lengthy poems: 1. an Egyptian prince, Badi' ul-Jamal, fell in love with the daughter of the emperor of China. Their adventures provided material for *Dastan-Badi' ul-Jamal*, And, 2. 'Abd ul-Hamid Kalanauri's poem, *Ismat-Namah*, based on the love tale of ancient Indian, gained popularity ever since it appeared during the time of Jahangir. At the instance of the princess, Saqim prepared an independent version of the same, under the title: *Zeb-i-'Ismat*.

Shauqi, Lala Mal Rai (d. 1119/1707) served as secretary to the governors of Punjab and held other miscellaneous positions during the reign of Aurangzeb. Gifted with keen observation and an ideal poet's independent character, Shauqi made interesting comments in his small topical poem about general human conditions obtaining in his province. Once the *kotwal* = police chief, of Lahore suspended him on fictitious charges of misconduct, and he boldly hit back in his sarcastic quatrains: "Shauqi did not go to salute the *Kotwal* every day like mean sycophants of the city. And secondly, the fanatic *Kotwal* could not tolerate that the Muslims should bow their heads and pay obeisance to a Hindu. So, he gave Shauqi's job to a neo-convert, Dindar Khan". Actually, he renounced worldly career after the death of his patron, Hifz-ullah Khan, and declined the repeated offers of service. His son, Jot Prakash, prepared a collection of Shauqi's poems and letters under the title: *Guldastah-i-Sukhan*.

Shuhad, Mir Abu'l Makarim (d. 1073/1662) lived in the city of Thatta, Sind, and was a well known poet of his province during the reign of Aurangzeb. He was lover of books and spent most of his life in the leisure of reading. He left a *Diwan* of verses and two *masnawis*; 1. *Pari Khanah-i-Sulaiman*, and 2. *Saif ul-Muluk wa Badi' ul-Jamal*.

Siyadat, Mir Jamal ud-Din (d. 1100/1688) lived in Lahore and was well known among his contemporaries as a poet. His period of active life coincided, more or less, with the reign of Aurangzeb; but he never went out of his home town and died there in a sufi's contentment leaving a concise *Diwan* of verses.

Surāri, Sikandar (d. unknown) was a sufi poet of Aurangzeb's time. His *Diwān* of verses appeared with an introduction written by Muhammad Sāqī Musta'id Khan, the noble and historian, in the year 1114/1702.

Taslim, Muhammad Hashim (d. unknown) came from Shiraz in the reign of Aurangzeb and passed many years in the Deccan, where the emperor and his nobles were engaged in endless campaigns. He composed a *masnawi* depicting Aurangzeb's initial success against the Marathas. In his verses, he imitated the style of Jalāl Asir and Mirza Sa'ib. His *Diwān* has survived.

Zul Qadr, Mirza Muhsin (d. unknown) was a Turk by race; initially, he enlisted himself as professional soldier under Prince Shujā', son of Shah Jahān. Both he and Mirza Bedil were life-long friends. Khwushgu, the author of *Safinah*, saw him at Bedil's house, when he was an old man of about ninety years having lost his hearing. His death occurred in the reign of Farrukh Siyār. As poet, he possessed original style and there was an unfailing appeal in his verses, which impressed Bedil and all his contemporaries. Like many scholars of the time, he served in the establishment of Zeb un-Nisa, daughter of 'Alamgir, and a few of his letters addressed to the princess have survived.

Zeb un-Nisa (d. 1113/1701) was the eldest daughter of 'Alamgir Aurangzeb, who, in spite of his proverbial dry nature, had almost a King Lear-like tenderness towards his daughter. He saw to it that Zeb un-Nisa should receive excellent education, and the study of various courses continued till the princess was well over twenty-two years of age. The choice of teachers to whose influence Zeb un-Nisa was exposed: Mulla Muhibb ullah Bihārī, a Sunni jurist, and Mulla Ashraf Mazandrāni, from the family of the leading Shi'ah theologians of Iran, reflected the emperor's typical attitude of mind. In politics, so much unrelenting against his sufi and Shi'ah brothers, Aurangzeb was entirely liberal in matters of religion. He allowed his daughter free option to develop her own religious opinions. The Mughal imperial etiquette, formed under polygamous compulsions, did not allow the privilege of 'first lady' to the queen; it was passed on to the eldest daughter of the emperor. Jahangir's spouse, Nūr

Jahan Begum, being an exception, the rule was scrupulously observed both by Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb. Jahan Ara's brothers and nobles of the empire respectfully addressed her as 'Begum Saheb'. She presided over the ceremonies held inside the palace, offered counsels to her brothers, made last moment effort to avert the war of succession amongst them, and finally, shared the misery of imprisonment with her father. In like manner, Zeb un-Nisa, instructed by distinguished scholars of her age, the above mentioned Shaikh Muhibb ullah Bihari and Mulla Ashraf Mazandrani, the one serious and the other vivacious, played her destined role with remarkable grace and patience in different situations of life. Her love towards her brother and the sincere desire to restrain him from going off the track, landed her into serious trouble. Prince Akbar revolted against his father and she did not stop remonstrating him through letters, of course, secretly. As was natural, the correspondence was intercepted and she was imprisoned by the emperor's orders in the fortress of Salimgarh, 1091/1680. Aurangzeb, accustomed to ruthless discipline, could hardly tolerate such breach of conduct. Nor would he appreciate the sacrificing motive of a young woman in sister's position. An antithesis of her father, so far as the complexities of Mughal politics were concerned, and pitifully blank in the art of palace intrigues, which was the favourite pastime of so many royal ladies, Zeb un-Nisa's innocent and transparent character induced Aurangzeb to relent, at last. He set her at liberty after some time, 1094/1683. That year brought two incidents in its wake. The emperor's prime minister, Ruh ullah Khan, lost his mother. Zeb un-Nisa visited the prime minister's house to express condolences on her own behalf and on behalf of her father. And, another and happier incident was the marriage of her youngest brother Kam Bakhsh. All wedding ceremonies from the bridegroom's side took place in Zeb un-Nisa's palace and she became the centre of jubilations in spite of her shy and retiring habits. Although her sisters accompanied their father in his fateful march to the Deccan, 1090/1679, Zeb un-Nisa preferred to stay back in the capital. Of her most precious belongings, she had a personal library in the palace, where her fixed routine of reading consumed life's days and nights. Another reason, which convinced the emperor to leave her in Delhi, was the large circle of scholars engaged in different learned projects at her instance. She disbursed their salaries from her own privy-purse and

took keen interest in the progress of their works. That she possessed polished mind and was able to compose poetry, has been confessed by all writers, but the existence of her *Diwan* of verses under the pen-name 'Makhfi', hitherto lacked authentic evidence, and shall always be a challenge for future researchers. Once the publication of a collection of verses from Nawal Kishore Press under the title, *Diwan-i-Makhfi*, raised many questions and doubts. Among the male and female members of Babur's family there was a commonly shared capacity for attaining artistic elegance, but prior to poetry it was calligraphy in which all of them, save Akbar, remarkably excelled. And, in Zeb-un-Nisa's calligraphic specimens there was a beauty which only her father, the laborious writer of the Qur'an, could exhibit after deliberate exercise. The India of Mughals irresistibly attracted the attention of post-renaissance Europeans, and its bazars thronged with men of every description from beyond the Mediterranean: traders, travellers, and free-lance adventurers, who roamed with eyes and ears wide open to inform themselves about everything odious. For, the East was "mysterious" and its institutions "barbarous". With frankly dehumanized attitude, it was not surprising if scandals concerning lives of Mughal ladies found free entry into their writings. Nor could Zeb-un-Nisa be an exception. A sordid episode of her romance with 'Aqil Khan Razi and his death inside a hot cauldron with burning fire under it, gained wider currency and was eagerly picked up by the vulgar populace. Nothing could be more absurd. 'Aqil Khan lived long as imperial servant and died a natural death. It was too late when a modern historian took stock of facts and data and wrote his vehement denunciation (Jadu Nath Sarkar: *History of Aurangzeb*, Vol. III, P. 61), for, the damage to Zeb-un-Nisa's personality had been already done. Conclusively, it must give ample satisfaction, that if she did not leave an independent *Diwan* of verses or a work of her own, she supported so many poets and men of letters including the authors of *Zeb-ul-munsha'at*, *Zeb-ut-tafasir*, and *Zeb-i-'ismat*, etc.

CHAPTER 9

The Deccan

By the end of ninth century Hijrah = fifteenth A.D., the Bahmani kingdom of the Deccan showed clear signs of exhaustion. So, its crafty and quarrelsome nobles partitioned it into five independent territories: 1. Ahmadnagar, 2. Bijapur, 3. Golconda, 4. Bidar and 5. Berâr. In course of time, according to biological principle of big fish eating small fish, the two last-named (4 and 5) were swallowed by Bijapur and Ahmadnagar respectively. That was the state of affairs, that is, three sovereign powers exercised their sway over the Deccan when the Mughals emerged on the scene of North India: precisely, when Akbar inaugurated his reign. Oddly enough, the Deccan rulers seemed to have an irresistible fondness for tumult and dissensions. In their habits jealousy suppressed all rational feelings. Instead of maintaining mutual good will, fighting against each other was their chief pleasure. Treaties were easily violated and armies always stood in readiness for surprise attack. War could start without ultimatum and peace could be restored like sudden change of weather by one of the parties offering his daughter in marriage to the adversary's son. Soldiers readily lined up in wedding procession. In short, till the dynasties survived, hooliganism prevailed as an accepted political practice at the highest level. The first Kingdom, which was struck out by the Mughal imperial policy was Ahmadnagar. The annexation of the remaining two was left to be completed by Aurangzeb. Initially, the Vijaynagar Kingdom

also existed and exercised decisive authority, but could not withstand the consortium of Deccan Kingdoms. It disappeared in 972/1564. About the Marathas, the policy of the actors on the Deccan theatre took a queer turn. All the powers, including Aurangzeb, made it their rule to use them against each other from time to time. Naturally, they went on growing in strength and importance day by day.

Ahmadnagar

From Malik Ahmad, founder of the dynasty of Nizām Shāhs (896/149) the Kingdom lasted to a period of about one century and three decades.* The most noble personage of Ahmadnagar was queen Chand, widow of 'Adil Shah whom her subjects lovingly called Chānd Bibi. She impressed her talents for leadership by making a fierce and stout defence of her father's capital against the first onslaught of the Mughal armies. Next time, she advised honourable treaty with the imperial authority. Death was the reward of that sane advice deemed as betrayal. For, she was killed by the infuriated mob of ruffians, whom a desperate noble, Hamid Khan had gathered from the streets, 1008/1599. The capital succumbed, but resistance continued to be maintained under the command of a faithful Abyssinian Servant, Malik Amber. He shifted the headquarters to Kirki = Daulatabad. Only after his death at an age of eighty was the Kingdom merged into the empire by the Mughals, 1036/1626.

Quantitatively, the share of Ahmadnagar to the promotion of Persian literature may be small, but as regards quality, it is quite significant. The Nizām Shāhi Kings earned distinction of patronizing some of the most distinguished scholars of the Deccan history.

'Abd un-Nabi Shattāri (d. unknown) was the disciple of Shaikh 'Abd ullah Shattāri and lived in Burhānpur. He was a devoted student and wrote commentaries on a number of philosophical and juristic works, besides his

* The Nizām Shāhs: 1. Ahmad Nizām Shāh d. 914/1508 2. Burhān d. 961/1553. 3. Husain d. 972/1565. 4. Murtaza d. 996/1588. 5. Miran d. 997/1589. 6. Ismā'il d. 999/1590. 7. Burhān II d. 1003/1594. 8. Ibrāhīm d. 1004/1595. 9. Ahmad II d. 1004/1595. 10. Bahādur d. 1008/1599.

own independent contributions: 1. an account of the early sufi orders, which according to common reckonining, were fourteen in number; *Chahardah Khawadah*, and 2. a monograph on sufi beliefs, *Dastar us-Sa'adat*, ca. 1020/1611.

'Ata ullah Qari (d. unknown) lived at the court of Burhan Nizam Shah, ruler of Ahmadnagar. (d. 1003/1595). He was a scholar of mathematics and wrote a tract on sine quadrants, which he dedicated to his royal master. Its double title was *Rub' ud-Dastur/Rub'-i-mujaiyab-i-afaqi*.

Badr ud-Din, Mir (d. unknown) was a resident of Ahmadnagar, and wrote a small treatise tracing the rise of Shivaji and the activities of his clan: *Shammah-i-az ahwal-i-Maratha Shiwaji Rajah Satara wallah*, ca. 1218/1803.

Fali, Abu Zarr Salmân (d. unknown) was a poet and scholar enjoying the patronage of Burhân Nizâm Shâh, king of Ahmadnagar (914/1508-961/1553). He was the author of a work dealing in legendary manner with the life of Amir Mukhtâr, a supporter of the Prophet's grandson, Husain, and avenger of his blood after the tragedy of Karbala. Fali's narrative was based on an original Arabic source made available by a friend. He retained the same title: *Mukhtar-namah* (Also see Azâd, Mirza M. Sâdiq.)

Ferishtah, Muhammad Qâsim Hindu Shah (d. 1033/1623) was born in Ahmadnagar, where his father, an emigrant from Astrabad, Khurasân, found employment as an official in the government of Nizâm Shâh. He moved in young age to Bijapur and was received with courtesy by Ibrâhim 'Adil Shâh II. At his master's request, he wrote the marvellous history, *Gulshan-i-Ibrahimi*, more popular as *Tarikh-i-Ferishtah*. In general plan, the author confined his attention exclusively to India, and, besides an introduction and epilogue, arranged his material in twelve chapters, *Maqalahs*: 1. the Ghaznawids of Lahore, 2. the Sultans of Delhi, 3. the dynasties of the Deccan in six sub-sections, *Rauzas*: (i) Bahmanis, (ii) 'Adil Shâhs, (iii) Nizâm Shâhs, (iv) Qutb Shâhs, (v) 'Imâd Shâhs, and (vi) Barid Shâhs. Then 4, the kings of Gujrât, 5, Malwah, 6, Burhanpur, 7, Bengal, including the Sharqis of Jaunpur, 8. Sind, Thatta and Multân, 9. the Samangân or feudal lords of Sind, 10. Kashmir, 11. Malabar, and 12, the

Indian saints. Ferishtah supplied most interesting and original information in his account of the Deccan-dynasties, for, he closely observed and often participated himself, in the events that occurred in the area. Before beginning to write, he made laborious reading in order to coordinate in his mind the themes of sub-continental dimensions. And, he narrated the developments with the simplicity and frankness of a literary artist. Also, Ferishtah was an expert physician and wrote a book of popular interest concerning the subject of medicine: *Ikhtiyārāt-i-Qasimī/Tibb-i-Ferishtah/Dastūr ul-Attibā*.

Fūsāni, Afzal Khan Dakani, Mirza 'Ali (d. 1028/1618) came from Qum, the city of learned men in Iran, and stayed for many years in the service of Burhān Nizām Shāh, the king of Ahmadnagar. Failing to resist the military pressure of the Mughals, its ruler, Chand Bibi, surrendered her sovereignty and Afzal Khan accepted Akbar's offer of service, whom the emporor posted to Bengal, the far-flung province. He was a scholar and poet and left a *Diwān* containing more than four thousand verses.

Ismā'il b. Mahmūd Sindhi (d. unknown) lived in Burhanpur, and was spiritual successor = *Khalifah*, of Shaikh 'Isa Jand ullah, the sufi of the Shattari order. He wrote a tract on the practices observed by his order. Its title was *Makhzan-i-Da'wat*, completed in 1037/1627.

Khwūr Shāh b. Qubād Husaini (d. 972/1565) served in the court of Burhān Nizām Shāh I of Ahmadnagar (914/1508-961/1553). His master entrusted him with important diplomatic mission and Khwūr Shah went to the court of Shāh Tahmāsp Safawī of Iran, where he stayed for a considerable period. His death occurred at Golconda, the capital of the Qutb Shāhi Kings. He was the author of a general history on wider plan: its contents covered (i) pre-Islamic Iran intermingled with Semetic legends, (ii) early Islam down to the 'Abbasid caliphate and (iii) regional dynasties emerging after disintegration of the central power of Baghdad. The author collected much revealing information about (iv) The Timurids, (v) the 'White-sheep, and the 'Black-sheep' Turkish dynasties, which dominated in Iran before the Safawis, (vi) first two Safawid monarchs, (vii) their contemporary Ottoman Sultāns and (viii) the Sultāns of India. He was a keen observer of men and events and found ample opportunity for

watching the developments on Iranian scene by virtue of his position as ambassador representing a friendly power. He narrated down to the disintegration of Bahmani kingdom. The book acquired popularity under the arbitrary title as 'History of Nizām Shāh's Ambassador': *Tarikh-i-Ilchi-i-Nizām Shāh*, completed ca. 965/1557.

Mehrbān, Saiyed 'Abd ul-Qādir (d. 1204/1789) was custodian of the Shrine of Shaikh Burhān ud-Din Gharib, the saint who lies buried in Aurangabad, Deccan. In poetry, he was the disciple of Ghulam Ali Azad Bilgrami. Nawwab Muhammad 'Ali Khan Wala Jah of Carnatic invited him to his court, and Mehrbān passed the later years of his life in Madras. He left a *Diwan*, containing about six thousand verses, and a number of tracts dealing with religious, moral, and polemical subjects. Most important were, 1. *Asl ul-Usul*, and 2. *Miftah ul-Ma'arif*.

Muhammad Amin b. Daulat Muhammad Husaini (d. unknown) came from Iran in the reign of Jahangir and obtained employment in the army under Mirza Salih Tabrizi, entitled as 'Sipahdar Khan', the military governor of Ahmadnagar. His book of history, begun as a general enquiry of the past, soon came down to clear statement of contemporary issues facing the Mughal rulers of the North, to which later, and more modern historians gave the appellation "Deccan policy". As an eyewitness, he left interesting information of occurrences throughout the Deccan, particularly, around Ahmadnagar, the military base of the Mughals. Its title was *Anfa' ul-Akhhār* (chronogram 1036/1626).

Muhammad b. Fazl ullah (d. 1029/1620) was a sufi scholar during the time of Jahangir and lived in Burhānpur. He wrote a tract in Arabic, dealing with problems of sufism and theosophy, which one of his disciples, 'Abd ul-Ghafur, translated, with his own comments, in Persian. Its title was *Tuhfah-i-Murasalah* (see 'Abd ul-Ghafur).

Mu'in Sabzwari, Mirak (d. unknown) belonged to a family of scholars and had relationship with Mulla Baqir Damād, the influential theologian of Safawid court. Initially, he arrived in the Deccan as a merchant and was employed in his service by Murtaza Nizām Shāh, ruler of Ahmadnagar. The latter despatched Mu'in Sabzwari to greet

Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah on the occasion of his coronation. Mu'in stayed in Golconda as Nizām Shāhi ambassador and witnessed the foundation of Hyderabad, the new capital of Golconda government. He composed a chronogram on the completion of royal residence and secretariat known as *Dad Mahal/Ilahi Mahal*, 1019/1610.

Rustam Jurijāni (d. unknown) was a physician serving at the court of Burhān Nizām Shāh, ruler of Ahmadnagar, (914/1508-961/1553). His book, which gained the reputation of a standard work on medicine, appeared as *Zakhirah-i-Nizām Shāhi*, completed in 954/1547. Also, he wrote a treatise on sex education in ten chapters: *Asrar un-Nisa*, completed in 961/1554.

Shihab ud-Din (d. unknown) was a scholar of Ahmadnagar and held the position of Qāzi in that city. His life passed during the period when Ahmadnagar kingdom emerged on the scene. He wrote a book on the history of the Deccan and named it *Shihabi*.

Tāhir Dakani, Shāh (d. 952/1545) was a Husaini Saiyed and commanded prestige for his pious character and knowledge of religious sciences. He migrated from Kashān, Iran, and arrived in Ahmadnagar, 928/1522, where he won the confidence of Burhān Nizām Shāh (d. 961/1553, second ruler of Nizām Shāhi line. Shah Tāhir introduced Shi'ah tenets into the Deccan: the first to adopt it was Burhān Nizām Shāh himself. Next, the rulers of Bijapur and Golconda embraced the same faith. By his active participation in public affairs of the Deccan kingdoms, the Shāh led them to stability and progress. He revealed his scholarship as a writer of commentaries on many classical books concerning philosophy, scholastic theology and jurisprudence. Importance has been attached by the historians to his collection of letters: *Munsha'at-i-Shah Tahir*. Among his minor works was the eyewitness account of his patron's conquest of Sholapur, *Fath namah*.

Bijāpūr

The Bijāpūr kingdom lasted about two centuries. Its founder, Yūsuf 'Adil Shāh, declared independence from his Bahmani masters in 895/1489, and

left a line of eight successors, who ruled till 1098/1686.* During his reign Vasco de Gama, the Portuguese navigator, took Goa by surprise, but was driven out. However, Yūsuf 'Adil Shah's successor agreed upon a treaty with the Portuguese and granted possession of Goa to them. Yūsuf 'Adil Shah was highly educated and the tradition of scholarship continued in the family. All the rulers of Bijapur were ardent patrons of poetry, architecture, music and painting. They made their capital "a perfect treasury of artistic buildings". Most talented among them was Ibrahim 'Adil Shah II (d. 1036/1626). He wrote a book on classical music, *Kitabi-i-Nauras*, and built a palace, Nauras Bihisht. The poet, Sanjar Kashani, received from him the camel load of silver for a *qusidah*. Asad Beg, the ambassador of Akbar, has left a very interesting account of the grandeur of Bijapur and richness of its bāzārs during the days of that ruler. His tomb, Ibrahim Roza, is a splendid building, which reflected his taste. Its construction began as Ibrahim ascended the throne and continued for thirty six years. More colossal than the Ibrahim Roza was the tomb of Muhammad 'Adil Shah (d. 1067/1656). Greater perfection regarding the technique of dome-building was employed in it. The structure, commonly called *gol gumbad*, has been acknowledged by some Western experts as "one of the most remarkable buildings in the world". Its completion took ten years. In size and spaciousness the *gol gumbad* is witness to the greatness of the man who sleeps there. The end of Bijapur came in 1098/1686. Its inhabitants, who stood as spectators along the pavements, could not control their grief and wept when they saw Aurangzeb entering their city in state. No sentinels of the Sultān guarded the palace gate. The nobles and chief officers of the kingdom waited to offer their formal submission. Sikander 'Adil Shah, a prisoner in chains, stood humbly in front of the emperor under the roof of his own audience hall.

As regards literature and fine arts, the ruling classes of Bijapur were keenly interested in things of beauty. Equally liberal was their attitude towards men of serious learning. The rulers were discerning judges of

* The 'Adil Shāhs : 1. Yūsuf d. 916/1510. 2. Ismā'il d. 941/1535. 3. Ibrahim d. 965/1558. 4. 'Ali d. 988/1580. 5. Ibrahim II d. 1037/1627. 6. Muhammad d. 1068/1657. 7. 'Ali II d. 1083/1672. 8. Sikandar d. 1097/1686.

every category of genius. Chiefly, the poets of Iran brought the best literary traditions of their country with them. In expression of ideas men like Zuhûri exhibited striking intelligence. It was the age of rare innovations in every field; and poetry offered good scope. Chances of rising to fame were easier; for, competition was not as tough as it was in the Mughal court. Many writers attained great prestige. Luckily, some of the most outstanding works were completed under the patronage of the 'Adil Shâhs.

'Abd ul-Qâdir Husaini (d. unknown) lived at the court of Muhammad 'Adil Shah of Bijapur (1036/1626-1067/1656), and wrote a history of the reign of his patron: *Guldastah-i-Gulshan-i-râz*.

'Abd ur-Rahmân, Sultân (d. 1119/1707) was a Husaini Saiyed and lived as a sufi in Bijapur, where his reputation for saintly qualities attracted many devotees. He discussed matters concerning sufistic training: love of God, renunciation of the world, tolerance and good will towards all mankind, etc. through letters addressed to his son, 'Ali Muhammad Qâdiri. The collection survived under the title: *Nafs-i-Rahmani*.

'Abd ur-Rahmân b. Sâlih Muhammad Fakhri (d. unknown) lived at the court of Ibrahim 'Adil Shah of Bijapur (987/1579-1035/1626) and possessed mastery in astronomy and mathematics. He wrote a number of books: 1. *Ghayat ut-taharri*, on determining the direction of *qiblah*, the turning point for five times' daily prayers; 2. *Risalah dar Usturlab*, a commentary on the well-known *Bist-bab*, written about astrolabe by Nasir ud-Din Tûsi (d. 672/1274); and 3. *Minhaj ut-tahqiq*, translation from the Arabic version of the same *Risalah*. He dedicated them all to his royal patron.

Abu'l Hasan b. Qâzi 'Abd ul-'Aziz (d. unknown) lived at the court of the 'Adil Shâhi Kings of Bijapur and wrote a history of his patrons. Its name was *Tarikh-i-'Adil Shahiyah*, completed ca. 1100/1688.

Ahmad b. Muhammad, Nizâm ud-Din (d. unknown) was a scholar and jurist serving at the court of Ibrahim 'Adil Shâh I (d. 965/1558), ruler of Bijapur, who conferred on Ahmad the title of Nizâm ud-Din and

appointed him chief *qazi* of his kingdom. Shaikh Ahmad Nizām ud-Dīn prepared a compendium of legal decrees after consulting 160 sources and named it after his patron: *Fiqh-i-Ibrāhīm Shāhi*.

‘Ali Muhammad Qādīri (d. 1137/1724) belonged to a sufi family of Bijapur. His father, Shah ‘Abd ur-Rahmān, was a pious and learned man. He moved from his home-town and settled at Arcot, where the local governor, Sa‘adat ullah Khan and the members of his family treated him with respect. ‘Ali Muhammad traced his spiritual connections from Shāh Sibghat ullah of Gujrat (d. 1015/1605). He wrote a book dealing with subjects of particular interest to the sufis: *Tajalliyāt-i-Rahmānī*.

Asad Khān Lārī (d. unknown) came from Lār, South Iran, and found employment at the court of Bijapur. He wrote a history of his patrons, the rulers of ‘Adil Shāhi dynasty and named it *Tarikh-i-haft-kursi*, completed in 1097/1686. (Anonymity of authorship was another view held by modern researchers regarding the above-mentioned book.)

Atishi, Muhammad Hakim (d. unknown) came from Iran and served as personal physician to Muhammad ‘Adil Shah (d. 1068/1657), king of Bijapur. The writers, Fūzānī Astarabadi and Ibrāhīm Zubairi, were his friends and praised his literary qualities. At the instance of his royal patron, Atishi wrote a versified history extolling the king’s achievements during the first five years of his reign. Its title was *‘Adil-nāmah*, completed in 1042/1632.

Ghulām Muhyi ud-Dīn Pirzādah (d. unknown) wrote a history of the ‘Adil Shāhi dynasty of Bijapur. He brought the account to the annexation of Bijapur kingdom by Aurangzeb. The last ruler, Sikandar ‘Adil Shah, as described by the historian, passed helpless life in captivity of the Mughals. The title of the work was *Ahwāl-i-Salātīn-i-Bijapur*, completed in 1111/1699.

Ghulām Murtaza (d. unknown) lived in Bijapur and belonged to learned and pious background. His interest in the history of ‘Adil Shāhi line, their capital being his birth place, motivated him to check the development of events and construct a picture of the past in his mind. He narrated a history of the Deccan kingdoms with special emphasis on the

Bijapur dynasty and named it: *Basatin-i-Salatin*, completed in 1237/1822.

Hāshim Beg Qazwini (d. unknown) lived at the court of Sultan Muhammad 'Adil Shāh of Bijapur and wrote a history of the 'Adil Shāhi dynasty till the reign of his patron. Its title was: *Futuhāt-i-'Adil Shāhi*, 1054/1645.

Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh II (d. 1-37/1627) was the king of Bijapur in whose reign the prestige of his dynasty, particularly, in the realm of culture and art, reached its zenith. He was the author of a book on Indian classical music: *Nauras*.

Ibrāhīm Zubairi (d. unknown) was the author of a history dealing with the kings of the 'Adil Shāhi dynasty of Bijapur. It contained some of the original documents not available elsewhere. Its title was *Basatin-us-Salatin*, completed ca. 1240/1824.

Kamāl ud-Din Ibrāhīm b. Fakhr ud-Din Jahrami (d. unknown) lived under the patronage of Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh I, king of Bijapur, (d. 965/1558). Encouraged by his master, he translated Ibn Hajar-i-Makki's polemical book, asserting the legitimacy of the three orthodox caliphs, *Sawā'iq-i-Muharriqah*. Ibn Hajar (d. 973/1565) expanded his material in ten chapters. Kamāl ud-Din Ibrāhīm named his version *Brahin-i-Qati'*, completed in 994/1585.

Mahmūd Bahri (d. 1130/1718) was a sufi of the Deccan, whom Sikandar 'Adil Shāh, the last king of Bijapur, acknowledged as his spiritual mentor. After the kingdoms of Bijapur and Golconda were annexed by Aurangzeb, he set out on a wandering career, the favourite habit of the sufis. A bi-lingual poet, composing both in Persian and Dakan' Urdu, Mahmūd Bahri wrote a *masnawi* in his mother tongue, its title was *Man-Lagan*. Later on, he rendered its contents, comprising ethical and philosophical discourses, into Persian prose. It appeared as *'Arūs ul 'Irfan*, 1117/1705.

Mahmūd, Shaikh (d. unknown) was a disciple of Shāh Burhān ud-Din Jānum, the sufi scholar of Burhanpur, (d. 990/1582). Shaikh Mahmūd wrote

a sufistic treatise, *Rūyat ul-Haq*.

Malik Qummi, Muhammad Malik (d. 1025/1615) arrived from his hometown, Qum, the seat of religious learning, to seek employment at the court of Burhān Nizām Shāh, king of Ahmadnagar. Thereafter, Ibrahim 'Adil Shāh invited him to Bijapur. Maulana Malik Qummi arranged his daughter's marriage with the poet, Zuhūri. Khan-i-Khānān Abd ur-Rahim also entertained him, and he stayed with that nobleman for some time, enjoying the company of 'Urfi, Naziri and Shakaibi. At the age of about ninety, he died in Bijapur and was buried according to his will beside the tomb of Mir Sanjar. Among his surviving works are: 1. a *Diwan* and 2. a *masnawi* on the model of Nizami's *Makhzan ul-Asrar*. Ibrahim 'Adil Shāh was extremely pleased as the poem was recited in his presence, and rewarded Malik with a camel-load of silver. Its title was: *Nauras-namah*.

Muhammad Ibrāhīm (d. unknown) was a sufi scholar of Bijapur. He wrote a *tazkirah* of the saints who belonged to his hometown, *Rauzat ul-Auliya*, ca. 1310/1892.

Muhammad Makhdūm Qādiri (d. unknown) was the son of Shaikh 'Abd un-Nabī and resided in Bijapur. Both the father and son distinguished themselves for their piety and unworldly lives. Muhammad Makhdūm was the author of many books; important among them were *Jawāmi' ul-Asrar* and *Qadr wa Bast*, completed ca. 1123/1711.

Muhammad Zūhūr (d. unknown) was the son of Zuhūri, the famous emigrant poet, who lived in the Deccan during the days of Ibrahim 'Adil Shāh II. Like his father, Muhammad Zūhūr passed his life at the court of Bijapur and enjoyed the patronage of Muhammad 'Adil Shāh. He wrote an account of the reign of his patron under the title: *Muhammad-namah*, ca. 1068/1657.

Naurasi, 'Abd ul-Qādir (d. unknown) was a poet at the court of Ibrahim 'Adil Shāh II, king of Bijapur (d. 1083/1672), and witnessed the days of his two successors. A sufi by temperament, he had deep attachment with the celebrated saint, Shaikh 'Abd ul-Qādir Jilāni of Baghdad, and was acknowledged as a representative of the Qādiri order in the Deccan. His *Diwan* of verses has survived.

Nāzim Tabrizi, Mulla Muhammad Sādiq (d. unknown) came as a free wanderer from Tabriz, Iran, and stayed for some time at the court of Bijapur. Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh II and his *wazīr*, Shahnawāz Khan Shirazi, welcomed him to the new city, Nauraspur. And, he sang his *qasidah* in praise of the king and the minister in the glittering audience-hall of the palace, *Nauras-bihisht*. Kalim Kashani had accompanied him in his voyage to the Deccan. In India, Nāzim found leisure to complete major portion of his work, a *tarīkh* of poets, on which he laboured for many years. Its title was *Nazm-i-Guzidah*, 1036/1626.

Rafī' ud-Din Ibrāhīm Shirāzi (d. unknown) arrived in the Deccan as a merchant and obtained employment at the 'Adil Shāh's court, Bijapur. He served 'Alī 'Adil Shāh and his successor, Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh II, who entrusted him with high administrative positions. His contributions as a scholar were 1. an abridgment of Mir Khwānd's *Rauzat us-Safa*, 2. a dictionary, *Farhang Namah*, and more noteworthy than two mentioned above, 3. a history of 'Adil Shāhi dynasty with abundant contemporary notices. It was entitled *Tazkirat ul Mūlūk*, completed on 1020/1611.

Salāmi, Muhammad Harūn 'Abd us-Salām (d. unknown) lived as a scholar at the court of Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh II, king of Bijapur (d. 1037/1627) and survived till the reign of his successor, Muhammad 'Adil Shāh (d. 1068/1657). Imitating the great work of Muhammad Auḡī, he wrote a book of anecdotes completed in Bijapur. It appeared under the title: *Majma' ul-Gharā'ib*, 1027/1618.

Sanjar Kashāni, Muhammad Hāshim (d. 1021/1612) was the son of Rafī'i Mir Haidar Mu'amma'i, and lived as a poet at the court of Akbar. Later on, he travelled to Bijapur and passed the rest of his life under the patronage of Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh II, the great lover of music and poetry. The author of *Mai-khanah* informed that before leaving for the Deccan, Sanjar compiled his *Diwān* at Agra. It contained twelve thousand verses.

Shāhi, 'Alī 'Adil Shāh II (d. 1083/1672) was seventh ruler of the dynasty of Bijapur. He was an accomplished poet and composed in Persian as well as primitive Urdu, the Dakani. One of his court servants, Shāh Abu'l Ma'ali, collected his verses, containing specimens of Persian

and Dakani, within the king's life-time. The collection survived as *Kulliyat-i-Shahi*.

Shihāb ud-Din Ahmad (d. unknown) lived as a religious scholar in Bijapur. Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh I, the third ruler of the dynasty, treated him with kindness. He was an adherent of the Hanafi school of law and prepared a legal digest for the uniform guidance of judicial authorities in the realm of his patron. The work was dedicated to the king and appeared as: *Fatawa-i-Ibrahim Shahi*.

Wājūdi, Muhammad Mau'min (d. unknown) was born in Shiraz, the city of scholars, and obtained education in his home-town. As a young man he voyaged from the seaport of Hurmuz and arrived in Bijapur, where Shāh Nawāz Khan, the minister of Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh, offered him hospitality. After some time, he moved to Burhānpur and entered the service of Khān-i-Khanān. That nobleman's generous treatment induced the poet to sing *Qaidahs* on the pattern of early masters.

Zahani, Mir Haidar (d. unknown) lived at the court of Ibrahim 'Adil Shāh II, king of Bijapur (d. 1037/1627), and was a rival of Malik Qummi. As the latter composed his poem *Nauras-namah* following the metre of Shaikh Nizami's *Makhzan-i-Asrar*, and obtained a camel load of silver in reward from his patron, Zahani promptly composed a satire 'O king, excuse me, if I could not compose on the pattern of *Makhzan*. For, killing two thousand verses to get a camel-load of cash would be utter shame.

Zāhūrī, Nūr ud-Din Muhammad (1025/1616) was born at Turshiz, a village in Khurasān, and emigrated in early life to the Deccan. Burhān Nizām Shāh, the ruler of Ahmadnagar, and Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh, whose seat of government was Bijapur, welcomed him and acknowledged his literary accomplishments by bestowing immense rewards. Nizām Shāh sent him the rare gift of an elephant loaded with silver for his long poem, *Sāqi-namah*. Responding to the request of Ibrāhīm 'Adil Shāh, he wrote an introduction to his book, *Nauras*, concerning music. The same piece, famous as *Seh Nasr-i-Zāhūrī*, found entry into the syllabus of Indian *madrasah* education due to its difficult expression full of artificial and florid constructions. Zāhūrī's poetry, mainly *Sāqi-namah*, acquired for

him a permanent place among the men of genius. Both Malik Qummi and Zuhûri jointly composed a book containing nine thousand verses and presented it to Ibrahim 'Adil Shah. Its title was *Gulzar Ibrahim*. His *Diwan* of *ghazals* must have contained more than twenty thousand verses.

Golconda

Quli Qutb Shâh, the founder of the kingdom, remained loyal to the Bahmani house a little longer than other rival nobles in the field. However, he broke the ties in 916/1510. Seven Kings ruled Golconda in succession before the tragedy of its fall, 1100/1688*. At a small distance from the royal residence, Muhammad Qutb Shâh founded the city, Bhâgnagar, to please his mistress, Bhâgmati. That Bhâgnagar assumed the common name, Hyderabad. During the days of Qutb Shâhi rulers, Hyderabad served as a clearing house of merchandise from all parts of the world. Chiefly, it was famous as the emporium of diamonds. Two Iranian emigrants played a very active role in directing the kingdom towards prosperity and peace. Both of them were gifted with excellent administrative capabilities. Ibn Khâtûn 'Amili, the fellow-townsmen of the great scholar, Shaikh Baha ud-Din Amili, served as *Peshwa* = prime minister, of Sultân Muhammad Qutb Shâh. Later on, Rûh ul-Amin, Mir Jumlah, the premier noble, as the title "Lord of All" suggested, commanded great influence and prestige during the days of 'Abd ullah Qutb Shâh. He belonged to Isfahân or its neighbourhood and initially came as a merchant. His success in the trade of diamonds made him a very rich man. Tavernier saw him and has left a detailed account of Mir Jumlah's personal wealth and authority which he exercised in running the government. Possessing a typical merchant's practical sense and lack of moral scruple, Mir Jumlah betrayed his master, the Sultân of Golconda, and transferred his loyalty to Aurangzeb when the latter was viceroy of the Deccan. It is said that Mir Jumlah presented the famous diamond, *Koh-i-Nûr*, to Shah Jahân. Henceforth, he advised Aurangzeb about all crucial situations emerging in the Deccan. The

* The Qutb Shâhs: 1. Sultân Quli Qutb Shâh d. 950/1543. 2. Jamshid d. 957/1550. 3. Ibrahim Quli d. 988/1580. 4. Muhammad Quli d. 1020/1611. 5. Muhammad II d. 1035/1625. 6. 'Abd ullah d. 1084/1672. 7. Abu'l Hasan Tana Shâh d. 1098/1686.

emperor rewarded him by sending as governor of Bengal, where he accomplished the conquest of Assam. His death occurred in 1074/1663.

After annexing Bijapur, Alamgir diverted his sole attention to Golconda. In his view, Sultan Abu'l Hasan Qutb Shah was twice guilty of misconduct. Besides being a heretic himself, a Shi'ah, like other rulers of the Deccan Kingdoms, he had employed two infidels, Madanna and Akanna, as his principal ministers, who controlled the entire administration of his government. The Sultan's mother personally approached Aurangzeb and made tearful entreaties to spare her son. She undertook the payment of annual tribute regularly plus the indemnity. Further, the emperor's name would be pronounced in *Khutba* of Friday prayer from the pulpit of congregation mosques throughout the kingdom. It was complete surrender save mere permission to sit on the *masnad* = throne as Delhi's vassal. A last attempt to mediate was tried by the religious scholars and pious men of Golconda; they waited upon Aurangzeb in joint deputation and warned him of the bloodshed of innocent Muslims. All overtures failed to win his consideration. Left with no hope, the Sultan, his soldiers and the inhabitants defended the fort with exemplary courage. The fighting and sallies from both sides continued day and night for eight toilsome months and the loss of life was enormous. In utter desparateness and as part of his nature, Aurangzeb tried to corrupt the army generals of Golconda. Of the two, 'Abd ur-Razzāq Lārī remained loyal to the last. The other fellow, 'Abd ullah Khan Panni, yielded to the offers of bribe. One night he opened the gate under his charge and the Mughal soldiers poured into the fortress. Treachery did what imperial might failed to accomplish. When the end came in sight, it was the turn of Abu'l Hasan Qutb Shāh to exhibit his qualities of manliness. Strangely enough, people regarded him a youthful lover of luxury; and jokingly called him *Tanā Shāh* implying good for nothing, but he faced misfortune with the resignation of a stoic philosopher and gave the best account of his patience. The emperor's minister, Rūh ullah Khan, came to escort him and present before Aurangzeb. His hands and feet were not tied in chains. Aurangzeb was impressed by his kingly dignity and confined him in the fort of Daulatabād, 1100/1688.

In spirit, the literature produced at Golconda was part and parcel of the contemporary writings, which came out at other centres. However, exceptional instances may be sorted out on closer examination. Thanks to the hospitality showed by the royal patrons, the literary men attached to Golconda secured fame in comparatively easy manner. Receiving camel load of silver may look fantastic; none the less, they were not strangers to such expectation. Usually, men of genius spend their time of the day in creative loneliness. Here, in this city there was better opportunity to enjoy the entertainments of the care-free world. Every Deccan court engaged its writers in socially active routine. But, the question remained to be asked: where they had to invest lesser labour in polishing their first outpourings? At all places recognition and reward were instant; yet there may be a difference of degrees. The circumstances of the foundation of Bhāgnagar, that is, Hyderabad, made it a romantic place for all time. To settle there was a fascinating thought; and the emigrants, mostly from Iran, carried the belief with them that environment had a definite role in reforming the intellect of the literary artist and his work. Luckily, they left unforgettable memory of the life they experienced in Golconda. Their books, dealing with manifold and rich fields of knowledge, attested to the service modestly rendered by them.

‘Abd ul-‘Ali, Hāji (d. unknown) came from Tabriz, Iran, and was employed in the government of Golconda under ‘Abd ullah Qutb Shah (d. 1983/1673) and Abu’l Hasan Tānā Shāh (d. 1098/1687). He prepared a collection containing chiefly the correspondence addressed by the above named kings to Shāh Jahān, Dara Shikoh, Aurangzeb, and other nobles of the Mughal government. Also, it contained an imperial *farman* and other miscellaneous documents. Its title was: *Insha-i-‘Abd ul-‘Ali*.

‘Abd ullah Tabib (d. unknown) served as physician at the court of ‘Abd ullah Qutb Shah, the ruler of Golconda (d. 988/1580), and was the author of a nextbook of medicine, *Tibb-i-Farid*.

Ahmad al-Hindi, Shaikh (d. unknown) came from Jabal-Amil, Syria, the birth-place of the great philosopher and versatile genius, Baha ud-Din Amili (d. 1030/1620). His patron in India was ‘Abd ullah Qutb Shah, king of Golconda (d. 1083/1672), who bestowed on Shaikh Ahmad a position of

honour at his court. Responding to the request of his royal patron, Shaikh Ahmad translated into Persian one of the most interesting books of his fellow-townsmen, retaining the original title and seven chapters as such. It was Shaikh Bahā'ī's *Kashkol*.

Ahmad b. Rukn ud-Din (d. unknown) was a religious scholar living at the court of Abu'l Hasan Qutb Shāh, the last ruler of Golconda (d. 1093/1686). He wrote a tract on *tajwid* = science of recitation of the Holy Qur'an, naming it: *Hilyat ul-qari*, ca. 1083/1672.

'Ali b. 'Aziz ullah Tabataba'i (d. unknown) emigrated from Iran and was offered patronage by Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah, the ruler of Golconda. Then, he shifted to Ahmadnagar and served under Burhān Nizām Shāh. He was the author of a history of the Bahmani dynasty, in which he covered the account of the Nizām Shāhi line down to his own days. Its title was *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*, chronogram giving the date of completion - 1000/1592.

'Ali b. Taifūr Bastāmī (d. unknown) lived at the court of 'Abd ullah Qutb Shāh, the king of Golconda (d. 1085/1672), and mostly devoted himself to the translations from Arabic into Persian. At the suggestion of Shaikh Malik Muhammad Ansāri, a Shi'ah divine of his time, he took up the translation of *'Uyun Akhbār ur-Reza* of Shaikh Saddūq Ibn Babawāih Qummi (d. 381/991). It dealt with the biography of 'Ali b. Mūsā ar-Reza, the eighth Imam of the Shi'ahs. Bastāmī named his translation *Tuhfah-i-Malaki*. His other project of translation was *Tarjumah-i-Makarim ul-Akhlaq*. The original Arabic was written by the Shi'ah scholar, Razi ud-Din Hasan Tabarsi (d. 550/1150). Its subject was the lives of the Prophet and his descendants, the twelve *Imams*. 'Ali b. Taifur's original contribution was a book concerning the principles of good government, which a prince must bear in mind. It was addressed to his patron, 'Abd ullah Qutb Shāh, and was named: *Tuhfah-i-Qutb Shahi*. Another interesting effort by the author was a dictionary of archaic words occurring in the *Shah-namah* of Ferdowsi: *Ganj-namah*. Also, he compiled a *tazkirah* of royal poets: *Hada'iq us-Salatin*, completed ca. 1092/1681.

Burhān, Muhammad Husain b. Khalaf (d. unknown) was a native of Tabriz, Azarbaijan, and came to stay in the Deccan. His patron was 'Abd ullah Qutb Shah, the seventh monarch of the dynasty, whose seat of government was Golconda, Hyderabad. He compiled a dictionary, one of the most popular and comprehensive works of its kind written in Persian, and named it: *Burhān-i-qatī*, completed in 1062/1651.

Fursi, Husain b. Ali (d. unknown) was a poet at the court of Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah, the fourth king of Golconda. He composed a versified chronicle of the dynasty and brought the account to the early years of Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah's reign (988/1580-1020/1611). Its double title was: *Nasab-namah-i-Shahryari/Nasab namah-i-Qutb Shahi*, completed in 1016/1607.

Habib ullah (d. unknown) was a scholar serving at the court of Golconda. He wrote a history of his patron: *Tarikh-i-Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah*, completed in 1027/1617.

Haji Abarquhi (d. unknown) lived as a poet in the capital cities of Deccan kingdoms for thirty years, and composed poetry under the pen-name Haji. Besides frankness, which was the keynote of his personality, it was interesting and colourful enough due to the varied experiences tasted by him throughout life. An offspring of semi-nomadic parents: his father was a Kurd and his mother a girl of the tribe of Lūr, who roamed in Lūristān, the western province of Iran, but, preferred to pass more than one season of the year in Abarquh, a pasture land in the province of Fārs. He passed his childhood in unlucky circumstances. His father died leaving him when he was one year old; and at the age of six he took up the life of a shepherd. From age six to sixteen, as he amusingly related, his only companions were sheep, cows, and asses. In between, the livelihood of the mother and the son was supplemented by wood cutting. A good Mulla imparted elementary instruction to him which proved the best asset in his later life. At the age of thirty, the Haji was journeying across the important trading centres of the country: Yazd, Isfahan, Shiraz, and Kashān, and success in trade had made him a khwājah. It was time to go for pilgrimage to Mecca and Medinah, and like a good Muslim of Shi'ah faith, he also visited Najaf,

Qum, and Mashhad. Life's peaceful and prosperous tenure was abruptly disturbed by a dream one night. For, Hājī Abarquhi was admonished to leave for India; and without losing time the Hājī sailed from Bandar-i-Jurūn, modern Hurmuz, and arrived in the Deccan. He gained access to Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh of Golconda (d. 988/1580), 'Alī 'Adil Shāh of Bijapur (d. 988/1580), and Murtaza Nizām Shāh of Ahmadnagar (d. 996/1588), as there are *qasidahs* in his *Diwān* praising each one of them. The quality of his poetry and his religious strains, for, he composed fervently in praise of the twelve *Imams*, impressed his royal patrons and he enjoyed dignified existence, when an ugly incident made a mess of his career, temporarily at least. In Golconda, he exposed himself to an act of moral impropriety. The report offended the king, who ordered the police chief of the capital to tame the Hājī under *Falak*, a wooden structure in which the legs of the victim were fixed in perpendicular position before flogging on the feet. Furthermore, by the royal commandment, he was expelled out of the realm of Golconda. Oddly enough, all these and other autobiographical details were preserved by Hājī Abarquhi himself in one of his long poems: *Nasab-namah*, and another work: *Nāzir wa manzur*.

Husain Husaini (d. unknown) lived as a scholar at the court of Muhammad Qutb Shāh, king of Golconda (d. 1035/1626) and was the author of a treatise on hunting. He mentioned the category of animals, whose flesh was allowed as food by Muslim law and dedicated the work to his royal patron, naming it: *Lazzat ul-Hawām*.

Ibn Husain b. Jamāl ud-Dīn (d. unknown) was an emigrant scholar from Iran living at the court of 'Abdullah Qutb Shāh (d. 1084/1673), king of Golconda. He wrote a book on seasons and the corresponding atmospheric changes related to them. Its title was: *Lama'at-i-Qutb Shāhi*.

Ibn Khātūn Amili, Shaikh Muhammad (d. 1059/1649) belonged to Jabal-i-Amil, Syria, and was a scholar and administrator, whom Sultān Muhammad Qutb Shāh (d. 1035/1626) of Golconda appointed *Peshwa* = prime minister, of his government. Responding to the request of the king, Ibn Khātūn rendered into Persian the *Kitāb ul-Arba'in*, a work on traditions by his fellow townsman and elder contemporary, Shaikh Bahā'i Amili (d. 1030/1620), the great Shi'ah theologian and versatile genius. Ibn

Khātūn's translation appeared as *Tarjumah-i-Qutb Shahi*, 1029/1619. The rulers of the Deccan Kingdoms evinced deep interest in the study of Shia traditionists. Prior to Shaikh Bahai Amili the important scholars who pursued stupendous researches in the field of traditions were: 1. Abu Ja'far b. Yaqub Kulaini, 2. Shaikh Sadduq, 3. Shaikh Muhammad b. Hasan Tusi, 4. Mulla Mohsin Faiz and 5. Allama Majlisi.

Isma'il b. Ibrāhīm Tabrizi (d. unknown) was an emigrant from Iran and lived as a physician at the court of Abu'l Hasan Qutb Shāh of Golconda. He was the author of a concise anthology of physicians: *Tazkirat ul-Hukama*, completed ca. 1063/1652.

Jāmi, Muhammad Quli (d. unknown) was a physician living at the court of 'Abd ullah Qutb Shāh, king of Golconda (d. 1083/1672). He made a versified translation of *Kūk-Shastra*, a Sanskrit classic, written by Kuka Pandit of Kashmir on sex education, and named his work: *Lazzat un-Nisa*, completed in 1056/1646. According to his statement, he consulted original Sanskrit, for, he knew that language, and discussed the subject with many yogis and wise Hindūs before completing the project. In Kuka's original book, there were 34 chapters. Jami added two more in his version of *Lazzat un-Nisa*.

Karim, Muhammad Kāzīm Husaini (d. unknown) came from Iran and was employed as a poet by 'Abd ullah Qutb Shāh, the king of Golconda. Once his royal patron rewarded him with the gift of an elephant for his *qasidah*. Later on, Karim moved to North India and stayed at the court of Shāh Jahān. He left a *Diwān* of verses and a hand-book containing personal letters. Its title was *Rawaq-i-Shauq*. Also, Karim composed ten *masnawis*, numerically surpassing earlier masters. The collection appeared as *'Ashrah-i-Mubashshirah*.

Kāmi Shirāzi (d. unknown) came from Shiraz and was patronized as a poet by Muhammad Quli Qutb Shāh, king of Golconda, and his nobles, Mir Muhammad Mu'min Astrabadi, Ruh ul-Amin Mir Jumla and Ibn Khātūn etc. in whose praise he composed *qasidahs*, and stayed in Golconda till the days of his successor. Kāmi Shirāzi's *Diwān* of verses and a *masnawi*, *Waqa'i uz-Zaman*, have survived.

Mahmūd b. ‘Abd ullah (d. unknown) belonged to Nishāpur and travelled widely in the cities of Khurasān and Central Asia. Then, he turned westward and went to the holy cities of Mecca and Medinah. He possessed exhaustive information about the Turkmans and wrote a history of the race, *Tārīkh-i-Turkmanīyah*. In the reign of Muhammad Qutb Shāh, he arrived at Golconda and found a job at his court. His work dealing with the history of the Qutb Shāhi dynasty appeared under the title: *Ma’āsir-i-Qutb Shāhi-i-Mahmūdi*, completed in 1033/1624.

Muhammad ‘Ali Jabalrādi (d. unknown) came from Jabalrūd, a village near Isfahān, and found employment at the court of ‘Abd ullah Qutb Shāh, king of Golconda (d. 1083/1672). One day, he was sitting in the house of Ibn Khātūn Amili, a nobleman and dignitary of the kingdom, whose house was the meeting place of scholars. It was mentioned there that a monograph containing salient proverbs of Turkish language became the popular book of the year in Isfahān, and that, its preparation was in response to the desire expressed by the Safawid monarch, Shāh ‘Abbās. Ibn Khātūn Amili encouraged Muhammad ‘Ali to undertake a similar project and bring together the proverbs of Persian. Accordingly, he collected them in alphabetical order. The work has survived under double title: *Majma’ ul-Amsāl / Jāmi’ ut-Tamsil*. Its year of completion was 1054/1644.

Muhammad Hāji Hamadāni (d. unknown) came from Hamadān, Iran, and was employed in his government by Muhammad Qutb Shāh (d. 1035/1626), king of Golconda. Responding to the request of his royal patron, he prepared a Persian version of the famous book of anecdotes *Dastān-i-Amir Hamza*. His translation in prose appeared as *Zubdat ur-Rumiz*.

Muhammad Kāzim Husaini (d. unknown) lived at the court of Muhammad Qutb Shāh, king of Golconda. He prepared from original Sanskrit a versified version of the tale of adventure and romance concerning ancient India’s two lovers: *Kamrūp wa Kamlata*, ca. 1035/1625.

Muhammad Muqīm b. Kamāl ul-Din Husain (d. unknown) was

a scholar living at the court of 'Abd ullah Qutb Shāh, king of Golconda (d. 1083/1672). He wrote a tract explaining popular Muslim beliefs about Resurrection and Judgement, and dedicated it to his master. Its title was: *Risalah dar Tahqiq-i-Ma'ad wa Hashr-i-Ajsād*.

Muhammad Quli Qutb Shāh (d. 1020/1611) was the fourth ruler of Qutb Shāhi line, whose capital was Golconda. His reign has been memorable in history for the high degree of attainment made in the fields of art and culture. He was founder of the city of Hyderabad and erected its buildings, 1004/1595. Popular tradition accredited him as the first authentic poet of Urdu, having left a *Diwan* of verses. Equally accomplished in Persian poetry, he possessed a separate collection. It was later on edited as *Kulliyat-i-Fārsi*.

Muhammad Sharif Najafi (d. unknown) emigrated to the Deccan and served in succession the rulers of Golconda and Bijapur. The latter accredited him as diplomatic representative to the court of the Mughal emperor. He arrived before Jahangir began his grand tour through northern provinces of the empire and accompanied the imperial camp upto Kashmir. He wrote a general history of India including in his arrangement the kings of Delhi, the Deccan, and Kashmir. Its title was *Majālis us-Salatin*, 1038/1628.

Mu'izz ud-Din Ardistāni (d. unknown) served as a subordinate officer under Muhammad ibn Khātūn Amili. The latter, being the son-in-law of the great scholar, Shaikh Baha ud-Din Amili, held the offices of *dabir* = secretary, and then *Peshwa* = prime minister, in the government of 'Abd ullah Qutb Shāh, king of Golconda. At the instance of his patron, Ibn Khātūn, a scholar himself, Mu'izz ud-Din wrote 1. a monograph asserting the legitimacy of 'Ali as direct successor to the Prophet. It was dedicated to the king and named as *Fauz un-Najāt*, and 2. a commentary on Sura LXXVI of the Qur'an (in praise of the Prophet's family): *Tafsir-i-Sura-i-Hal'ata*.

Murād Isfahāni (d. unknown) came to Golconda, in the year 1022/1613, and received the patronage of Sultān Muhammad Qutb Shāh. His chief contribution as a poet was the versified version of *Qissah-i-Amir Hamza*,

the legend so much popular in Islamic literature. A detailed introduction, tracing the origins of the legend and the attempt made by earlier writers in the same field, revealed his literary scholarship. Also, he left interesting observations about the beauty, prosperity, and population of the capital of Qutb Shahi kings. The work appeared under the title *Zubdat ur-Ramāz* (see Muhammad Hājī Hamadani).

Nasirā-i-Hamadāni, Khwajah Nasir ud-Din (d. 1030/1621) was a scholar of many disciplines, particularly, mathematics, music, and poetry. Having arrived from Iran, he initially entered the service of the Mughal emperor, Akbar, at Agra. Later on, he moved to the Deccan, where Muhammad Qutb Shāh, king of Golconda, extended him patronage. Nasirā left a *Diwān* of verses and wrote a tract on prosody, which he dedicated to the above-named patron naming it *La'l-i-Qutbi*. Also his collection of official letters found entry in *madrasah* education: *Munsha'at-i-Nasirā / Ruqqa'at-i-Nasirā*.

Nizām ud-Din Ahmad b. 'Abd ullah Sa'idi (d. unknown) came from Shiraz, to settle in Golconda. At the instance of Muhammad ibn Khātūn Amili, the prime minister, he wrote a history of his patron and contemporary ruler, 'Abd ullah Qutb Shāh (1035/1626-1083/1672), casting light on the achievements of his predecessors. It was entitled as *Hadiqat us-Salatin*.

Nizām ud-Din Ahmad Gilāni (d. unknown) belonged to Gilān, Iran, and passed his early life at the court of the Safawid monarch, Shah Abbas II, at whose instance he wrote a book of general knowledge providing useful information about the horse. Its title was *Mizmar-i-Danish*. Later on, he emigrated to the Deccan, where he was patronized by 'Abd ullah Qutb Shāh, king of Golconda (d. 1084/1672). He revised the above-named book and dedicated the more detailed version, containing ninety-nine chapters, to his royal patron of Golconda, naming it *Shajarah-i-Danish*.

Qāsim Tabasi (d. unknown) came from Tabas, a town in North Iran, and served as secretary at the court of Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh, king of Golconda (d. 989/1581). He collected letters and official documents of the reign of his master. The work has survived as: *Insha-i-Qasim Tabasi*, 979/1571.

Qāzi Yazdi (d. unknown) was a religious scholar living at the court of Sultān Muhammad Qutb Shāh, ruler of Golconda (d. 1036/1626), where he was employed as a jurist. He wrote a commentary on some selected verses of the Qur'ān pertaining to legal matters. The work appeared as: *Tafsir-i-Ayat ul-Ahkam*.

Qutbi (d. unknown) was a poet living at the court of 'Abd ullah Qutb Shāh of Golconda (d. 1084/1672). He prepared a versified version in *Dakani Urdu* of Maulana Yūsuf Gada's sufistic poem, *Tuhfah-i-Nasā'ih*.

Shams ud-Din 'Ali Husaini (d. unknown) came from Gurgān, North Iran, and found employment as physician at the court of Sultān Muhammad Quli Qutb Shāh of Golconda. He translated the Arabic work, *Tazkirat ul-Kuhhal* by 'Isa b. 'Ali (d. 430/1039) an earlier expert of eye diseases and named his Persian version, *Tarjamah-i-Tazkirat ul-Kuhhalin*, 997/1588. Also, he contributed a book to the subject of general hygiene, *Zubdat ul-Hikam*.

Sharif Kashāni, Mirza Muhammad Sharif (d. 1037/1627) came from Kashān, Iran, and after long wanderings stayed at the court of Muhammad Quli Qutb Shāh, ruler of Golconda. He praised the Mughal noble, 'Abd ur-Rahim Khan-i-Khanan, as well. His *Diwan* of verses has survived.

Tabasi, Mulla Husain (d. unknown) came from the town of Tabas, North Iran, and held the position of Qāzi ul-Quzāt = Chief Justice, in the government of Sultān Quli Qutb Shāh, and his successor, Ibrāhīm Qutb Shāh, the kings of Golconda. Mulla Husain left 1. his observations concerning the reign of his patron, Sultān Quli in *Marghub ul-qulūb*, and 2, a tract on the law of hunting and the categories of lawful and unlawful meat prescribed by Islam, *Saidiyah*, 983/1575.

Taqi ud-Din Muhammad b. Sadr ud-Din 'Ali (d. unknown) lived as physician at the court of Sultān Muhammad Qutb Shāh of Golconda (d. 1020/1611), whom he dedicated his work on medicine, *Mizan ut-Taba'i-i-Qutb Shahi*.

Tārīkh-i-Sultān Muhammad Qutb Shāh (completed in 1026/1617). The

author did not mention his name; however, he lived at the court of Muhammad Qutb Shah of Golconda, at whose request the project was taken up. The work gave sufficient information about the history of the dynasty; but the central figure in the author's scheme of writing was his patron, Muhammad Qutb Shah. As personally admitted, he followed Askandar Munshi's *'Alam-Ara-i-'Abbasi* as his model.

Tārīkh-i-Ganjīnah: Anonymous universal history composed during the reign of 'Abd ullah Qutb Shah, ruler of Golconda (d. 1083/1672), at whose court the author was employed. The book contained an introduction and twelve sections = *khizānahs*, with further subdivisions = *ganjīnahs*.

Ulfati b. Husain Sāwajī (d. unknown) lived as a poet at the court of 'Abd ullah Qutb Shah, king of Golconda (d. 1083/1672). Later on, he returned to Isfahan, where he frequented the company of literary men in their common rendezvous, the Coffee House, near Qaisariyah Hospital. Tahir Nasrabadi, the author of *Tazkirah*, saw him there and punished his inflated self-confidence with a scathing remark. "He did not estimate himself lesser than Anwari." While in the Deccan, Ulfati composed verses in praise of beautiful buildings raised by his patron's predecessors, who made their capital a wonderful sight for the visitors. In the city of Hyderabad, there were Gagan Mahal, Sajan Mahal, L'al Mahal, Dad Mahal, and scores of grand edifices, mentioned in Ulfati's verses, which could not resist the ravages of time. His small tract, dealing with the rules of prosody and dedicated to his royal patron, appeared as *Riyāz us-San'a'i-i-Qutb Shahi*, completed in 1048/1638. Also, Ulfati wrote a biography of 'Abd ullah Qutb Shah giving details about the official rules and social customs observed under that monarch. Its title was *Rawā'ih-i-Qutb Shahi*, completed in 1048/1638.

Wajhi, Mulla Asad ullah (d. unknown) held the honour of poet-laureate in the court of Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah, king of Golconda (d. 1020/1612) and witnessed the days of his successors. His fame has lasted as a pioneer of Urdu literature. His works *Sabras*, *Taj ul-haqā'iq*, and the *masnawi* poem, *Qutb-Mushiri*, are among the earliest specimens of Dakani Urdu. Also, Mulla Wajhi composed verses in Persian, and copies of his Persian *Diwan* have survived.

CHAPTER 10

Mirza Bedil : His Ascendancy (Part I)

1075/1664 -1225/1810

Prose of the Period

Mirza 'Abd ul-Qādir Bedil guided the literary sensibilities for more than a century. Initially, his family members, Turks of Barlas tribe, held civil and military positions under prince Shūja' son of Shāh Jahān in the province of Bihar. Bedil was born there in 1054/1644. The war of succession and disappearance of prince Shūja' was the signal of bad luck for the family and placed them in uneasy circumstances. So, they were constrained to disperse. Mirza Bedil proceeded to Delhi and announced his arrival in a chronogram, *Rahabar Khūda bas* (God is the guide. Enough) - 1075/1664. He was a youth of twenty years and decided to make Delhi his permanent home. Soon he became the centre of attraction on account of his saintly qualities and all young intellectuals acknowledged him as an ideal man. The nobles of the capital also visited his house for enjoying his extremely polished conversation and enlightened ideas. Having spent fifty six years systematically devoted to creative activity, he died in 1133/1720. The following generations interested in literature treated him as their guide and master.

There were writers in large number from Bedil's life time till the end of the century, who made themselves conspicuous by their prose. Many of them lived in Delhi as long as the city offered them conditions of peace.

They displayed remarkable creative impulse in spite of the most adverse political circumstances*. Their scholarship may be judged by the choice of the subjects. Ordinarily, no field of knowledge within their access was spared by them. They had to work under the compulsions of their subject matter. A *Tazkirah* writer and an *Insha* writer could not adopt the same style. The one preferred natural expression and the other freely employed florid decoration. It was easy to measure the difference of taste obtaining among various classes: for example, pure literary men and those engaged in drafting official documents.

* Chronologically speaking: 1. Those times left their memory as an interminable tale of misery and misfortune. Bedil was living in Delhi for the last fifteen years when 'Alamgir marched at the head of his armies towards the Deccan via Rajasthan. The Deccan wars drained the resources of the empire. 'Alamgir's death compelled the demoralized Mughal armies to retreat to the North with jeering and shouting Maratha troops in their wake. 2. The wars of succession, first among the three sons of 'Alamgir, and again, among the four sons of Shâh 'Alam Bahâdur Shâh I, incurred tremendous loss of men and material. 3. The intrigues and squabbles of the degenerate nobles left no trace of seriousness in the policy of the government. 4. Nâdir Shâh, the Iranian invader, looted Delhi and ordered *qatl-i-'am* = general massacre of the inhabitants. 5. Anarchy overtook the sub-continent since the days of Muhammad Shah. Seven kings, all puppets in the hands of the nobles, ascended the throne in quick succession. They demonstrated how ill fated kings could be. The eighth proved, none the less, that a king could as well be the leader of *Baghawat* = revolt, thereby winning eternal respect of his people as defender of their injured honour. 6. As if Nâdir and his cruelties were not enough, Delhi became the converging point of predatory invaders, both indigenous and foreign: Marathas, Rohellas, Jats, Sikhs, Afghans (Abdâli), French (Prerron) and the English. 7. Two battles: Plassey 1171/1757, and Buxar 1178/1764, decreed that none of the tumultuous runners on the track save the English had the stamina to win the race. The day came when a general of the East India Company forced his entry into Delhi, 1218/1803. The officers of the company contrived a slogan to be shouted every morning on the streets of the capital: *Khalqat Khuda Ki: Mulk Badshah ka: Hukm Company Bahâdur Ka* - People belong to God, country belongs to king, Company commands order.

Although poetry seemed to have jealously reserved Bedil's genius for itself, his share in expanding the sphere of prose was not less significant. He was a frequent letter writer to his friends. The *Ruqqa'at* displayed more pedantry than personal intimacy. Of greater importance was the collection of *Chahār 'Unsur* = four elements: water, fire, clay, air, which comprise life. So, the work was attempted to put together autobiographical glimpses in four sections. The *Nikat* = philosophical dissertations or points, attained wider reputation, chiefly because, they were included as text book in the syllabus of Madrasah education and their lofty passages were supposed to communicate extraordinary wisdom. On the whole, Bedil's prose lacks literary charm. The sentences lose their natural delight due to affectation. Yet he survived throughout the century as a reckonable force supported fully by contemporary taste.

Some prose works during this period appeared as literary events in the Indo-Persian history. Many writers applied their genius equally to prose and poetry. For example, Khān-i-Arzū Sirāj ud-Din 'Alī Khān, was the most celebrated personality next to Bedil before the close of the age. He commanded respect by virtue of his vast and varied scholarship. The later generations attributed greater importance to his erudite exercise in the field of prose. On the other hand his pupil Hakim Shuhrat, gave more weight to his poetry: "just as all (Hanafi) 'Ulama are the children of Imām Abu Hanifa, similarly all the poets of our time and those who will follow them, are the children of Khān-i-Arzū."

Notwithstanding political decadence the literate classes continued to remain intellectually vigorous and fertile. That is, the society using Persian as medium of ideas established its cultural resilience throughout the span of more than a century. Due to peculiar conditions escapism was the charge which poetry may suffer as an easy victim. Prose in civilized languages has never been accused for showing escapist route. The writers of the period understood the value of prose; they fully utilised it as plainly intelligible and natural way of communication.

The literary men of this period made history as innovators of a new language in North India. Thanks to their consistent enthusiasm, Urdu rapidly established its position and became a suitable vehicle of ideas.

PROSE WRITERS

‘Abd ul-Ahad b. Muhammad Sa’id (d. 1142/1729) lived as a sufi in old Delhi outside Shahjahanabad and was a follower of Mujaddidi Naqshbandi sub-order. Some scholars in the capital had reservations about the views entertained by Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi; and they vehemently denounced the veracity of his claims. ‘Abd ul-Ahad wrote a treatise in order to refute their objections against the Mujaddid. Its title was *Khair ul-Kalam*. Also, he wrote a biography of the Prophet: *Khaza’in-i-Nabuwat*, 1126/1714.

‘Abd ul-Ghani b. Abu Tālib (d. unknown) lived in Kashmir and enjoyed the patronage of a local nobleman, Afrasiyab Beg Khān, in whose praise he used lengthy honorifics covering a full page. ‘Abd ul-Ghani translated into Persian *Shara’i’ ul-Islam*, one of the most authentic and widely used books on Shi’ah Isna Ashari Jurisprudence written by Shaikh Abu’l Qāsim Hilli (d. 726/1325). The title of the translated version was *Jami’ur-Rizawi*, 1160/1747.

‘Abd ul-Ghani Sherwani (d. unknown) was the author of a lengthy treatise on geomancy, containing an introduction, two sections, and a termination. *Anwar ur-Ramal*, completed ca. 1150/1737.

‘Abd ul-Jalil Bilgarmi, Mir (d. 1138/1725) was a man of versatile talents and retained his literary fame from the days of Aurangzeb to Muhammad Shah. In connection with his services, he was posted, first to the Deccan, and thereafter, held the post of *Waqā’i’ nawis* = News writer, in Sind. Noteworthy among his works are: 1. *masnawi* poems, celebrating important occasions, for example, the marriage of Farrukh Siyar, 2. a versified dictionary containing Arabic, Persian, and Turkish words, *Jawahir-ul-Kalam*, 3. a tract on music, *Risalah-i-Mausiqi*, and 4. collection of letters, *Makatib-i-Jalil*.

‘Abd ul-Karim b. ‘Aqibat Mahmād, Khwajah (d. unknown) was the author of an eye-witness account of the invasion of Nādir Shah and

his sack of the Mughal capital (1152/1739). He accompanied Nādir's returning armies as their prisoner. Therafter, he went on pilgrimage to the holy cities before arriving back to Delhi in 1156/1743. In his memoirs, 'Abd ul-Karīm included his observations about the Islamic lands. The title of the work was: *Bayān-i-Waqi'*, completed in 1163/1750.

'Abd ullah Husaini, Mir Pārsā (d. unknown) was a scholar during the reign of Muhammad Shāh. He wrote a tract containing instructions about the art of hunting. The author's emphasis was on the duties, which an efficient superintendent of game, *mir shikār*, must bear in mind, particularly, in respect of the royal bird, hawk. The work appeared as: *Ta'lim us-Said*.

'Abd ul-Qādir Kinturi, Hanif ud-Din (d. 1204/1789) belonged to Kintur, a village in district Barah Banki, Awadh, and was a sufi of the Qādiri order. His ancestors emigrated from Nishapur, Iran, and served as jurists = *qazi*, in the area. He was the author of a book describing the spiritual merits of Shaikh 'Abd ul-Qādir Jilāni, the saint of Baghdad (d. 561/1166). Its title was: *Kuhl ul jawahir fī manāqib-i-'Abd ul Qadir*, completed in 1167/1753.

'Abd ur-Rahmān b. Shaik Qāsim (d. unknown) lived in Lahore during the days of Farrukh Siyar and Muhammad Shāh, and was respected for his pious character. At the instance of his sufi friends, he wrote a monograph full of moral counsels in ten chapters. Its title was *Irshad us-Salikin*. Earlier than Shaikh, 'Abd ur-Rahmān, many other scholars in the spiritual field, namely, Yūsuf b. Shaikh Muhammad of Multan (d. 790/1388), Shaikh Qāsim of Awadh (c. 821/1418), Khwajah Gesu-darāz (824/1421), and Shaikh Fath Muhammad of Burhānpur (d. 1080/1670) wrote their tracts under the same title. *Irshad us-Salikin*.

'Abd ur-Rahmān Hashimi Binbani Dehlawi (d. 1222/1807) lived in Delhi during the days of Shāh 'Alam II, who conferred on him the title of Shāh Nawāz Khān and engaged him as the teacher of his daughter. An intelligent observer of events, he wrote a general history especially throwing light on contemporary developments. As the emperor's pen-name was Aftāb, so he chose the title for the book: *Mir 'at-i-Aftāb-muna*,

1218/1803.

'Abd ur-Rashid Khairānawī (d. unknown) was a sufi of the Qādiri order who passed his early life as a free-wandering derwish, and stayed for some time in the holy city of Medinah. Having finally returned to his hometown, Khairānah, in district Sahāranpur, he wrote a *tazkirah* of the Qādiri saints, *Tahā'if-i-Rashidiyah*, 1143/1731. Later on, 'Abd ur-Rashid elaborated the above-named work and it came out as a history of the fraternity: *Tārīkh-i-Qādiriya*, 1050/1737.

'Abd ur-Ra'ūf Siwistāni (d. 1140/1727) lived in Bhakkar, Sind, and was a civil servant of minor rank in the city during the days of Muhammad Shah. His son, Mohammad Wafa, collected his letters under double title: *Guldastah-i-Hamishah-Bahar / Nauras Bahar*.

'Abd ur-Razzāq Bānsawī (d. 1136/1724) lived as an unworldly scholar in the town of Bānsa, near Bara Bankī, Awadh, and was a follower of the Qādiri order. His spiritual guide was Shaikh Dost Muhammad alias Shah Dosi of Lucknow. Many of his disciples rose to eminence. Muhammad Khan Razzāqi collected his sayings. The great teacher, Mulla Nizām ud-Din Sihālāwī, wrote his detailed biography, (See Muhammad Khān and Nizām ud-Din Sihālāwī).

'Abd ur-Razzāq b. Muhammad Ishāq Husaini (d. unknown) lived in Surat, Gujrat, and was engaged in the profession of teaching. He edited Zuhuri's works: *Seh nasr*, *Panj-ruqqa'h*, and *Mina-bazar* and brought them together in one volume. Furthermore, he wrote a commentary on the above-named three prose pieces, adding detailed discussion about the science of music. Its title was: *Muqaddimat-i-salāsah-i-Zuhuri*, completed in 1212/1798.

'Abd ul-Wahhāb Jilani (d. unknown) was famous for his religious knowledge and unworldly life. He wrote a number of works in the field of Islamic sciences. His concise treatise which gained currency in sufi circles was: *Ma'dan ul-Gharā'ib*, 1214/1799.

Abwāb ul-Lughāt was an anonymous dictionary. Seemingly, its author

lived during the days of Shāh 'Alam, the puppet emperor of Delhi, and the work was completed in 1185/1771.

Ahmad 'Ali Hashimi (d. unknown) belonged to Sandilah, a town near Lucknow, and lived in Delhi, where he enjoyed the patronage of Nawwāb Najaf Khān, the noble, who served as regent during the days of the hapless emperor, Shāh 'Alam II (d. 1197/1782), and was virtually the ruler of Delhi. Ahmad 'Ali's teacher in poetry was Mirza Muhammad Hasan Qatil, at whose suggestion he undertook the labour of composing a voluminous *tazkirah* of poets: *Makhzan ul-ghara'ib*, completed in 1218/1803.

Ahmad Akbarabādi, Shaikh (d. unknown) lived in the reign of Shāh 'Alam Bahādur Shāh, the son and successor of Aurangzeb, and enjoyed royal patronage. The emperor asked him to write a book containing the biographies of the Prophet, his daughter, Fātima, and the twelve Imāms, descendants of Fātima and 'Ali. Ahmad responded and added to it the genealogies of outstanding families of the Saiyeds, who had settled in India. The work appeared as: *Tazkirat us-Sadat*, ca. 1124/1712.

Ahmad b. Mahmūd Uwaisi (d. unknown) belonged to Chanāb, Punjab, and lived as a sufi during the reign of Muhammad Shāh. He was the follower of Uwaisi order. Its founder, Uwais-i-Qarani, was one of the earliest sufis in Islam. According to the author of *Kashf ul-Mahjub*, Uwais lived during the time of the Prophet, but was not a companion. The Prophet greeted him in a message. In old age, he came out to fight in support of 'Ali against Mu'awiyah and was killed in the battle of Siffin (37/657). Ahmad b. Mahmūd collected anecdotes concerning the conduct and practices of Uwais-i-Qarani: *Lata'if-i-Nafisiyah dar Faza'il-i-Uwaisiyah*, ca. 1160/1747.

'Ajā'ib ul-āfaq was an anonymous collection of letters despatched under the seal of Farrukh Siyār and Muhammad Shāh to Rajah Chhabila Ram Nāgar and his successor, Girdahar Bahādur.

Akābir Khan, 'Ali Akbar (d. unknown) was a civil servant in the

government of Shah 'Alam Bahādur Shāh I, who conferred on him the title mentioned above. He collected verses from classical poets and maxims from the works of famous letter writers, which could serve as appropriate quotations in correspondence. The collection was named *Muntakhab-i-wala*, 1130/1718.

'Ali Asghar Khān (d. unknown) lived in the reign of Shah 'Alam Bahādur Shāh I, and was the author of a book on the juristic thoughts, historical standpoint, and traditions entertained by the Shi'ahs. He dedicated it to Prince Baland Akhtar, son of Prince Akbar, who revolted against his father, Aurangzeb. Its title was: *Majalis ul-Ahzan*, ca. 1100/1688.

Allah Yār, Murtaza Husain 'Usmāni (d. unknown) belonged to Bilgram, a town in Awadh, and was the son of Allah-Yār, an official of Mughal government in the reign of Muhammad Shāh. He inherited his father's title and started his career from the rank of *Bakhshi* = paymaster of the army, prior to the end of that monarch's reign. Later on, he served in succession under a number of highly influential nobles and witnessed the downfall of Mughal empire during the fateful period of half a century that followed the death of Muhammad Shāh (1161/1748). The list of his employers may give an idea of the range and variety of experiences gained by Allah-Yār in the course of his active career. They were Mubariz ul-Mulk Sarbaland Khān, Sa'adat Khān Burhān ul-Mulk, his successor, Safdar Jang of Awadh, 'Ali Quli Daghistāni Zafar Jang of the reign of 'Alamgir II, Muhammad Qasim Khān of Bengal, Ahmad Khān Bangash of Farrukhabād, and finally, Captain Jonathan Scott, Persian secretary to Warren Hastings, the Governor General of the East India Company. In view of his vast knowledge of events and situations, through which Mughal India had passed, Allah-Yār was requested by Captain Jonathan Scott to prepare a record of his life-long observations covering, more or less, a span of fifty years. Accordingly, he wrote a graphic description of places, peoples and problems, responsible for developing the chain of circumstances. Amin Ahmad Razi's *Haft-Iqlim* seemed to have served as model and he very much followed the same pattern in his work: *Hadiqat ul-Aqalim*. Also, he left a collection of letters: *Ruqqa'at-i-Allah Yar*, 1133/1720.

Amar (d. unknown) lived in the town of Chanderi, Central India. He wrote a short account of the invasion of Nādir Shāh (1152/1739) in Persian prose mingling it with Hindi verses and named it: *Halat-i-Nādir Shāh*.

Amin ud-Din Andkhudi (d. unknown) came from Andkhud, north of modern Afghanistan, and served as an army officer in the reign of Muhammad Shāh. He wrote a guide-book on the art of archery and dedicated the work to the emperor, naming it: *Kulliyat ur-Ramī*, completed in 1162/1719.

Amr ullah Ilahabādi, Amir ud-Din Ahmad (d. unknown) lived in Allahabad and visited Patna, Calcutta, Lucknow and other cities in order to collect literary information before composing his *tazkirah* of Urdu poets. It appeared under the title: *Tazkirah-i-masarrat-afza*, completed in 1197/1782.

Anand Khān, Khwush (d. unknown) served under Jonathan Duncan, an official of the British East India Company, known for his scholarly pursuits. Anand Khān composed poetry under the pen-name mentioned above. He prepared a Persian translation of *Kashī Khand*, a monograph explaining the methods of devotion and worship at various sacred spots in Benaras, the holy city of the Hindus. The title of the translated version was: *Bahr un-najāt*, completed in 1207/1792.

Anand Rūp (d. unknown) belonged to the learned caste of Brahmans and passed his career in the service of the Maratha Chief, Janoji Bhonsla. He settled in Allahabad, where he wrote a concise history of India, naming it: *Mizan-i-dānish*, 1182/1768.

Andalib, Khwajah Nāsir (d. 1172/1759) lived as a sufi in Delhi and was the spiritual successor *khalifah*, of Shaikh Sa'd ullah Gulshan (d. 1140/1727). He was the founder of a movement, *Tariqah-i-Muhammadiyah*, that gained attention of contemporary sufis, particularly his followers. Its aim was to revive the pristine Islam as it existed during the time of the Prophet. He traced his lineage from Khwajah Baha ud-Din Naqshband (d. 791/1389), the sufi of Trans Oxiana,

who founded the Naqshbandi order. In order to explain the salient features of sufistic discipline and dispel doubts entertained in their minds by rival groups of theologians and philosophers concerning sufi beliefs and practices, Khwajah Nasir wrote a book: *Nalah-i-'Andalib*. The same ideas emanated from the artistic and more appealing medium of his poetry.

Arzū, Siraj ud-Din 'Ali Khān (d. 1169/1756) was born in Gwalior, received education in Akbarabad Agra, and settled in Delhi. He witnessed the horrors of Nādir's invasion, the recurring raids of Ahmad Abdali, and the fast degenerating conditions of Mughal empire during and after the reign of Muhammad Shāh. An exodus of the people of Delhi began towards Lucknow when the descendants of Sa'adat Khān Burhān ul-Mulk established an independent state in Awadh. Khān-i-Arzū, as he was called, also migrated to Lucknow and was received with kindness by Shujā' ud-Dawlah, son of Safdar Jang. His contemporaries held him in high esteem for his total dedication to literature. Much before the Western scholars' researches and their deciphering of the Achaemenian rock inscriptions, it was Khān-i-Arzū who had indicated the link between Sanskrit and Persian. The Urdu poet, Mir Taqi Mir, enjoyed Arzū's tutelage and lived in his house for some time before leaving Delhi. Time enhanced his reputation and the following generations acknowledged Arzu as their literary guide. He was the author of a number of books: 1. *Tanbhi ul-Ghafilin*, a tract challenging the cynical observations of 'Ali Hazin against India's writers, 2. *Chiragh-i-Hidayat*, a dictionary, 3. *Siraj ul-Lughat*, a bulky and voluminous dictionary, 4. *Majma' un-Nafa'is*, the *tazkirah* of poets, and *Musmir*, a tract dealing with basic questions of lexicography and linguistics.

Auliya Muhammad (d. unknown) was the author of a dictionary for the benefit of young students. Its title was: *Fawa'id us-Subyan*, 1185/1771.

Aya Mal, Rajah (d. unknown) was the Diwan, revenue chief, serving under Maharajah Jai Singh of Amber. He prepared a collection of Aurangzeb's letters: *Dastūr ul-'amal-i-Agāhi*, 1156/1743. Also, Rajah Aya Mal employed one of his servants, Saiyed Hamāl, to compile a similar but concise volume containing just important letters. It appeared as: *Ramz wa isharaha-i-'Alamgiri*, 1157/1744.

Azād Bilgrāmi, Mir Ghulām 'Alī Husaini Wāsiti (d. 1200/1785) was born in Bilgram, a small town of scholars in Awadh, and gained reputation for possessing command over all topics of literature and learning. He was a widely travelled man: as a youth he left Bilgram and stayed for two years in Delhi. His maternal uncle, Mir Saiyed Muhammad, was news reporter and paymaster of Sind in the reign of Farrukh Siyār, who called Azād to live with him. During the journey he visited Lahore and Multān, making acquaintance with the scholars of those cities, and passed about five years in the province of Sind. Then, he travelled to the holy cities of Mecca and Medinah, where he devoted himself to the study of religious subjects, particularly, specializing in the *Sihah-i-Sittah* = Six Books of Traditions, of which the collectors were Muhammad b. Isma'il Bukhari (d. 256/869), Muslim Nishapuri (d. 261/874), Ibn Majah (d. 273/886), Abu Dawud (d. 275/888), Abu Isa Tirmizi (d. 279/892) and Abu Abd ur-Rahmān Nisā'i (d. 303/915). Having voyaged back to India, he lived in the city of Aurangabad, Deccan, till his death. Nāsir Jang and other nobles of the Nizām's state were his devotees but he avoided worldly favours and preferred the life of piety and poverty. Azād compiled his two *Diwans* of poetry, in Arabic and Persian. But, among the works of lasting value were the dictionaries of poets: 1. *Yad-i-baiza*, biographies of 532 poets; 2. *Ma'asir ul-kiram tarikh-i-Bilgram*, dealt with 80 sufis and 70 learned men of the author's home-town; 3. *Sarw-i-Azād*, gave sketches of 143 poets born in India; 4. *Khizānah-i-'amirah*, notices of 135 poets famous for obtaining rich rewards from their patrons. It is prefaced by an account of contemporary events of which Azād was an eye-witness. 5. *Rauzat ul-auliya*, lives of saints buried in Khuldabad. Also, three rulers: 1. Burhān Nizām Shāh, 2. Aurangzeb and 3. Nizām ul-Mulk Asaf Jah I, found their graves in the same environments; 6. *Ghizlan ul-Hind*, a book on Indian womanhood as reflected in Persian literature and 7. *Anis ul-muhaqqiqin*, on Indian Saints.

'Aziz, Bhikan Lal (d. unknown) belonged to Allahabad and had friendly relations with Bhagwan Das Hindi, the author of *Safinah*, when Hindi was posted there as an official of the Awadh government. Rajah Rām Nāth, a noble of Shāh Alam II, introduced him to the emperor, who was pleased with the poet and engaged him for writing an account of his

reign: *Shah Alam-namah*.

‘Aziz ud-Din Muhammad (d. unknown) was in the service of William Yule, a British officer of the East India Company. For the benefit of his patron, he prepared a brief sketch of India's history: *Mukhtasar-i-Yule*, 1218/1803.

Badr ud-Din Sindhi, Shaikh (d. unknown) was a religious scholar during the time of Muhammad Shah. His father, Shaikh Rukn ud-Din, and grandfather, Shaikh Rahmat ullah (d. 990/1582), had been famous throughout the province of Sind for their virtuous habits and dedication to learning. As teachers, they educated a large number of students. Shaikh Badr ud-Din was the author of a tract dealing with jurisprudence: *Asas ul-Musalla*, ca. 1157/1744.

Bahār, Lala Tek Chand (d. 1180/1766) lived in Delhi during the days of Muhammad Shah and his successors. He was popular in the literary circles of the capital and had received instruction from the renowned scholar, Sirāj ud-Din ‘Ali Khān Arzū. The Urdu poet, Mir Taqi Mir, mentioned his name in the list of his friends. Bahār achieved immortal reputation due to his dictionary over which he spent twenty years and consulted about one hundred sources. By common consensus, it was a stupendous task performed by a single scholar and a valuable addition made to Persian lexicography. It was entitled *Bahār-i-‘Ajam*, completed in 1152/1739.

Bekas, Jawāhir Mal Akbarabādi (d. unknown) was a poet and civil servant and served as secretary to Sher Afghan Khān, Banda Ali Basiti, a noble of the time of Farrukh Siyar and Muhammad Shāh. Bekas was the author of: 1. an administrative manual = *Dastūr ul ‘amal*, to which he gave a cumbrous title: *Nuskah-i-Qawā‘id-i-Jamhūr wa ‘arastah-i-umūr*, 2. a collection of imperial *farmāns*: *Muraqqa‘-i-Bekas*, and 3. letters for the beginners in four sections: *Adab us-Subhyan*, 1136/1723.

Bekhabar, Mir ‘Azmat ullah (d. 1142/1729) belonged to the town of Bilgram, and lived in Delhi, where people respected him for being a learned man and poet. Mirza Bedil liked his company and treated Bekhabar as his friend. Bekhabar's father, Mir Saiyed Lutf ullah, was a sufi and had received

instrucation under Shaikh Burhān Shattārī of Burhānpur. He wrote: 1, a *tazkirah* of poets, about a thousand in number, most of them his contemporaries, and named it *Safinah-i-Bekhabar*, completed in 1141/1728; 2, a tract on personal religious and moral views, *Ghubar-i-Khatir*, and 3, a *Diwān* containing about seven thousand verses.

Bhawānī Dās Prabhakar (d. unknown) served in early life under Yār Muhammad Khān, a military officer posted to the province of Malwah during the reign of Muhammad Shāh. The hometown of Bhawānī Dās was in the neighbourhood of Jalandhar, Punjab. He wrote a book briefly introducing all branches of knowledge known to the ancient Hindus. The topics dealt with cosmography, astronomy, methods and varieties of worship, charity, personal laws governing an individual's conduct, four *ashram* = abodes, dividing the span of human life, and also, music and other sciences. Supposingly, the author's object was to supply informaiton as appendix to what Shaikh Abu'l Fazl wrote about the manners and customs of the Hindūs in the last volume of *Akbar-namah*. Hence, he named it: *Zamimah-i-Iqbal namah-i-Akbari*, completed in the 12th year of Muhammad Shāh's reign, 1142/1720.

Bhim Rāj b. Nainsukh (d. unknown) belonged to Phapund, a town in district Etawah, near Kanpur. He served in revenue department and was the author of a mathematical treatise in seven chapters: *Ma'dan ul-hisab*.

Bhola Nāth (d. unknown) lived during the time of Muhammad Shāh and his successors. He composed poetry under the pen-name, Nādān, and was a man of religious inclinations. As he mentioned in the preface, the love of Rām and Sita induced him to prepare a prose version of the *Ramayan*. The work appeared as *Samarat ul-hayat* (chronogram) and was completed in two years, 1197/1182.

Bindraban Dās, Rai (d. unknown) held the post of Diwan under Shāh Alam Bahadur Shāh (d. 1124/1712) and wrote a history of India from the coming of Muhammad b. Sām Ghori (572/1176) to his own times. He borrowed material from Ferishtah to the year 1000/1591, and utilized other sources as well. Only, the later portion dealing with events of which the

author's information was accurate, has a real historical value. He carried the narrative to the year 1106/1689 covering the conquest of Bijapur and Golconda by Aurangzeb. The title of the book was *Lubb ut-Tawarikh*. Also, he left a very useful and detailed collection of letters and documents: *Insha-i-Khirad Afza*.

Budh Singh (d. unknown) was a Khattri of Lahore living in Delhi and serving under Major Browne, agent of the British East India Company, who resided in the Mughal capital as representative of the Company's governor general, Warren Hastings. At the instance of his English employer, Budh Singh wrote a concise handbook containing relevant information about Guru Nanak (d. 995/1538) and the rise and progress of the Sikh sect. The work appeared under the title: *Risalah dar ahwal-i-Nanak Shah Derwish*, completed in 1197/1783.

Budh Singh (d. unknown) was employed by Zaman Shah (d. 1215/1800), grandson of Ahmad Shah Durrani, whose rule extended over Afghanistan and parts of Punjab. In company of his master, he travelled across Peshawar, Kabul, and Herat. Being a careful and intelligent observer, he prepared his estimate of political conditions in a concise tract. It survived as: *Tarikh-i-Zaman Shah*, ca. 1212/1797.

Dalpat Rai (d. unknown) started his career in the service of Maharajah Jagat Singh of Udaipur. Later on, he shifted to the court of Jaipur. Maharajah Madhav Singh of Jaipur made him personal representative at the Mughal court and he stayed in Delhi during the days of Ahmad Shah (d. 1168/1754) and his successor, Alamgir II (d. 1173/1759). He witnessed the terrible invasion of Ahmad Abdali and the plundering of Delhi by the Afghans 1171/1757; and when the tragic scene was repeated in the same way after three years, 1174/1760, Dalpat Rai left the city in disgust. He was scholar and possessed command over both Arabic and Sanskrit. At the instance of Maharajah Jagat Singh, he prepared a Hindi version of *Diwan-i-Hafiz*. An observer of the fast developing events at the Mughal court and possessing knowledge of many old traditions, which the Great Mughals and their nobles had cultivated, he prepared a collection of anecdotes and presented it to his patron, Madhav Singh. Its title was: *Malahat-i-Maqal*, ca. 1181/1767.

Dard, Khwajah Mir (d. 1199/1785) was the son of Delhi's sufi, Khwajah Nāsir 'Andalib, and himself acquired fame for his pious life and dedication to literature. The fortnightly *sama* = sufi musical gatherings, organized by Khwajah Mir Dard in his house, became an important cultural feature attended by the leading personalities of Delhi. He did not leave the capital when depreidatory forces from all sides advanced upon it, and his presence was a source of consolation to the humble folk whose means did not allow them to join the general exodus. The Khwajah wrote many treatises in order to elucidate the teachings embodied in the *Tariqah-i-Muhammadiyah*, which was founded by his father. Among them were: 1. *Nalah-i-Dard*, 2. *Waridat*, 3. *Sham'-i-mahfil*, 4. *'Ilm-ul-kitab*, and 5. *Asrar us Salat*.

Daya Rām (d. unknown) was a poet and lived in Lahore during the reign of Ranjit Singh (d. 1255/1839). He wrote a versified account of the Sikh Maharajah and named it: *Shir wa Shakar*. Also he left a *Diwān* of verses.

Durga Dās (d. unknown) was contemporary of Sirāj ud-Din 'Ali Khān Arzū and had seen Mirza Bedil in young age. He wrote a *tazkirah* of poets and named it: *Safinah-i-'Ishrat* (chronogram-1175/1761).

Faiyāz (d. unknown) was a teacher whose field of interest was secretarial art. In the preface and *khatimah* = termination of his work, he failed to record any information about his life. He compiled a collection of letters in three sections: 1. letters of kings and princes, 2. letters exchanged between nobles and addressed by them to kings, and 3. miscellaneous letters. The title of the collection was: *Faiyaz ul-qawanin*, completed in 1134/1721.

Fā'iz, Nawwāb Sadr ud-Din Khān (d. 1151/1738) lived in Delhi and was the descendant of 'Ali Mardān Khān, a noble of the reign of Shāh Jahān. His father, Zabardast Khān, served as governor of Ajmer and other provinces under Shāh 'Alam Bahadur Shāh and Farrukh Siyar. Among his contemporaries, Shaikh 'Ali Hazin admired his scholarship. Fā'iz composed both in Urdu and Persian and collected his verses in two separate *Diwāns*. The range and variety of his hobbies may be estimated

by the small books he wrote on miscellaneous subjects. 1. A treatise on gardening gained much popularity as it contained interesting and original information, its title was *Zinat ul-basatin*, completed in 1134/1721. Among other interesting works of Fa'iz were his astronomical observations; 2. *Najm us-Sadr*, 3. an account of famous ministers, *Irshad ul-Wuzara*, 4. a collection of letters: *Ruqqa'at-i-Sadr*, and 5. translation of Shaikh Baha'i Amili's mathematical treatise: *Tahrir us-Sadr*.

Fakhri, Saiyed Nur ud-Din Husain (d. unknown) wrote a history of the Rohellah leader, Najib ud-Dawlah, whom Ahmad Shah Abdali gave control of Delhi after the battle of Panipat. He maintained law and order, checking the Maratha and Jat depredations in the region north and east of the capital till his death in 1184/1770. The book was entitled *Sarguzahst-i-Nawwab Najib ud-Dawlah*. Also, Fakhri collected the sayings = *malfuzat*, and prepared a biographical account of his spiritual mentor, Maulana Fakhr ud-Din of Delhi, and named it: *Fakhr ut-Talibin*.

Fakhr ud-Din, Maulana (d. 1199/1785) was a sufi of Delhi and had inherited the traditions of spiritual life from his father, Shaikh Nizam ud-Din Aurangabadi. He was a boy of sixteen when his father died and he struggled for three years in order to attain higher studies. The first Nizam's son and successor, Nasir Jang granted him employment as an army officer, but camp life was incompatible with his pious nature. He resigned from the army and returned to his father's seminary, *khanqah*, at Aurangabad. Impelled by inner inspiration, he soon decided to leave for Delhi, the seat of his father's teacher, Shah Kalim ullah, who had appointed Shaikh Nizam ud-Din as his representative in the Deccan about half a century ago. Having arrived at Delhi, the Maulana performed his mission for thirty-four years, dividing his daily routine between lectures in the madrasah of Mir Muhammad Panah, Ghazi ud-Din Khan Firuz Jang (d. 1165/1752), outside the Ajmeri Gate, conversations with seekers of sufistic discipline, and prayers and night vigils. People of the capital experienced extremely hard times, for, aside from the Marathas, Jats, Sikhs, and Rohellas, Ahmad Abdali alone looted their homes nine times in yearly raids lasting for over a decade. Fakhr ud-Din always offered hope and courage to the humble folk. To see him in action for instance: On being informed that an Afghan of Abdali's army had captured a noble lady, the Maulana accompanying his

wife requested the soldier to release the lady and take his own wife instead. Melted by the sufi's entreaties, the Afghan gave up his booty. Among Fakhr ud-Din's contemporaries in Delhi was Shah Wali ullah; but the two were different in attitude. The Shah's repudiation of the Chishti belief that Hasan-i-Basri obtained esoteric knowledge from 'Ali b. Abu Talib, was stoutly defended by Maulana Fakhr ud-Din in a tract, citing about fifteen earlier sources and writing in Arabic, which a disciple translated into Persian, naming it: *Fakhr ul-Hasan*. 'Imad ul Mulk, the prime minister of Ahmad Shah, was one of his devotees and extolled his virtues in a book, like another writer, Saiyed Nur ud-Din Husain Fakhri. The title of 'Imad's work was: *Manaqib-i-Fakhriyah*. Important among Maulana Fakhr ud-Din's own works was a book: *'Ain ul yaqin*, and collection of letters: *Maktubat-i-Fakhr ud-Din*.

Faqir, Mir Nawazish 'Ali (d. 1167/1754) belonged to Bilgram, and was a poet and scholar like his father, Mir 'Azmat ullah Bekhabar. He collected the sayings of important and celebrated sufis in a book: *Kalimat-i-Sufiya*. He also left an account of five sufi orders = *Salasil-i-Khamsah*: (i) *Qadiriya*, (ii) *Naqshbandiya* (iii) *Chistiyah*, (iv) *Suharawardiya* and (v) *Madariya*, under the title, *Salasil ul anwar*.

Farid ud-Din Ahmad Khan, Khwajah (d. unknown) belonged to a noble family of Delhi and lived in the capital during the time of Shah 'Alam, Second (d. 1221/1806), who acknowledged his scholarship in the rare field of astronomy by conferring on him the titles, Nawwab Dabir ud-Dawalah *Muslih ul-Mulk*. Khwajah Farid ud-Din's grandson, Syed Ahmad Khan, rose to eminence as leader of the Muslims after the Revolt of 1857, and founded the Aligarh Muslim University. Khwajah Farid ud-Din had studied the works of early scholars, who subscribed to the development of astrolabe, the instrument used for astronomical calculations. Particularly, he mentioned Mulla Nu'man ud-Din Usturlabi, a leading authority on the subject. He explained the working of the instrument by means of elaborate diagrams. There were three main chapters with many sub-divisions in the work. Its title was: *Jawahir-i-Faridiya*.

Firaqi, Prem Kishore (d. unknown) was a poet and scholar during the reign of Shah 'Alam II. He wrote a history, narrating the early career of the emperor. Its title was: *Waqa'i 'Alam Shahi*, ca. 1199/1784.

Gardezi, Fath 'Ali Husaini (d. unknown) descended from a family of the Saiyeds of Gardez, a town near Ghaznah in Afghanistan. His grandfather came to settle in Punjab and enjoyed high honours in the reign of Farrukh Siyar. Husaini himself preferred the simple and saintly life of a sufi and was respected for his piety by the people of Delhi, where he passed many years of his life. He was the author of a *tazkirah* of Urdu poets containing around a hundred entries arranged in alphabetical order. The title chosen by him was *Tazkirah-i-be badal-i-Hindi*. It gained popularity as *Tazkirah-i-Husaini Gardezi/Tazkirah-i-Rekhtah Gayan*, completed ca. 116/1752.

Ghasi Ram, Dehlawi (d. unknown) was the author of an arithmetical treatise in nine chapters. Its title was: *Majma' ul-hisab*, completed ca. 1202/1787.

Ghayuri Dehlawi, Lachhmi Singh (d. unknown) was a popular poet and scholar of Delhi during the days of Shah 'Alam II and his successor, Akbar Shah II. In poetry, he was the pupil of Mir Shams ud-Din Faqir. At the instance of the Mughal emperor, Shah 'Alam II, whose literary assemblies Ghayuri was invited to attend, he versified the romantic tales: 1. *Malik Muhammad wa Shah Bano* and 2. *Shulah-i-ah*. 3. He prepared a collection of letters: *Mufid ul-insha*, 1224/1809.

Ghulam Hasan (d. unknown) collected the notices of Urdu poets in a *tazkirah* and named it: *Tazkirah-i-sukhan afrinan-i-Hindi zaban*, 1195/1781.

Ghulam Husain Khan b. Himmat Khan (d. unknown) was a servant of the rulers of Benaras, Rajah Balwant Singh and Rajah Chait Singh. He attempted a history of his times from the invasion of Nadir Shah (1152/1739) to the last days of Shah 'Alam II (1221/1806), and named it: *Zikr us-Siyar* (chronogram-1221). Also, he was the author of a history of the holy city revered by the Hindus, in which he covered the account of his patrons and their ancestors, the princely family of Benaras from the time of

Rajah Mansa Rām to the deposition of Rajah Chait Singh, 1196/1781. Its title was: *Tarikh-i-Benaras*.

Ghulām Imām (d. unknown) was a physician of Delhi. As claimed by him, all his ancestors were expert scholars of medical science. He wrote many books on concerned subject including a popular handbook: *Ilaj ul-ghuraba*, completed ca. 1182/1768.

Ghulām Muhyi ud-Din (d. unknown) was the author of a biography of 'Abd us-Samad Khān (d. 1150/1773), governor of Punjab during the early days of Muhammad Shāh. 'Abd us-Samad was an exception, as few Mughal governors of the period possessed a sense of loyalty to the central administration or restrained themselves from dissolute habits and corruption. He held the administration of the Province with rare integrity and courage when it was all the more difficult due to the Sikh uprising. Ghulām Muhyi ud-Din brought out his work under the title: *Futūhat-i-Samādī* (chronogram 1135/1722).

Ghulām Nabi, Shāh (d. unknown) lived during the reign of Muhammad Shāh and possessed knowledge of civil and revenue matters. His father, Shaikh Ghulām Muhyi ud-Din Siddiqi, was known for his religious scholarship. He compiled, as he said, for the instruction of his sons, 'Abd ul-'Azim and 'Abd ul-'Alim, a book, which contained all sorts of model papers including certain rules of calculation applied in taxation practices. The study of such works formed essential part of Madrasah education, where future civil servants of the Mughal government were trained. In two main sections of the work, the author arranged thirty-six and twelve sub-sections respectively. Its title was: *Mir'at ul-muharririn*, completed in 1144/1731.

Ghulām Yahya Bihari, Shāh (d. 1206/1791) lived as a sufi scholar in Delhi and enjoyed friendly relations with Mirza Mazhar Jān-i-Jānān. The latter, having a large circle of disciples, requested Ghulām Yahya to write a concise tract explaining Ibn Arabi's philosophy of *Wahdat ul-Wujūd*, for their benefit. Responding to his friend's desire, Ghulām Yahya accomplished the work. He placed it before the Mirza who wrote a favourable review and found it worthy of his recommendation. Its title

was: *Kalimat ul-Haq*, ca. 1195/1781.

Girdhārī (d. unknown) was the author of a history of A'zamgarh and its Rajahs since they came under the protection of the Mughals. The first ruler in the days of Akbar was Abhiman and the last was Rajah Muhammad A'zam Khān, who died in 1185/1771. The work was named: *Intizam-i-Raj-i-A'zamgarh* completed in 1216/1801.

Gulshan Jaunpuri, Maulawi Gulshan 'Ali (d. 1200/1786) belonged to a learned family of Jaunpur and lived in Delhi during the days of Nadir's invasion (1152/1739). The two emigrant poets of Iran, Shaikh 'Ali Hazin and Walih Daghistani, were his friends. After the Mughal capital was ruined, Gulshan found protection under the landlords of Shamsabad, a town in District Farrukhabad, North India. His interest in diverse fields of scholarship proved his extraordinary intelligence. He wrote a versified account of his own life, which in fact was a running commentary on contemporary events. Its title was *Surat-i-hal*.

Habib ullah Qannauji (d. 1140/1727) was a sufi and teacher of the time of Muhammad Shāh and passed most of his life in his own hometown. Arabic being the symbol of erudition, Habib ullah wrote in that language a biography of the Prophet, naming it: *Rauzat un-Nabi*. One of his disciples, Shaikh Muhammad Faruqi Bilgrami, translated the work into Persian and the version appeared under the title: *Madinat ul-'ilm*. Also, Habib ullah attempted some of the books in Persian: 1. *Jawahir-i-Khamsah*, 2. *Tazkirat ul-auliya*, 3. *Anis ul-'arifin*, and 4. *Manaqib-i-Ghausiyah*.

Hairat, Shaikh Qiyām ud-Din (d. unknown) belonged to Akbarabad, Agra, and witnessed the times of the worthless descendants of Aurangzeb, called in history as 'Later Mughals'. He composed a *tazkirah* of contemporary poets, particularly, those who survived from the days of Aurangzeb to 'Alamgir II. His abundant selection from their verses made it an interesting document. It was named *Maqalat ush-Shu'ara*, 1174/1760. Another *tazkirah* under the same title was composed by Qāni' of Thatta, Sind, not very much remote from the period of Hairat. But, the latter confined his attention to the poets of Sind only in his *Maqalat ush-Shu'ara*.

Hakim Lahori, 'Abd ul-Hakim (d. 1182/1768) was the son of Shadman Khān, a nobleman, who came from Uzbekistan and obtained rank and service from Aurangzeb. The emperors, Farrukh Siyār and Muhammad Shāh, treated him with consideration and Shādmān Khān served as a high official till his death, which occurred in Lahore. Hakīm started his career as an imperial civil servant, but was soon influenced by sufi discipline. He resigned from service and devoted himself to spiritual exercises: night vigils, prayers and fasting. During the course of his free-wanderings, through a number of cities down to South India, Hakīm created acquaintance with men of piety and learning, and in turn, made himself famous for his literary excellence. All his contemporaries, particularly, the two scholars of the age, Azād Bilgrami and Khān-i-Arzū, praised his poetry. Among his noteworthy contributions was a *tazkirah* of poets whom he had personally seen in his life-time. Its title was: *Mardum-i-didāh*, completed c.d. 1175/1761.

Haqiqat, Husain Shāh (d. unknown) was in the service of the East India company. At the instance of an English officer, Herbert Harrington, he compiled a work on Persian grammar, which he dedicated to the said Englishman. Its title was: *Tuhfat ul- 'Ajam*, completed in 1213/1799.

Harbhaj Rāi, Lāla (d. unknown) belonged to Jammu and witnessed the days of Shāh 'Alam II (d. 1221/1806). He prepared a collection of letters: *Muntakhabāt-i-Harbhaj Rāi*.

Harjas Rāi Bahadur, Munshi (d. unknown) belonged to Lahore and started his career in the service of Prince Mu'azzam, the eldest son of Aurangzeb, who came to the throne as Shāh 'Alam Bahādur Shāh (d. 1124/1712). Later on, he was employed by 'Abd us-Samad Khān, governor of Lahore. Maharajah Madho Singh of Jaipur also extended him patronage. His collection of letters and official documents survived as: *Nādir ul-insha/Dastūr ul- 'amal-i-insha*.

Har Sukh Rāi Khattri (d. unknown) was born in a Khattri family of Lahore and passed many years of his career in the service of the East India Company. His grandfather, Rāi Basant Rām, was administrator of Agra under Maharajah Jai Singh Sawai in the reign of Muhammad Shāh.

He seemed to be an intelligent observer of events occurring around him, and his knowledge of the regional powers having lately emerged on the scene due to the break-up of central Mughal authority, was quite remarkable. He attempted a history, in eight chapters, paying special attention to contemporary India. The work contained valuable information about the expanding influence of the East India Company, the unending feuds between territorial dynasties established by former Mughal governors, and the upsurge of, particularly, the recalcitrant Jats in the region around Bharatpur, Rajasthan. Its title was: *Majma' ul-Akhbar*, completed in 1220/1805. Also, Har Sukh Rāi left a book on *Siyaq* = rules of Mughal administration, *Zubdat ul-Qawanin*.

Hasan, Mir (d. 1201/1786) lived in Delhi and was a leading poet of Urdu. He wrote a *tazkirah* of Urdu poets, naming it: *Tazkirah-i-Shu'ara-i-Urdu*, completed in 1192/1778.

Haya, Shiv Rām Dās (d. unknown) was the disciple of Mirza Bedil and served as an official in the government of Muhammad Shah. Most of his family members were well known poets. His *Diwan*, according to Bhagwān Dās Hindi, contained four thousand verses. Haya wrote an essay in praise of Brij, the birth-place of Krishna, on the model of his teacher's *Chahar 'Unsur* and named his work: *Gulgasht-i-bahār-i-Iram*.

Hidayat ullah Bihārī (d. unknown) served as a revenue officer in the reign of Shāh 'Alam Bahādur Shāh, the son and successor of Aurangzeb. He composed an administrative manual and defined in it the functions and duties of every official from the minister and provincial governor down to an ordinary clerk working in various departments. Such tracts, casting light on the working of Mughal government, and familiar as *Dastūr ul 'amal* or *Siyaq-namah*, were left by other writers as well, but the above named author's work has many distinct features. Its double title was *Hidayat ul-Qawanin/Hidayat ul-Qawa'id* completed in 1126/1714/

Hirā Chand (d. unknown) was employed as *munshi* = secretary, by the Marathā rulers of Holkar family. He prepared a collection of letters, as he said, for the instruction of his son, Seva Rām, when the latter was only a boy of ten years. Evidently, he desired his son to make secretarial art the

source of livelihood; so, he named the work *Zad-ul-ma'ash*.

Hira Lāl b. Paras Rām (d. unknown) was a revenue officer in the reign of Muhammad Shāh. He prepared a collection of official letters and documents under the title *Baharistan-i-Ma'ani*.

Husām ud-Din (d. unknown) was employed by an English officer of the East India Company as his *munshi*, and accompanied him to Poonah, the seat of the Marathas. He traced the history of Maratha race and carried the account down to his own times. It was a concise handbook with a lengthy title: *Sharh-i-Ahwal-i-Marhattah dar Zaman-i-sabiq wa hal bar Sabil-i-ijmal*, 1190/1776.

Husain Dost b. Abu Talib (d. unknown) belonged to Sambhal, a town situated in district Muradabad, North India, and acquired education in Delhi. He stayed in the capital for many years and developed interest in poetry. His contribution was a voluminous *tazkirah* of poets containing four hundred and forty-five entries. The author being a Husaini Saiyed, it appeared under the title: *Tazkirah-i-Husaini*, completed in 1163/1749. Also, he wrote a tract on Arabic grammar, *Tashrih ul-Huraf*, 1173/1759.

‘Ibrat Lahori, Saiyed Muhammad Qāsim Husaini (d. unknown) belonged to Lahore and settled in Delhi, where he entered the service of Saiyed Husain ‘Ali, the younger brother of Farrukh Siyār’s wazir, Qutb ul-Mulk Saiyed ‘Abd ullah of Barhah. He wrote a history dealing chiefly with the march of events from Aurangzeb’s death to the fall of Saiyed brothers (1133/1720). It cast light on the career of the sikh Guru, Govind Singh, his activities in Punjab and Aurangzeb’s conditional attitude towards him. The work appeared under the title: *‘Ibrat-nāmah*, 1135/1722.

Iftikhār, ‘Abd ul-Wahhab Daulatabādi (d. 1190/1776) learned the art of versification under the guidance of Azād Bilgrami, the great scholar, who passed his later life in the Deccan. Iftikhār served for many years under Safdar Jang, the nephew and son-in-law of Burhān ul-Mulk, whom Muhammad Shāh made superintendent of artillery, Mir-atish, and his successor, Ahmad Shāh, invited to serve as prime minister of the

tottering empire. Safdar Jang left his office in disgust against the intrigues of another rival, 'Imād ul-Mulk, and left for Awadh (d. 1168/1754). Iftikhar returned to his hometown, Daulatabad, where his chief engagement was reading and writing. He compiled a *tazkirah* of contemporary poets mostly associated with Asaf Jahi court: *Tazkirah-i-be nazir* (chronogram = 1172/1758).

Ijad, Mir Muhammad Ahsan (d. 1133/1720) was a military officer under Prince Muhammad A'zam, son of Aurangzeb and governor of Gujrat. Farrukh Siyar employed him to write a history of his reign. Ijad lived in Delhi enjoying the friendly company of Mirza Bedil and the Naqshbandi sufi, Shah Gulshan. In poetry, he declared himself as the pupil of Nāsir 'Ali. Among his works were 1. *Farrukh Siyar nāmah*, 2. an account of the career and achievements of Asaf Jah: *Tarikh-i-Futūhat-i-Asafi*, and 3. *Diwan* of verses.

Ikhlas, Kishan Chand (d. 1167/1754) lived in the Mughal capital at a time when, on the one hand, it was freely ravaged by foreign and indigenous invaders, and on the other, its inhabitants enjoyed themselves with all sorts of merry-making: the most common intoxicant being poetry. People of every description recited and appreciated verses. A superbly decorated assembly attended by large crowds was the scene of literary performance, the *Mushā'irah*, where tribute was paid to the poets with shouts of joy. Such was the cultural atmosphere of Delhi, where Ikhlas developed his literary sensibility. He left a voluminous *tazkirah* of later Mughal poets, a large number of them being his contemporaries, whom he saw personally or gathered information about them from his elders. Its title was: *Hamishah-Bahar*, completed in 1136/1723.

'Imād ul-Mulk, Mir Shihāb ud-Din (d. 1215/1800) was the son of Mir Muhammad Panah and grandson of the famous Nizām I of the Deccan, and enjoyed various high positions including prime ministership under the decadent Mughal emperors, Ahmad Shah and 'Alamgir, II. Having played the machiavellian game of politics in which all Mughal nobles of later days were past masters, he almost renounced the world at the end of his career and travelled widely in and outside India including the holy cities of Mecca

and Medinah. He possessed good taste for poetry and developed intimacy with pious men in old age. His book praising the virtues of Delhi's contemporary sufi and his spritual guide, Maulana Fakhr ud-din Muhibb-i-Nabi, appeared under the title *Manaqib-i-Fakhriyah*. Also, he was an accomplished poet composing under the pen-name Nizām, and left a *Diwān* of verses.

Imāmi, Saiyed Mahdi 'Ali (d. unknown) lived in Delhi and enjoyed the patronage of Husām ud-Din Haidar Khān, a nobleman of the capital during the time of Shāh 'Alam II. Imāmi was the author of many books: 1. *Zubdat ul-Ghara'ib*, 2. *Safinah fi fiqh-i-Imamiyah*, and 3. a collection of letters, *Qawa'id ul-Insha*, ca. 1212/1797.

'Ināyat Husain (d. unknown) lived in Delhi during the days of Shāh 'Alam II and Akbar Shāh II, and had the reputation of a scholar. He wrote a history of contemporary events and narrated a large number of facts witnessed by him personally. The details of the accession of Akbar Shāh (d. 1253/1837) constituted an interesting portion of the book. Its title was: *Kashif ul-Akhbar*.

'Ināyat Khān Rāsikh (d. unknown) was the son of Lutf ullah Khān Sādiq, who held the governorship of Delhi at the time of Nādir's sack of the Mughal capital. His ancestors were Ansāri Shaikhs belonging to the town of Panipat, north of Delhi. His exuberant wit and creative ability gathered a large number of pupils and literary friends around him. Among the works left by 'Ināyat Khān mention may be made of 1. a tract on music, *Risalah-i-Mughanniyan-i-Hindustan-i-Bihisht-nishān*, 2. a collection of letters addressed on behalf of the Mughal emperors or received by them, from Humāyūn to Shāh 'Alam Bahādur Shāh I, *Ruqqa'at-i-'Inayat khani*, 3. a notebook, *Bayaz*, containing select verses from famous poets, *'Inayat-namah*, 4. a tract explaining how to consult the *Diwān* of Khwajah Hafiz for omens, *Fal-namah-i-Hafiz*, and 5. a *Diwān* of verses, ca. 1163/1750.

Indermān (d. unknown) was a pupil of the celebrated scholar and lexicographer of Delhi, Lāla Tek Chand Bahār. He prepared an abridgement of his master's stupendous work and named it: *Muntakhab-*

i-Bahar-i- 'Ajam, completed in 1180/1766. Also, Inderman was the writer of a tract on mathematics, *Dastur ul-Hisab*, 1090/1679.

'Ishqi, Shāh Barkat ullah (d. 1122/1729) was a sufi belonging to one of the Saiyed families of Bilgram. His ancestors were prominent for their learning and spiritual attainments. The Shāh came over to Marāhrah, a town at some distance from his birth-place, where he lived till the end of his life. A large section of Indian sufis, besides gaining maturity in the field of traditional Islamic scholarship, possessed one additional distinction: Sanskrit language and the classics of Indian philosophy were not beyond the scope of their comprehension. 'Ishqi, like many of his illustrious predecessors, regaled himself with the *Gīta*, 'Song of Lord Krishna', and was competent enough to discuss the problems of the *Upanishad* with learned Brahmans. He could compose verses in local speech as well in order to be directly intelligible to the common folk. He left 1. a *Diwān* of verses, 2. a sufistic poem: *Riyāz-i- 'Ishq* 3. a tract on spiritual questions: *Chahar-Anwa'* 4. a collection of Hindi proverbs and their explanation appealing to the sufis: *'Awārif-i-Hindi*, and Hindi *Diwān* entitled as *Pem-Prakash*.

I'timād 'Ali Khān (d. unknown) served as a civil administrator at Surat and Cambay, Gujrat, in the reign of Muhammad Shāh and his successors. After retirement, he enjoyed the scholarly company of James Fraser, an employee of the British East India Company, living in the city of Surat. Encouraged by his English friend, he wrote a book on the working of the Mughal government quoting abundantly from administrative documents including the rules of mint and customs. The work was named *Mir'at ul-Huqā'iq*.

'Izzat ullah Bengali, Shaikh (d. unknown) was a scholar of the reign of Muhammad Shāh. He translated from Sanskrit a legend of romance under the title: *Qissah-i-Gul-Bakawālī*, ca. 1134/1722. Also, he composed poetry under the pen-name, Imāmi, and left a collection of letters: *Ruqqa'at-i-Imami*.

Ja'far, Shaikh (d. unknown) was a sufi of the Shattari order and author of a tract explaining the ritual practices observed by the members of his

fraternity. Its title was: *Asnad-i-Ashghal-i-Shattariyah*.

Jagat Narāyan (d. unknown) spent his career as revenue officer and was the author of a book on mathematics. He collected in it important official papers usually appended with such works. In the introduction, he praised the emperor without mentioning his name. But, the allusion that he liberally gave away Kabul and Qandhar to the ruler of Iran, revealed his identity. For, during the time of Muhammad Shah the cities were irretrievably lost and Nādir captured them before advancing on Delhi (1152/1739). The title of Jagat Narāyan's book was: *Makhzan ul-Hisab*.

Jai Singh, Rajah of Amber (d. 1156/1743) belonged to the princely line of Jaipur and served as governor of the province of Malwah under Muhammad Shāh. The emperor being aware of the Rajah's interest in astronomy, requested him to undertake fresh observations and improve the existing almanacs, which Mulla Chand and Mulla Farid, the employees of Akbar and Shah Jahān respectively, had computed earlier in their days. Rajah Jai Singh built a large observatory in Delhi, designed by Khair ullah Khān, his chief associate in the project, and invited Muslim, Brahman and also, European astronomers for working there. He equipped them with all the instruments used at Samarqand during the time of Sultān Ulugh Beg (d. 853/1449). And, to make the instruments, so to say, more modern, he introduced some innovations in their structure and shape. The researches were pursued simultaneously in five cities: Delhi, Jaipur, Mathura, Benaras and Ujjain. After seven years of laborious work, the Rajah and his team of scholars published their results in the form of a stupendous volume: *Zij-i-Jadid-i-Muhammad Shahi* (1140/1728). Later on, another scholar, named 'Abd ullah and entitled 'Mahārat Khān' prepared a simplified recension of the above, claiming that the book brought out under the care of Rajah Jai Singh was highly advanced and could not be utilized by amateur star-gazers. Mahārat Khān's recension appeared under the title: *Tashil-i-Zij-i-Muhammad Shahi*.

Jalāl ud-Din Ahmad Brijandi (d. unknown) emigrated from Brijand, Irān, and enjoyed the patronage of Amir Khān Anjam, the noble

of Muhammad Shah. He dedicated his work on medicine to his benefactor, naming it: *Shifa ul-Qulab*, 1106/1696.

Jamāl ud-Din Qādīrī (d. unknown) was a sufi disciple of Shaikh 'Abd un-Nabī Qādīrī. Responding to the request of a friend, he translated from Arabic the famous work of 'Abd ul-Karīm Jīlī (d. 832/1429). Its title was: *Insan ul-Kāmil*, completed ca. 1209/1795.

Jān-i-'Alam, Shirin Raqam (d. unknown) served as scribe = munshi, of a British officer of the East India Company. The Englishman found a history of the Kachwaha Rājās of Jaipur written in Hindi, which Jān-i-'Alam translated into Persian for his master's amusement and instruction. The work dealt with the details of the Jaipur princes from their legendary origin down to 1198/1783. It came out under the lengthy title: *Bansawālī-i-Buzurgān-i-Maharajah Dhiraj Swai Pratap Singh Bahadur*.

Jān Muhammad Siwistānī (d. unknown) served as a revenue officer and was posted to Dipālpur, Punjab, during the time of Farrukh Siyār. 'Abd us-Samad Khān, governor of the province, further elevated his rank. Jān Muhammad prepared a collection of letters: *Maktūbat-i-Jan Muhammad*, 1139/1726.

Jānki Rām (d. unknown) was the author of a condensed history of the house of Timūr. Beginning from Timūr and his descendants, the author passed on to the Indian branch, the Mughals, and narrated events in annalistic manner. The work came down to 'Alamgir II (d. 1173/1759) and was named: *Fihirist-i-Khandān-i-Timuriyah*, completed ca. 1203/1788.

Jawān-Bakht, Prince (d. 1203/1788) was the eldest son of Shāh 'Alam II. Having witnessed the calamities that befell his unfortunate father and the whole members of the royal family, he fled from Delhi to Lucknow. The Nawwāb of Awadh bestowed on him a livelihood pension for which Warren Hastings, the first Governor General of British East India Company had also made recommendation. Mirza Jawān Bakht left a precise account of his life preserving in it the last glimpses of Delhi before he came out of it. It was identified with the author's name as: *Tazkirah-i-Jawān-Bakht*.

Jiwan Mal (d. unknown) was a learned Brahman who translated from

original Sanskrit, as he claimed, the book concerning Hindu sex education in an introduction and ten chapters. The work, accomplished at the instance of one of his friends, was named *Tarjumah-i-Asrār-i-Kāk* (chronogram = 1156 = 1743).

Jur'at, Musawi Khān, Mir Muhammad Hāshim Gilāni (d. 1175/1761) lived in Hyderabad and enjoyed the confidence of Nizām ul-Mulk Asaf Jāh I, when that rebel noble of Delhi had made that city his permanent centre of power. Jur'at was a poet and wrote impressive prose, particularly, in his official despatches. His above-mentioned patron and his successors assigned him important positions of government. He left a collection of letters: *Munsha'at-i-Musawi Khan*.

Kamāl ullah Siddiqi (d. unknown) was the author of a tract in popular demand by the sufis. Beginning with the Prophet and his four orthodox caliphs, it gave enlightening details about the lives of eminent saints. Its value must be due to a large number of chronograms mentioning every sufi's date of death. The title of the book was: *Tarjumat ul-Asrār*, 1185/1771.

Kāshi Lal (d. unknown) lived during the time of Muhammad Shāh and his successors. He was the author of a Turkish Persian dictionary, which he compiled, as he said, for the benefit of his son, Kalka Dayāl. It contained seven sections and its title was *Haft-Akhtar*. Its year of completion came out from the chronogram, *Wūfūr-i-Faiz* = 1182/1768.

Kāshiraj Shiv Rāo Pandit (d. unknown) was in the service of Sadashiv Rāo Bhāv, the Maratha general and wrote an eyewitness account of the third battle of Panipat (1175/1761). He served as his master's emissary to Nawwāb Shujā 'ud-Dawlah, ruler of Awadh, and performed many important missions during the days of crisis, before the final show of strength between the Maratha and Afghan armies. His work has been acknowledged by historians (Jādu Nāth Sarkār) as "the fullest and most trustworthy source". Its title was: *Ahwal-i-Jang-i-Bhāv wa Ahmad Shāh Durrani*, completed in 1195/1780.

Kewal Rām (d. unknown) belonged to a small town, Kasnah, in upper

Jamuna valley at a short distance from Delhi. He collected detailed information about Mughal nobles, both the Hindu and Musalman, who held offices of distinction from the reign of Akbar to that of Aurangzeb. Of equal importance must be the knowledge revealed by him concerning the revenue figures of the empire. His study was noteworthy as it preceded the similar and larger work undertaken by Shah Nawāz Khān. He devoted two sections of the book to Muslim and Hindu nobles. Its title was *Tazkirat ul-Umara*, completed in 1140/1728.

Khair ud-Din Qādiri Naqshbandi (d. unknown) lived as a sufi in Sūrat, Gujrat, and was the spiritual disciple of Shaikh Muhammad Hayāt Sindhi (d. 1163/1750). His work on sufism attained popularity under the title: *Irshad us-Salikin*.

Khair ullah Khan, Abu'l Khair (d. unknown) was the son of Lutf ullah Muhandis and grandson of Ustād Ahmad Lahori, the architect of Taj Mahal. The above-mentioned title was conferred on him by Muhammad Shah. He was brilliant like all members of his family and possessed command over applied mathematics. Rājah Jai Singh Sawā'i of Amber engaged him as his chief adviser before commencing the vast astronomical researches. The Rājah's expansive observatories at Delhi and other cities were designed by Khair ullah Khān. His understanding of the scientific ideas entertained by earlier masters, particularly, Nasir ud-Din Tūsī (d. 672/1274) was affirmed by about half a dozen commentaries he wrote on their books. Noteworthy among his works must be the Persian version of 1. Euclid (B.C. ca. 283) and 2. Ptolemy (A.D. 150), the Greek scientists of Alexandria. To the latter, the Muslim scholars introduced as Batlimūs. Euclid's only surviving Arabic recension, *Tahrir-i-Uqlidis*, was earlier translated into Persian by Nasir ud-Din's pupil, Qutb ud-Din Shirāzi. Khair ullah Khān made a second attempt known as *Tahrir ut-Tahrir*. And, Ptolemy's *Megale Sintaxis*, that is, the *Almagest*, was once again rendered from original Greek into Arabic by Nasir ud-Din Tusi under the title *Tahrir ul-Majisti*. Khair ullah's Persian version of the same came out as *Taqrib ut-Tahrir*, 1144/1731.

Khalil, 'Ali Ibrāhim Khan (d. 1208/1793) enjoyed the friendship of Mir Qāsim, the last independent Nawwāb of Bengal, who conferred on him

the titles of 'Amin ud-Dawlah' 'Aziz-ul-Mulk Nāsir Jang'. After Mir Qāsim's fall, he experienced many hardships. The English officers of the East India Company offered him appointment to serve as chief magistrate of Benaras. Born in a noble family at 'Azimabad Patna, he had received good education in early life. His abiding interest in literary problems exhibited itself through the anthologies of poets which have survived to his credit. These works cast much interesting side-light on contemporary events. 1. A voluminous *tazkirah* devoted to brief notices of ancient and modern poets, *Suhuf-i-Ibrahim*, 2. another *tazkirah* concerning 'Rekhtah' poets, *Gulzar-i-Ibrahim*, 3. similar effort confined to *masnawi* writers, *Khulasat ul-kalam*, and 4. a history of the Maratha wars in Hindustan, *Tarikh-i-Maratha*.

Khalwat, Ghulām Rasūl (d. unknown) was a poet-scholar writing on sufistic and scientific subjects. Of his many works, importance was attained by an elaborate treatise on mathematics, containing astronomical calculations, and details of *siyāq* = rules of revenue, miscellaneous levies and procedures relating to public income and expenditure etc. Its double title was: *Hal'iyat us-Siyāq/Siyāq nāmah*, completed in 1199/1777.

Khawass Khān, Muhammad Hanafi Qādiri Quraishi Madani Bijapuri (d. unknown) "was a contemporary of the Mughal emperor, Farrukh Siyār" (Storey Hist. Bio. N (O) 1584). He wrote a biographical dictionary of Hanafi traditionists. Its title was: *Muhimmat ul-Muhaddisin* (chronogram = 1128) 1716.

Khayāl, Arshad Ashraf (d. unknown) was teacher in a Madrasah at Delhi. He wrote a book containing miscellaneous topics. There were rules of grammar, rhetoric, and model letters together with a dictionary of words which a writer of official documents must bear in mind. The title of the work was *Fanus-i-Khayāl*, completed in 1188/1784.

Khayāl, Muhammad Taqi Ja'fari (d. 1173/1769) lived in Delhi and enjoyed the patronage of Ishāq Khān, an influential noble of the court of Muhammad Shah. Initially, Khayāl's place of birth was Ahmadabad, Gujrat, where he completed his education. On his

benefactor's recommendation, the emperor appointed him as librarian of the royal library, where Khayal found ample opportunity for reading. After Muhammad Shah's death, he moved to Murshidabad, Bengal, and passed the rest of his life in the service of 'Alī Wirdī Khān (d. 1170/1756) and his successor, Sirāj ud-Dawlah (d. 1171/1757). He possessed immensely vigorous imagination which was employed in conceiving vast network of legends on the pattern of *Arabian Nights*. The themes of his work were picked up by professional story-tellers, the substitutes for stage players in Mughal India, who popularised them throughout the land. In his fiction the author presented glimpses of contemporary society more instructive than the statement of an inquisitive historian. Its title was: *Bustan-i-Khayal*, completed in 1171/1757.

Khāb ullah Ilahabādi, Muhammad Yahya (d. 1144/1731) belonged to the famous sufi family of Allahabad and devoted his life to study and spiritual exercise. Also a poet, he trained disciples and wrote books; about nine of them have been enumerated by later writers. Important and interesting among them were 1. *Kalimat ul-Mu'talifah*, and 2. *Wafayat ul-'Alam*.

Khwushgu, Bindrāban Dās (d. 1170/1756) belonged to Mathura, the holy city of the Hindus, and passed most of his life in Delhi. In old age he went to Allahabad, choosing the confluence of two sacred rivers as a proper place for spiritual retirement. He witnessed the terrible invasion of Nādir Shāh and sack of Asia's great city by the Persian soldiers. His contacts with all the important literary men, then living in the capital, were intimate; and it was daily routine to attend their company as a young pupil. Noteworthy among them were Mirza Afzal Sarkhwush, Mirza Bedil, and Khān-i-Arzū. Their ideas on literature enriched his mind and made him a fine critic of Persian poetry. All his life he acknowledged his indebtedness to them and took much care in leaving pleasant descriptions of their personalities. An instance may be mentioned: "Once, Bedil and Sarkhwush were crossed with each other and their regular meetings came to a halt. I requested my spiritual mentor and saint of Delhi, Shah Gulshan, to mediate and make rapprochement between them. Their sittings as old friends were missed by all the visitors to Bedil's house. Shah Gulshan smiled and said: 'Yes, young man, you must be longing for the spectacle of elephant-fights'.

"Khwushgu wrote a *tazkirah* of poets, which engaged his attention for about ten years. Of the three sections, named as *daftar*, the third is very interesting as the poets included in it were contemporaries, whom he saw personally. The work gained popularity as *Safinah-i-Khwushgu*, completed in 1137/1724.

Khwush-hāl Chand Kayasth (d. 1155/1742) was the son of Jiwan Ram, a revenue officer of important position during the days of Aurangzeb and his successor, Shah 'Alam Bahadur Shah I. The same post was transferred to him as the revenue department of the Mughals was practically dominated by men of his caste. Having passed his tenure of service under the chief revenue officer = *Diwan*, of the province of Delhi, he witnessed the administrative collapse of the empire and the turmoil, which culminated in the horrible tragedy of Nadir's invasion. The rapidly changing scene of human circumstances all around him turned his mind to brood over the past and Khwush-hāl Chand spent his later years of life in writing a book of history. He arranged his material in two main parts: (a) followed the familiar fashion introduced by earlier historians (i) Prophets and caliphs, (ii) India down to Lodis; and (b) dealt exclusively with the Mughals (i) Babur to Rafi' ud-Dawlah, (ii) Muhammad Shah. His observations regarding contemporary developments were of unique importance. As token of his devotion to the emperor, he named the book, *Tarikh-i-Muhammad Shahi*. The chronogram, indicating its year of completion, proposed another and equally suggestive name, *Nadir uz-Zamani* = 1152/1740.

Khwush-hāl Khan Kalāwant (d. unknown) lived in Delhi during the reign of Muhammad Shah and enjoyed fame as master musician. The emperor was fond of his recitals. After the death of Muhammad Shah (1161/1748), he migrated to the Deccan, where he gained patronage of Mir Sikandar Jah, the Nizam of Hyderabad, and other nobles of his court. Khwush-hāl Khan was the author of a work on Indian classical music: *Rag-Darshan*.

Kishan Singh, Rai (d. unknown) lived in the reign of Muhammad Shah. He translated from Sanskrit a version of the *Purana*, the sacred book of Hindu personal law and named it *'Ain uz-Zuhur*, ca. 1157/1749.

Lachhman Rām (d. unknown) lived in Ibrahimabad, a town in District Ghāzipur, North India, and was younger contemporary of 'Aqil Khan Rāzi, the noble of Aurangzeb. Rāzi versified Mulla Muhammad Jā'isi's Hindi Classic, the *Padmawat*, as: *Shama' wa Parwanah*. Prior to Rāzi, a sufi poet, Mulla 'Abd ush-Shakūr Bazmi, also made the *Padmawat*'s translation in verse, naming the poem: *Rut-Padam*. Following the works of Bazmi and Rāzi, Lachhman Rām brought out his own version in prose mingled with poetry entitled *Farah-Bakhsh*, completed in 1135/1723.

Lachhmi Narāyan Khattri, Rājah (d. unknown) belonged to Kunjah, a town in Punjab, and came to settle in Shah Jahan's Delhi. His grandfather, Rāi Jaswant Rāi 'Alamgiri, held important position as revenue expert in the government of Aurangzeb. Rājah Lachhmi Narāyan was highly educated in various disciplines. Among his teachers there were eminent scholars of the age, as for example, his own fellow-townsmen and Ghanimat's cousin, Shaikh Muhammad, Khān-i-Arzu, Tek Chand Bahār, and the leading physicians of Delhi, under whose guidance the Rājah practised medicine for twelve years. During Abdālī's invasion followed by general exodus, he also left Delhi and moved to Aruangabad, Deccan. At the invitation of Hāfiz Rahmat Khān's minister, Rāi Pahār Singh, he returned to Bareilly, North India. Finally, he found employment under Shuja'ud-Dawlah and his successor, Asaf ud-Dawlah, rulers of Awadh, and lived as an old man in Faizabad, where his disciple Faiz Bakhsh of Kakory prepared the collection of his letters. It appeared as: *Khulāsat ul Insha-Insha-i-Lachhmi Narāyan*, 1205/1790.

Lachhmi Nāth (d. unknown) belonged to Narur, Punjab, and lived during the time of Muhammad Shāh. He was the author of a book of essays on the pattern of *maqamat*. He praised the emperor and the royal buildings, particularly, A' inah Mahal. His style chiefly exhibited itself in the description of Hindu seasonal festivals Holi and Basant. The title of the book was: *Riyāz-i-Rang*, completed, as he informed, in the 27th years of Muhammad Shāh's reign, 1157/1744.

Lāla Rām (d. unknown) was an official of high position in the reign of Muhammad Shāh. He inherited the title of Rāi from his father and grandfather, who, as a mark of honour, possessed land-grant as well. Lāla

Rām was the author of a general history of India, in which he paid special attention to geographical conditions and brought the account to the reign of Farrukh Siyār (d. 1131/1719). Its title was: *Tuhfat ul-Hind*.

Lughât-i-Fārsi: Anonymous dictionary. The author lived in the reign of Farrukh Siyār. He mentioned in the preface, of which only a fragment has survived, that he compiled the work for the benefit of his daughter Hayât Bāno, whom he desired to impart the best education. It was the labour of love that symbolized a father's pious motive. Many great works, for example, the *Shah-namah* and the *Lilawati*, owed their existence to pretty little girls, and, the *Lughat-i-Farsi* was a modest addition to the same category.

Lutf-i-Rasūl alias Muhammad Musharraḥ (d. unknown) was the descendant of Saiyed 'Ala ud-Dīn Wasiti, a spiritual disciple, of Shaikh Nasir ud-Dīn Mahmūd Chiragh-i-Dehli. At the latter's instance, Saiyed 'Ala ud-Dīn settled at Sindilah, a town near Lucknow. Lutf-i-Rasūl was a scholar of medical science and attempted a commentary on the *al-Qanūn* of Avicenna, naming his work: *Tafrih ul-Jinan fī 'Ilm ul-Abdān*, completed in 1214/1799.

Mādho Rām, Munshi (d. 1145/1732) held secretarial job under Lutf ullah Khān, deputy governor of Lahore in the reign of Aurangzeb. His father, Sa'd ullah khān, was Shāh Jahān's prime minister. As Lutf ullah was himself an erudite man and excelled in writing ornate prose, his secretary adopted similar style and prepared a guide-book for the instruction of young students. Drafting *insha*, being essential course in a Mughal madrasah, the work gained immediate currency. At the end of his career Madho Rām served as secretary to the emperor, Jahandār Shāh. His collection appeared under the title: *Insha-i-Madho Ram*, 1120/1708.

Mahārat Khān (d. unknown) was court physician of Shāh 'Alam Bahādur Shāh I, and attended him at the time of his death which occurred on the bank of Rāvi, Lahore (1124/1712). Among his surviving works was a book of geography; for its preparation he freely borrowed material from earlier authorities. Its title was: *Bahjat-i-'Alam*, ca. 1124/1712.

Mahārat Khān, Muzaffar Husain (d. unknown) belonged to a family of the physicians of Isfahān. His father, Hakim Ghulām Muhammad Khān, emigrated to Aurangabad, Deccan, where Muzaffar Husain was born. From Aurangabad he moved to Delhi during the reign of Muhammad Shāh. As a young apprentice, Muzaffar received professional training under the guidance of the emperor's physician, Muhammad Husain, whose title was 'Buqrāt Khān'. Later on, Muhammad Shāh employed him as court physician and conferred on him the title mentioned above. He was the author of a book of general knowledge dealing with miscellaneous subjects: (i) the art of conversation and polite manners, (ii) events of history which opened the eyes and enriched human experiences, (iii) topographical survey, (iv) cities famous for their inhabitants, particularly, poets and men of learning, (v) natural phenomena, elements and animals etc. and (vi) language, grammar and rhetoric. The book divided into five major sections appeared under the title: *Jam-i-Jahān Numa*, ca. 1180/1766.

Mahdi Khān Astrabādi, Mirza (d. unknown) served as secretary to Nādir Shāh (d. 1160/1747). At the latter's instance, he wrote official histories of his master's achievements: 1. *Tarikh-i-Jahān Kusha-i-Nadiri*; 2. *Durr-i-Nadira* and left 3. a collection of letters, *Insha-i-Mirza Mahdi Khān* and 4. a Turkish-Persian dictionary; *Sanglakh*.

Mahmūd b. Ibrāhīm Husaini (d. unknown) lived at the court of the Afghan king Ahmad Shāh Abdālī. He wrote a history of his patron, tracing his early career, and brought the account down to the capture of Delhi by Abdālī and the marriage of his son, Timūr Shāh, with the daughter of the Mughal emperor, 'Alamgir II. Its title was: *Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shāhi*, ca. 1170/1756.

Masih uz-Zamān Hānsawi (d. unknown) was a sufi scholar in the reign of Shāh 'Alam Bahādur Shāh (d. 1123/1711). At the instance of his spiritual guide, Shaikh Najm ullah alias Hafiz 'Alam Khan, he prepared a collection of official letters: *Ruqqa at-i-Muhammadi*.

Mazhar, Mirza Jān-i-Jānān (d. 1195/1781) combined in his character the piety of a sufi and the refined sensibility of a poet. Naturally, there was a large circle of disciples and devotees to venerate him. In the post-

Aurangzeb era, the squabbles of selfish nobles at the top and their division "into two armed camps of Turanis and Iranis" (J.N. Sarkar), led further down to multiply moral degeneration and widen the gap between two major sects of the Muslims, particularly, in the imperial capital. At a stage, Mirza Mazhar found himself involved in the sordid controversy, and an unknown ruffian shot him one night. Both the Sunnis and the Shi'ahs blamed each other for his murder. One of his verses in praise of 'Ali was very much famous among the contemporaries. Like a true sufi, Mazhar sent message from his death-bed as last will to Najaf Khān, the governor of Delhi, saying not to arrest or kill anybody in reprisal for his blood. Bhagwan Dās Hindi remarked in his *Safinah*: "Indeed, Mirza Mazhar was a wonderful man." His contributions were: 1. a *Diwan* of verses, 2. *Golden Treasury* type selection of verses from famous poets, *Kharītha-i-Jawahir*, and 3. a collection of letters.

Mazhar b. Muzaffar (d. unknown) served as personal physician to the Mughal emperor, Shāh 'Alam II, and was known in the capital for his professional excellence. He wrote a detailed work on sex education based on earlier classics, Chiefly, *Kukshastra*, and named it after his royal patron: *Khulasat ul- 'Aish-i- 'Alam Shahi*, completed in 1177/1763.

Mihakk us-Sulūk : Anonymous work containing a mixture of historical and religious subjects. The sufis and religious men welcomed the work in their circles and recommended its study to their disciples. The author divided it into fifteen chapters and a termination = *Khatimah*. He was a servant of Mughal government in the reign of Shāh 'Alam Bahādur Shah I, and completed the book in ca. 1133/1720.

Mirza Mughal Beg (d. unknown) was employed by Francis Wilford, an officer of the East India Company. The latter sent him to collect information, topographical and otherwise, from the North West Frontier region. Accordingly, Mirza Mughal Beg travelled around Peshawar, went to Kabul and further on made a visit to Kashghar. He collected the Report of his travels in a book, *Sair ul-Bilad*, ca. 1214/1799.

Mitter Sen (d. unknown) was a civil servant of Mughal government during the time of Muhammad Shah. He lived as an old man of eighty

years in Kather near Bareilly, North India, when that region passed on to the possession of Awadh rulers. As the administrative staff of Awadh assumed control of the former Rohella territory, an officer of Asaf ud-Dawlah's government posted there was Pandit Shambhu Nāth Chaudhary, son of Rājah Narāyan Dās, who developed friendly relations with Mitter Sen. The latter handed over to Pandit Shambhu Nāth his book of memoirs, which contained interesting reminiscences about men and events from the death of Muhammad Shāh (1161/1748) to the debacle of Buxar (1179/1765) and a few years further till Asaf ud-Dawlah ascended the throne. There were notices of (i) three Mughal emperors, namely, Ahmad Shāh, 'Alamgir Second, Shāh 'Alam Second, (ii) Durrāni invader: Ahmad Shāh, (iii) the Rohellas to wit, Najib ud-Dawlah, Hafiz Rahmat Khān, Dundey Khān, 'Ali Muhammad Khān, Zabitha Khān etc. (iv) the Marathas, for example, Madhauji Sindhiya etc. (v) the Nawwabs of Awadh: Safdar Jang, Shuja' ud-Dawlah, (vi) Mirza Najaf Khān, (vii) Suraj Mal, (viii) Rājah Nāgar Mal, and host of others. The author's young friend edited the manuscript, and arranged the material in appropriate manner. He retained the original title: *Daur-namah*, 1227/1812.

Moti Rām (d. unknown) belonged to Gwalior and possessed information about the history of his native town. It fell to the government of the East India Company in 1194/1780. At the request of one of the British officers, Moti Rām described the details of the assault. He took assistance in the work from a friend, Khwush-hāl, and named it: *Ahwāl-i-Qal'ah-i-Gwalior*.

Mubarak, Qāzi (d. 1162/1748) was a scholar and sufi, generally familiar as Qāzi Mubarak III. Among his ancestors, the first of the same name lived in the time of Shaikh Nizām ud-Din Auliya. And the second, who lived in Amethi, a town in Awadh, witnessed the reign of the Mughal emperor, Akbar. Qāzi Mubarak III was the spiritual successor of Shaikh Allah-Diya, a Chishti sufi of the time of Aurangzeb. He left a commentary on Mulla Muhibb ullah Bihārī's book on logic, *Sullam ul-'Ulām*, which remained in vogue as a textbook in the institutions of higher learning. The Qāzi's work gained popularity under its abbreviated title, *Sharh-i-Sullam*, completed in 1143/1730.

Mufazzal Khān, Saiyed (d. unknown) was a scholar in the reign of Muhammad Shāh. He left two books, 1. a history of the house of Timur, *Timūr-namah-i-Mufazzali*, and 2. a general history divided into seven sections, the sixth and seventh dealing with India from the conquest of Muhammad b. Qāsim to the Mughals. Its title was: *Tārīkh-i-Mufazzali*, completed ca. 1153/1740.

Muhammad ‘Abd ullah b. Shāh ‘Abd ur-Rahim (d. unknown) was the brother of Shāh Wali ullah, famous theologian of Delhi. He wrote a tract on the essentials of religious education in four chapters: (i) beliefs, which should be in the knowledge of every Muslim; (ii) actions, which every Muslim should perform; (iii) rules, leading to purification of inner personality; and (iv) counsels of moral importance. The title of the work was: *Chahār-Bab*, ca. 1180/1766.

Muhammad Akram, Shaikh (d. unknown) lived as a sufi in Delhi. His place of birth was a village in Karnāl. He wrote a *tazkirah* of the Chishti saints of India, tracing their origin from the Prophet and mentioning briefly all the early sufis from Hasan-i-Basri downwards. It appeared under double title: *Iqtibas ul-Anwār / Sawatī’ ul-Anwār*, completed in 1142/1729.

Muhammad ‘Ali (d. unknown) served as chief of elephant stable, *Daroghah-i-Fil Khanah*, under Muhammad Shāh. The emperor conferred on him the title of “Fazl-i-‘Ali Khān.” He collected letters for the use of young students interested in learning the art of letter writing. In the introduction he gave interesting details concerning elephant-fight, which was a big entertainment. Thus, the collection acquired double significance, for, it preserved the author’s professional skill, its title was: *Ruqqa’ at-i-Muhammad ‘Ali*.

Muhammad ‘Ali, Shaikh (d. unknown) lived in Delhi during the days of Muhammad Shāh. He wrote a book on the pattern of *Maqamat*. The essay gave out praise of the king, the capital, and the art of ornate writing etc. But, the later portion (in the extant manuscript of AMU) came closer in content and style to Mulla Muhammad Bulāq Dehlawi’s volume on aesthetics, bearing the same title, *Nuskah-i-‘Aish Afza*, completed,

as claimed by Muhammad 'Ali himself, in the 25th year of Muhammad Shāh's reign, 1155/1742.

Muhammad 'Ali b. Muhammad Fāzil (d. unknown) was the author of a monograph describing the martyrdom of the Prophet's grandson, Husain, and his companions at Karabala in the year 60/679. It appeared as: *Ma'dan us-Sulaha dar Bayan-i-Saiyed ush Shuhada*, completed in 1218/1803.

Muhammad 'Ali Husaini (d. unknown) also added with his name Nishapuri, Najafī Burhānpuri, which indicated that his family wandered through many cities before he found a permanent refuge under the patronage of Muhammad Shāh's noble, Burhān ul-Mulk Saiyed Sa'adat Khān, governor of Awadh. His contribution was a handbook on the pattern of general histories, in which he described events down to his own times. It contained an introduction, eight chapters and an epilogue, and was dedicated to his patron. The author's personal observations gave additional significance to the work. For, there were copious details covered by him, about the conditions obtaining in the reign of Muhammad Shāh, the activities of the provincial governors, and the influence commanded by the sufis and pious men of the realm. Its title was *Burhān ul-Futūh*. 2. Muhammad 'Ali's other work of the same nature that seemed to be an enlargement of the above-named history, was dedicated to Samsām ud-Dawlah Shāh Nawāz Khān, and named *Mir'at us-Safa*, narrating the developments to 1169/1758. 3. Having witnessed the days of Mir Najaf 'Ali Khān Shamsheer Jang, he presented his fresh history to that nobleman. It dealt mainly with the affairs of the Deccan and appeared as: *Tarikh-i-Rahat-Afza*.

Muhammad 'Ali Ilahabādi (d. unknown) belonged to a sufi family of Allahabad. His grandfather, Shaikh Khūb ullah, was famous for his piety and saintliness. He wrote a book in praise of the Prophet, his four caliphs, and his descendants, naming the work: *Ghayat ul-Himmah fī Zikr us-Sahabah wal A'imma*, completed in 1209/1795.

Muhammad 'Ashiq alias 'Ali b. Shaikh 'Abd ullah (d. unknown) was a sufi disciple of Shāh Wali ullah, the theologian of Delhi (d.

1187/1773). He wrote a book on the subjects of interest to the sufis, *Sabīl ur-Rashād*.

Muhammad Beg Bilgrāmi (d. unknown) was posted as government servant in Lahore during the time of Farrukh Siyār. His father, Muhammad Rahim, a Turk of Taklū clan, had settled in the town of Bilgram, Awadh. Muhammad Beg was an avid reader of books. Having studied different subjects for many years, he was inspired to write a book of general knowledge in which a variety of topics could be accommodated. There were anecdotes for the improvement of moral character, sayings of great men, extracts from the books of sufis, letters of Mughal nobles, and in the end, specimens of revenue documents. Among rare pieces that Muhammad Beg preserved in his book, was a prayer = *Munajat*, composed by the Chishti saint, Shaikh Farid ud-Din Mas'ud Ganj-i-Shakar, on the pattern of Khwajah 'Abd ullah Ansāri, the sufi of Herat (d. 481/1088) whose *Munajat* has been famous as a masterpiece of Persian prose. And, of equally interesting nature were miscellaneous documents and the letters of some Mughal ladies including those of Muhammad Muhsin Zul Qadr, a servant of Zeb-un-Nisa addressed to that princess. The book, taken up in the fourth year of Farrukh Siyār's reign, appeared under the title: *Jamī' ul-Fānān*, 1127/1715.

Muhammad b. 'Abd us-Samad (d. unknown) was a descendant of Shaikh 'Abd ul-Haq Dehlawi and lived in the reign of Muhammad Shāh, who conferred on him the title of Shaikh ul-Islām. He prepared a commentary of *Sahih*, the great collection of traditions by Imām Bukhārī (d. 256/969). It gained popularity as: *Sharh-i-Shaikh ul-Islām*.

Muhammad ibn Derwish 'Ali, Shaikh (d. unknown) lived as a sufi during the reign of Muhammad Shāh and his successors. Shaikh Muhammad compiled a genealogy of Shaikh 'Abd ul-Qādir Jilani, saint of Baghdad and founder of the Qādiri order (d. 561/1165). Its title was *Nasab namah-i-Ghausiyah*.

Muhammad Falāh Saleh Husaini (d. unknown) lived during the time of Shāh 'Alam II, and was the author of an Indian tale of romance, its

heroine being a gallant woman, Chitr Rekha. As he related in the preface, his friends were very much pleased by hearing the legend and requested him to versify it in Persian. The *masnawi* in familiar *Hazaj* metre appeared under double title: *Khayal-i-Falah/Afsanah-i-Chitr-Rekha*.

Muhammad Fazil ud-Din (d. 1151/1738) belonged to a family of learned men whose members lived in Batalah and Lahore. A Qadiri sufi by training, he wrote a book on the tenets of his order, naming it: *Rumuz ul-Qadiriyyah*.

Muhammad Firuz b. Mahabbat (d. unknown) was a scholar of the time of Shah 'Alam II (d. 1221/1806), whom he dedicated his commentary on Shaikh Muhibb ullah Bihari's Arabic work dealing with philosophy and logic, *Sullam ul-'Ulum*. He named his version: *Siraj-i-Wahhaj* but it gained currency as *Sharh-i-Sullam ul-'Ulum*.

Muhammad Ghaus b. Muahmmad Fa'iq (d. unknown) was employed in the service of Ahmad Shah 'Abdali as tutor to his son, Prince Timur Shah. He collected anecdotes about the great kings of India for the instruction and enlightenment of his young pupil. The title chosen for the collection was: *Riyaz ul-Muluk*, completed ca. 1180/1766.

Muhammad Ghaus Qadiri (d. 1155/1742) belonged to Peshawar and lived in Lahore during the days of Muhammad Shah. He was the author of a sufistic treatise in seven chapters, which became popular under double title: *Asrar ut-Tariqah/Risalah-i-Ghausiyah*. Another concise work from his pen was: *Risalah-i-'Irfani*.

Muhammad Hasan b. Muhmmad 'Ali, alias Mirza Ali Muhammad Khan (d. unknown) served as chief revenue officer = *Diwan*, of Gujrat under the successors of Aurangzeb. He was thoroughly acquainted with the history, topography and administrative traditions of the province and possessed the eye of a keen and competent observer. The archives of Gujrat being under his control, he freely derived material from there and brought out a regional history full of interesting details. The book preserved copies of imperial *farmans* and revealed, in particular, many features on which the structure of provincial government was based. It

discussed at length about the city of Ahmadabad and the saints, Saiyeds and pious scholars, who lived in that city. Mirza Muhammad Hasan named the work: *Mir'at-i-Ahmadi*, 1175/1761.

Muhammad Hayāt (d.1173/1760) was a sufi scholar of Qādiri Naushahi sub-order popular in Punjab. He wrote books for the instruction of his fraternity. Spiritual improvement being their chief object, all sufis were ardent readers taking topics from some authors for collective discussion in their circle. The titles of Muhammad Hayat's surviving works were 1. *Tarvih ul-Qulūb* and 2. *Majma'ul-Lata'if*.

Muhammad Husain, Hāfiz (d. unknown) lived in the days of Muhammad Shāh and was the author of a concise history of the Mughals from Babur to the early years of his contemporary monarch. He included in the work important administrative documents and civil deeds of the government. Also, he collected statistical figures of revenue income and expenditure of the empire in chronological order from Aurangzeb downward till about a decade. These entries made his work very interesting. Its title was *Mir'at ul-Haqā'iq*, completed ca. 1139/1726.

Muhammad Ihsan, Abu'l Faiz Kamāl ud-Din (d. 1149/1736) lived as sufi during the time of Muhammad Shāh and was a descendant of Shaikh Ahmad Mujaddid Sirhindi. He wrote a book praising the spiritual qualities of his ancestor and those of the Mujaddid's *qaiyyāms* = all powerful successors. It cast side-light on contemporary events, particularly, the invasion of Nādir Shāh and sack of Delhi personally witnessed by the author. Its title was: *Rauzat ul-Qaiyyāmiah*.

Muhammad 'Ināyat ullah, Abu'l Ma'ārif Shāh (d. unknown) belonged to Qasūr and settled in Lahore, where he was respected for his sufi way of life. The lengthy suffixes to his name were Hanafi, Qādiri, Shattāri. His spiritual guide was Shāh Muhammad Reza Qādiri Shattāri, a holy man and chief jurist of Punjab under Aurangzeb. He was the author of two sufistic treatises 1. *Dastūr ul-'Amal*, and 2. *Lata'if-i-Ghaibi*, completed ca. 1150/1737.

Muhammad Ishāq, Shaikh (d. unknown) was a physician of

Lahore. Originally, his ancestor came from Medinah to Thatta, Sind, and then, moved to settle in Thanesar. Ishaq's father, Nūr Muhammad, studied medicine under the guidance of an English surgeon and the profession survived in his family. Shaikh Ishaq's elder brother, Muhammad Hayāt, was also a physician. He wrote his memoirs in which he described his medical experiences: *Tazkirah-i-Ishaqiyah*.

Muhammad Ja'far, Mirza (d. unknown) lived in Bombay and wrote a biographical account of his grandfather, Nawwāb Mirza Mahdi 'Alī Khān. The latter enjoyed high offices under (i) the Qachār king, Fath 'Alī Shāh (d. 1250/1834), (ii) Najaf 'Alī Khān, governor of Allahabād, (iii) Shāh 'Alam II, and (iv) the British East India Company. The title of Mirza Muhammad Ja'far's book was: *Majmu'ah-i-Ja'fari*.

Muhammad Khalil, Khwajah (d. unknown) was an army officer of minor rank and performed service under the Saiyed brothers of Barhah. He narrated the events of about six years from the death of Aurangzeb (1119/1707) to the accession of Farrukh Siyār (1125/1713). Its title occurring casually on the fly-leaf was: *Tarikh-i-Shahan Shahi*. (See Ramī)

Muhammad Māh, Mulla (d. unknown) was a scholar of the days of Farrukh Siyār and Muhammad Shāh. He was patronized by Nawwāb 'Azim ud-Dīn khān Muzaffar Jang and wrote, 1. a mathematical treatise, *Mir'at-ul-Hisab*, 2. a commentary on the *khulasat ul-Hisab* of Shaikh Baha ud-Dīn Amili (d. 1031/1626), naming it *Sharh-i-Khulasat ul-Hisab*, 3. a general history casting side-light on contemporary events, *Tanqih ul-Akhbar*, ca. 1130/1717, and 4. a detailed volume concerning the teachings of sufism *Takmil ul-'Irfan*, 1163/1749.

Muhammad Muhsin 'Alī Mashhadi (d. unknown) was the author of a book of history from the Ghaznawid kings of Lahore to Akbar. In the preface, he described without mentioning his place of residence or time, that he was deeply interested in reading historical books and gaining knowledge about the prophets, kings, and pious men of the past. And that, his accumulated study filled him with the desire to attempt a similar work. Then, he enumerated his sources. Together with the account of kings, he devoted ample space to the Indian sufis, particularly, the warrior saint,

Salar Mas'ūd, buried in Bahra'ich, whose date of death he cited as 424/1032. The existing manuscript, in Aligarh Muslim University, was copied by the author's grandson, Asrār 'Alī b. Nisar 'Alī b. Muhsin 'Alī, in 1249/1833. Its title was: *Tarikh-i-Muhsini*.

Muhammad Muhsin b. Hanif Siddiqi (d. unknown) was a scholar of the reign of Muhammad Shāh; his hometown being Bijnore, North India. In a book written in florid style, he gave an account of the successors of Aurangzeb. It highlighted the intrigues and squabbles of the nobles of Muhammad Shāh, particularly, Nizām ul-Mulk Asaf Jah I and Sa'adat Khān Burhān ul-Mulk. Praise has been offered to Samsām ud-Dawlah Khān-i-Dawrān, who exhibited sincerity and boldness and sacrificed his life in stalling the calamity of Nādir Shāh's invasion. Details of that nobleman's tragic death and the events that followed, were based on the author's personal information. The work appeared as: *Jawhar-i-Samsām*, 1152/1739.

Muhammad Muhsin ud-Din (d. unknown) was an employee of the East India Company in the time of Lord Cornwallis, the governor general of the Company. At the instance of his master, he prepared an account of the third battle of Panipat, borrowing material from reliable sources: *Waqā'i'-i-Jang-i-Ahmad Shah Abdali wa Viswas Rao*.

Muhammad Mun'im Ja'farabādi (d. unknown) was the disciple of a sufi, Shāh Shukr ullah. At the latter's instance, he wrote an account of the armed conflict that ultimately brought Farrukh Siyār to the Mughal throne. The title of the book was: *Farrukh-namah*, completed in 1124/1712.

Muhammad Murād b. Shaikh Shihāb ud-Din (d. unknown) lived at Cambay, Gujrat, and commanded respect as a sufi and learned man. He was the teacher of James Frazer, a British scholar and servant of the East India Company. In response to the request of his pupil, Shaikh Muhammad Murād wrote a history of Aurangzeb and his successors down to 1151/1738. Although abounding in original and valuable details, no precise title was given to the book. It simply became familiar as: *Tarikh-i-Aurangzeb*, completed ca. 1153/1740.

Muhammad Najib Qādiri (d. unknown) lived as a sufi in Ajmer during the reign of Muhammad Shah. His hometown was Nagaur, Rajasthan. Inspired by the work of an earlier sufi, Sharaf ud-Din of Nahrwalah = Pattan, Gujrat, Muhammad Najib prepared a manual giving the dates of the deaths of all important saints. The names were arranged date-wise under every month from Muharram to Zil-hijjah. Its title was: *Makhzan ul-'Arā'is*, completed in 1155/1742.

Muhammad Qāsim, Munshi (d. unknown) lived in the reign of Muhammad Shah (d. 1161/1748) and was the author of a dictionary. Its title was: *Talif ul-Lughat*.

Muhammad Reza Ahmadabādi (d. unknown) was a sufi and religious scholar of Ahmadabād, Gujrat, living in the reign of Muhammad Shah. He wrote, 1. a liturgical manual, *Lata'if wa Waz'if*, and 2. a pamphlet for the guidance of pilgrims going to the holy cities of Mecca and Medinah: *Nukhbat ul-Manāsik*.

Muhammad Sādiq Bihbahani (d. unknown) came from his home town Bihbahān, near Isfahān, and obtained employment under John Ducan, an official of the East India Company, posted at Benaras. He compiled a dictionary in which he took special care to accommodate the words of local dialect spoken around his native region, spreading from Isfahān to Shustar. The work was dedicated to his English patron and appeared under the title: *Muntakhab ul-Lughat-i-Duncani*, ca. 1205/1790.

Muhammad Sādiq b. Shams ud-Din 'Ali (d. unknown) served under Zulfaqār Khān, the premier noble of Jahandār Shāh (d. 1124/1712). At the instance of his patron, he compiled a handbook of select verses from famous poets, naming it: *Riyāz ul-Ushshaq*.

Muhammad Safi ullah Sirhindi (d. unknown) was a descendant of Shaikh Ahmad Mujaddid. During his pilgrimage to the holy cities of Mecca and Medinah, he wrote a sufistic treatise: *Ma'dan ul-Asrar*, ca. 1176/1763.

Muhammad Sālim (d. unknown) lived at the court of Muhammad Shāh and was acknowledged by the emperor for his scholarship. He compiled a history of the Mughals and dedicated it to his master. Its title was: *Silsilat*

us-Salātin.

Muhammad Shāh (d. 1161/1748), Mughal emperor, was the writer of a historical letter; although, an imperial secretary = *munshi*, must have drafted it at his instruction. It was in reply to the enquiry made by Shāh Tahmasp II, and concern expressed by the Safawid monarch of Iran, at the downfall and destruction of the Saiyed brothers of Bārḥah, Husain 'Ali and Qutb ul-Mulk 'Abd ullah. Bindrabān Dās Khwushgu, the author of *Safinah*, has credited Anand Rām Mukhils with its authorship. The letters have survived under the title: *Istisāl-i-Sadat-i-Barḥah*, ca. 1135/1722.

Muhammad Shams (d. unknown) belonged to Hisār, Afghanistan, and was in the service of Ahmad Shāh Abdālī (d. 1167/1753). He wrote a book on hunting: *Shikar-namah*.

Muhammad Sharif (d. unknown) lived in Delhi during the time of Farrukh Siyār and was known for his literary scholarship. He compiled a dictionary, vastly quoting verses to demonstrate the proper use of proverbs. Qizilbash Khān Ummid, Delhi's leading poet (d. 1159/1746), has been mentioned as a living contemporary of the author. The dictionary began with *ab* and terminated at *yal gopal*. Its title was: *Takmil ul-Lughat wal-Istilahat*.

Muhammad Siddiq (d. unknown) was leading physician of the capital during the reign of Farrukh Siyār and possessed scholarship of other related sciences. He translated into Persian the medical dictionary, *Bahr ul-Jawahir*, written by Muhammad b. Yusuf Harawī, who served as medical adviser on Babur's staff, and was the father of more celebrated scholar, Yusufī Harawī. Muhammad Siddiq dedicated his work to Maharajah Ajit Singh Rathor, whose daughter was married to Farrukh Siyār. Its title was: *Tarjumah-i-Bahr ul-Jawahir*, completed ca. 1131/1718.

Mūl Rāj, Lālā (d. unknown) was a fortune-teller and author of a tract containing a mixture of geomancy, necromancy, and astrology. He claimed to have borrowed its material from original Sanskrit sources. The work gained popularity as *Fal namah-i-Mūl Raj*, completed in 1136/

1723.

Munna Lal, Munshi (d. unknown) wrote a complete history of Shāh 'Alam II, in whose reign the author lived, and named it: *Shah 'Alam namah*, ca. 1221/1806.

Munawwar 'Ali Khān (d. unknown) was a contemporary, and perhaps, disciple of Khan-i-Arzū, in whose library he discovered the historical letter addressed by Muhammad Shāh in reply to the Safawid emperor, Tahmāsp II, explaining the reasons that led to the downfall of the Saiyed brothers. The title of the document, as it has survived, was determined by Munawwar 'Ali Khān (see. Muhammad Shāh).

Mun'im (d. 1123/1711) was the pen-name of Mun'im Khān, the wazīr of Bahādur Shāh I. As recorded by Khwushgu, he could compose fairly balanced poetry and was respected for his pleasant temperament and noble character. He was deeply influenced by the moral philosophy of the sufis and wrote a personal explanation about the subject: *Ilhamat-i-Mun'im*, completed in 1120/1708.

Murid Khān, Muhammad Sādiq Tabātabā'i (d. unknown) was a noble at the court of Muhammad Shāh and possessed great skill as a calligraphist. He left a collection of his specimens *Muraqqa'-i-Murid Khān*, completed in 1150/1737.

Nādir, Shankar Nāth (d. unknown) belonged to Kashmir and was employed in their service by the rulers of Bharatpur, Rajasthan. His duty was to write news of the state. Later on, he collected his notes under the title: *Waqa'i'-i-Bharatpur*. Also, he attempted a discourse on the model of *Maqamat* in praise of the rainy season: *Wasf-i-baran*, 1221/1805.

Najm ud-Din 'Ali b. Muhammad Murād (d. unknown) was a scholar of the reign of Shāh 'Alam II. He wrote a monograph on the literary and administrative terms that originated in Mughal India: *Madinat ul-Istilah*, ca. 1191/1777.

Naqsh 'Ali (d. unknown) composed a *tazkirah* of poets and named it: *Bagh-i-ma'ani* (chronogram 1174/1760).

Nasir ul-Haq (d. unknown) was a religious scholar during the reign of Farrukh Siyār, engaged as a teacher in the 'Madrasah-i-Shāhi at Delhi. He prepared a collection of the Prophet's traditions, mentioning the virtues of horse; its name was: *Kitāb ul-Khail*.

Nawal Kishore (d. unknown) was the son of Lālā Kewal Rām and lived during the time of Ahmad Shāh. From his father's pile of papers, he sorted out 237 letters and other interesting documents and edited them in seven chapters. Most of the letters were addressed to the above-named emperor by the nobles of his age. The documents arranged in two chapters revealed the details of Mughal administration. In the last chapters, Nawal Kishore preserved miscellaneous poems which he found in his father's diaries. The title of the work was: *Tilismat-i-Khayāl*, completed in 1197/1782.

Ni'mat ulla Bahra'ichi (d. 1218/1804) was the disciple and spiritual successor of the sufi poet of Delhi, Mirza Mazhar Jān-i-Jānān, under whose influence he associated himself with the Naqshbandi order. The two followers of the latter-named order, Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi and Mirza Mazhar, founded their own branches known as Mujaddidiyah and Mazhariyah respectively. Their details occur in the books of Ni'mat ullah entitled *Bisharat-i-Mazhariyah* and *Ma'mulat-i-Mazhariyah*. Also he wrote a concise autobiography which appeared under the title: *Ahwal-i-Ni'mat ullah Bahra'ichi*.

Nisār, Mirza Luft ullah (d. unknown) lived in Delhi and witnessed the invasion of Nādir Shāh (1152/1739). He was the pupil of 'Abd ul-Latif Tanha and left a *Diwan* of seventy thousand verses. Khwushgu recorded that Tanha and his pupils formed a school accepting Mirza Jalāl Asir as their model. Also, Nisār was the author of a tract explaining the metallic qualities of sword, the most important weapon of medieval warfare, and the art of swordsmanship: *Risalah-i-Shamsir Shanasī*, ca. 1118/1706.

Nizām ud-Din 'Ali Khān (d. unknown) served as personal secretary to the Mughal emperor, Muhammad Shāh. He prepared a collection of letters for the instruction of his sons, Jaish 'Ali and

Muhammad Mahdi. It survived as: *Ruqq'at-i-Nizamiyah*, completed in 1138/1725.

Nizām ud-Din Ansāri (d. unknown) was an emigrant from Kashghar, Central Asia, and lived in Delhi during the time of Farrukh Siyār. A scholar and poet, he was employed as teacher to the princes of the royal family. Particularly, he imparted instruction to Raushan Akhtar, who later on came to the Mughal throne as Muhammad Shah. Inspired by the scheme of *Dāstān-i-Amir Hamza*, Nizām ud-Din Ansāri conceived a network of seven legends for the entertainment of his young pupil and named the work: *Dāstān-i-Riyāz ul-kamāl*, 1133/1720.

Nudrat, 'Ata ullah (d. unknown) belonged to Kashmir and lived in Delhi during the reign of Muhammad Shah. The emperor conferred on him the title, Dānishwar Khān, and employed him as a noble of his court. His scholarship was challenged by the young contemporary, Sirāj ud-Din 'Alī Khān Arzū, who accused Nudrat, unjustly perhaps, of plagiarizing from his works. He compiled a dictionary, *A'in-i-'Ata*, 1162/1749. But his *tazkirah* of poets, composed earlier 1149/1737, was a more noteworthy contribution. Its title was: *Tazkirah-i-Nudrat*.

Nūr Mohammad (d. unknown) belonged to Punjab and was the author of an eye-witness account of the seventh invasion of Ahmad Shāh Abdālī, whose depredatory storm swept away the valley of five rivers down to Delhi. The title of his monograph was: *Jang-Namah-i-Ahmad Shāh*, ca. 1170/1756.

Nūr Muhammad Chishti, Qiblah-i-'Alam (d. 1205/1790) was a sufi and spiritual leader, whose *Khanqah* was situated at Mahar, Punjab. He obtained robe of succession = *Khirqah-i-Khilafat*, from Maulana Fakhr ud-Din Muhibb-i-Nabi, the sufi of Delhi, under whose guidance Nūr Muhammad completed his moral education. One of his disciples, Qāzi Muhammad 'Umar, collected his *malfūzat* = discourses, under the title: *Khulāsat ul-Fawā'id*.

Nūr Muhammad Sani (d. 1204/1789) was the *Khalifah* = spiritual successor, of Shaikh Nūr Muhammad Chishti of Mahār, Punjab. The

common people around the area respectfully called him "Shah Nārāwālā". His disciple, Muhammad b. Ghulām Muhammad, preserved collections of his *Malfūzat* = discourses, naming the work: *Khair ul-azkār*.

Nūr ud-Din b. Burhān ud-Din Fārūqī (d. unknown) served as a military officer of minor rank under Prince Mu'izz ud-Din, son of Shāh 'Alam Bahādur Shāh I, when the prince was governor of Multan during the days of his father. He witnessed the war of succession between 'Azim ush-Shān and his master, Mu'izz ud-Din, the latter's successful emergence as Jahandār Shāh and subsequent downfall within a year. All the events were recorded by him in his memoirs: *Jahandār-namah*, c. 1125/1713.

Qā'im Chāndpuri, Shaikh Muhammad Qiyām ud-Din (d. 1205/1793) came to seek employment in Delhi and settled there in the reign of Shāh 'Alam II. His birth place was a small town, Chāndpur, in district Bijnor, North India. A disciple of the pious sufi, Khwajah Mir Dard, he attained fame among the poets of Urdu. Mir Taqi Mir admired his talents and Mirza Rafi' Sauda, the satirist, reserved his kindness for Qā'im as an exception. He compiled a *tazkirah* of Urdu poets under the title: *Makhzan-i-Nikat*, completed in 1168/1754.

Qamar ud-Din, Hāfiz Malik (d. unknown) compiled a dictionary, which according to his claim, was the result of twenty-five years' continuous labour. Besides the well-known lexicons of earlier authors, he consulted commentaries of the Holy Qur'an and the books of jurisprudence, grammar, and other sciences to pick out words from them. Its title was: *Farhang-i-Mujmalī*, completed ca. 1180/1766.

Qamar ud-Din 'Ali b. Sana ullah Husainī (d. unknown) served as a scribe = *munshi*, under Richard Johnson, an official of the East India Company. At the latter's instance he compiled a *tazkirah* of poets. Its title was: *Lubb-i-Lubāb*, 1194/1780.

Qipchāq Khān, Khwajah Quli (d. unknown) was brought to India as a prisoner of war from Balkh when the Mughals made their last attempt

to capture that city in the time of Aurangzeb (1107/1695). Qipchâq Khân was a scholar and had held important positions in the service of the government of his native land. He settled in Lahore and compiled a general history containing a prologue, five chapters, and an epilogue. The work was completed in the reign of Farrukh Siyâr and gained currency as: *Tarikh-i-Qipchâq Khânî*, 1138/1721.

Rafi' ud-Din Muhandis (d. unknown) lived in Delhi and was known for his knowledge in the field of architecture. He wrote a tract explaining the details of *Fasli* era, in 1219/1804.

Rahim Bakhsh (d. unknown) lived in Delhi and was the disciple of Maulana Fakhr ud-Din, the Chishti sufi of the capital (d. 1199/1784). He took up a detailed study of the saints belonging to the Chishti order. In the preface, there were included the biographies of the Prophet, his caliphs, and companions. It appeared under the title: *Shajarat ul-Anwâr-i-Fakhriyah*.

Rahmat ullah b. Shaikh Muhammad Bakhtyâr (d. unknown) was a scholar of the time of Muhammad Shâh, his place of birth being Jaisalmer, Rajasthan. He left a book of anecdotes: *Nigar-i-Danish*, 1164/1750.

Râi Chand Ahmadabadi (d. unknown) belonged to Ahmadabad, Gujrat, and was a master musician enjoying the patronage of a local nobleman, Râi Dâl Chand Saheb. At the instance of his master, he wrote a tract on Indian classical music. Its title was: *Usûl-i-Ghina*, completed in 1178/1764.

Râji Muhammad (d. unknown) lived during the reign of Muhammad Shâh and claimed descent from Shaikh Jamâl Kolwi, a saint of Aligarh. He wrote a biography of Shaikh Jamâl, who, in his estimate, was a man possessing miraculous qualities. The Shaikh's dates of birth or death being unknown, Râji Muhammad approximated that he was born during the days of slave dynasty, and having lived more than a hundred years, died when Sultân Firuz Shâh Tughluq announced his reign. Shaikh Jamâl's son, Maulana Kamâl ud-Dîn, was a teacher of Sultân 'Ala ud-Dîn Khalji, and the

tradition of learning and scholarship survived in the family throughout the following centuries. A lineal descendant of the Shaikh was appointed *qāzi* of Jaunpur by Akbar. The work, containing many details of interest to the sufis, appeared under the title: *Akhbār ul-Jamal*, completed in 1153/1740. (See Yār Muhammad Kolawi)

Rāmā Kunt (d. unknown) served as a revenue officer of Mughal government during the reign of Muhammad Shāh. He compiled a collection of bulletins, letters, and notificaitons under the title: *Majma' ul-Insha*.

Rām Sethi (d. unknown) made a compilation of letters and documents. Such works were in demand by young students and future civil servants of the Mughal government. It appeared as *Ma'dan ul-insha*, completed in 1150/1737.

Rāmi (d. unknown) was the author of a history mainly based on personal information. He described the events from Aruangeb's death (1119/1707) to the fall of Saiyid brothers (1133/1720). It was named as: *Majmu'ah-i-Tarikh-i-Shahan Shahan*.

Ranchhordās Jaunpuri (d. unknown) was like his father, Ranjit Rai Kayasth, an officer of revenue department in the reign of Muhammad Shāh. He prepared a book on the art of *insha*, personal and official letters, cultivated diligently by every young man aspiring to enter the government service. Its title was: *Daqa'iq ul-insha*, completed ca. 1153/1740. Also, he left a children's book: *Tuhfat us-Subiyan*.

Rashid ud-Din Khān (d. unknown) was the grandson of Shāh Wali Ullah of Delhi (d. 1176/1762). He wrote a polemical tract, against the Shi'ahs, particularly, denouncing the juristic principle of temporary marriage = *mut'ah*, in vogue during the days of the Prophet and endorsed by the Maliki and Shi'ah laws. Its title was: *Saulat-i-ghazanfariyah*.

Riyāzi, Muhammad 'Ali (d. 1145/1732) was the son of Lutf ullah Muhandis, the chief architect of Delhi's Red Fort and other buildings consturcted there by the order of Shāh Jahān. His grandfather, Ustād

Ahmad Lahori, had designed the Taj Mahal of Agra. The family settled in Shahjahanabad since the city was proclaimed once again as the capital of the empire. Delhi's legendary fame continued undiminished from the time of Rajah Yudhishter. It received fresh impetus by the entry of Muhammad b. Sām Ghori and the Muslims (588/1192). Only, Sultān Sikandar Lodi moved to Agra (910/1504). Shāh Jahān restored the prestige of India's old imperial seat (1058/1648) and Delhi thrived further with men of excellence in various branches of knowledge and culture. Riyāzi's whole family was unique in engineering and applied mathematics. His elder brother, Mulla Abu'l Khair, holding the title of Khair ullah Khān, associated himself with Maharajah Jai Singh Sawai in his grand astronomical project. The Maharajah's observatories at Delhi, Jaipur and other places were built according to his designs and measurements. Among the works of Riyāzi mention may be made of a book dealing with astronomy. Its title was *Muqaddimat ut-Taḡawim*. One of the surviving copies bears the name of Riyāzi's son, Zain ul-'Abidin, as its scribe, 1179/1782. His smaller tracts were, *Takhrijah-i-Nisf un-Nahar*, on the calculation of mid-day, and *Risalah-i-Awqat-i-Namāz*, to determine the hours of five time's prayers.

Rūp Narāyan Khattri (d. unknown) belonged to Siyalkot, Punjab and lived in Lahore and Delhi during the reign of Farrukh Siyār. Among his works were: 1. a concise history of India from Muhammad b. Sām Ghauri to the fourth year of his sovereign (1129/1716), *Mukhtasar-i-Latif*, 2. a monograph in praise of the holy land of Brij, the birth-place of Krishna, *Makhzan ul-'Irfān*, 3. a collection of six legends of romance in ornate and artificial style, *Shash Jihat*, 1121/1709, 4. another collection of anecdotes derived from the *Upanishad* and the *Purāna*, books of Hindu philosophy and law, *Siraj ut-Tariq/Hikayat-i-Nasikit*, and 5. a children's textbook *Nisab-i-Jami'*, ca. 1126/1714.

Sadāqat, Muhammad Māh (d. 1148/1735) was the nephew of Ghanimat Kunjahi, the well-known poet of Punjab. He came to Delhi as a young man and was a regular visitor to Khān-i-Arzū, at whose house he attended literary gatherings. The poets of the capital were very much impressed by his talents. Arzū estimated him as possessing more pleasing style and lofty imagination than all the contemporary poets of Lahore

including Munir and Ghanimat. He had the training of a sufi and wrote a *masnawi* in praise of the saints belonging to the Qadiri order. Its title was: *Sawaqib ul-Munaqib*.

Sadiq 'Ali Khān, Hakim (d. 1264/1848) was the son of Muhammad Sharif Khān, physician and nobleman of Delhi. Following the footprints of his father, he devoted all his life to medical profession and left many books on the subject, 1. *Zād-i-Gharib* and 2. *Bayaz-i-Sadiq*, etc. 1224/1809.

Safinat ush-Shū'ara: Anonymous, and probably, incomplete *tazkirah* of poets. The author, as repeatedly mentioned by him, was a friend of Anand Rām Mukhilis (d. 1164/1750), who served at the court of Muhammad Shāh and lived in Delhi.

Sahib-i-'Alam (d. 1288/1817) was a sufi scholar, whose ancestors, Saiyeds of Bilgram, moved to the town of Marehra, District Etah, North India, where they established reputation for spiritual leadership. Sahib-i-'Alam was acknowledged by contemporary men of letters and possessed taste for poetry like all sufis. He prepared a tract of chronograms: *Tuhfat ul-Mawarrikhin*, 1239/1823, and left a collection of letters addressed to friends and devotees: *Ruqqa'at-i-Sahib-i-'Alam*.

Saif ud-Din Muhammad (d. unknown) belonged to Alwar, Rajasthan, and was the pupil in poetry of Mir 'Abd ul-Jalil Bilgrami (d. 1138/1725). His ancestors, Siddiqi Shaikhs, emigrated from Mecca; and one of them, known as 'Ilm ul-Huda' attained fame for his religious scholarship during the days of the Sharqi Sultans of Jaunpur. The sufi, Saiyed Ashraf Jahangir Simnani, appointed 'Ilm ul-Huda his *Khalifa* = spiritual successor. At the time of Babur's arrival, Saif ud-Din's great grandfather was held in esteem among the learned men of India and Babur employed him for teaching his son, Mirza Hindāl. The latter was made governor of the province of Mewat by Humayūn, who tried to satisfy all his brothers after Babur's death. Naturally, Hindāl's choice for the post of *Sadr* = chief of religious endowments, of Mewat was his own teacher, whose children settled in the city of Alwar. Saif ud-Din compiled a *tazkirah* of poets, mostly Indian and his contemporaries, although his

original plan was to begin from the time of Akbar. The first poet, mentioned by the author, was Asir, Mirza Jalal, who never came to India. Asir married a princess of the royal family of Safawis and commanded social influence in Iran. More renowned was he for inventing an independent style in poetry which was very much liked in Iran and the Indian sub-continent. Yakata, Ahmad Yar Khān, was the last poet on whose account the book came to an end. It appeared under the title: *Fanūs-i-Khayāl*, completed in Muhammad Shah's reign, 1147/1734.

Salah ud-Din (d. unknown) His father held the title of Diyānat Khān under the Mughal king, Jahandār Shah, whose reign lasted for ten months (1123/1711). Salah ud-Din composed a book on algebra, bearing an introduction, thirteen chapters and a termination = *Khatimah*, and named the work: *Kifāyat ul-Jabr*.

Salāmat 'Alī b. Muhammad 'Ajib (d. unknown) served the East India Company and was posted at Benaras. His title was Hazāqat Khān. At the instance of his English superior, he wrote a handbook dealing with the Hanafi Jurisprudence. It contained two sections : 1. *Janayat* = crimes, and 2. *Hudūd* = punishments, prescribed by the above-mentioned law. Its title was: *Ikhtiyār* (chronogram = 1212) 1798. Salāmat 'Alī's more important contribution was a book of knowledge concerning the sciences of India. It gave information about the principles of philosophy and physics, geometry, astronomy, and music etc. The last chapter was devoted to a discourse on the habits and customs of the Indian people. Its title was: *Matali' ul-Hind*.

Sarūp Chand Khattri (d. unknown) composed a historical work narrating briefly from early period to his own time (1209/1794) and named it: *Sahih ul-Akhbar*. The book was presented by the author to John Shore, Governor General of the East India Company.

Sāti' Mulla 'Abd ul-Hakim (d. 1150/1737) belonged to Kashmir and was the disciple of Mirza Darāb Beg Jūya. His patron in Delhi, where he stayed for a few years, was Muhammad Shāh's premier noble, Samsām ud-Dawlah Khān-i-Dawrān. On the latter's recommendation, he obtained from the emperor a land-grant in Kashmir and spent the rest of his life in modest

comfort. A large number of poets were trained under his guidance. He left a voluminous *Diwan*. Also, he prepared an abridgment of Muhammad Husain Tabrizi's famous dictionary, *Burhān-i-Qatī*, and named his work *Hujjat-i-Satī*.

Shākīr Khān, Hidayat ullah (d. unknown) was one of the six sons of Lutf ullah Sadiq, a noble of the reign of Muhammad Shāh. He witnessed the invasions of Nādir Shāh (1152/1739) and Ahmad Shāh Durrani (1170/1756) which totally ruined the Mughal empire and collected his observations in the form of a book entitled: *Tārīkh-i-Shākīr Khānī*, 1179/1765. Having taken refuge in Benaras, he found time and leisure to devote his attention to another work of encyclopaedic range: *Gulshan-i-Sadiq*, completed in 1187/1773.

Shambhu Lāl (d. unknown) served as personal secretary to Shāh 'Alam II, and drafted the emperor's letters. Two such pieces, addressed to Lord North and King George III, were incorporated by him in a collection of historical letters he prepared under double title: *Miftah-i-Khazā'in/Insha-i-Khazā'in*, ca. 1107/1782.

Shams ul-Lughāt was an anonymous dictionary. The author mentioned the name of his patron, an official of the East India Company, omitting his own, inadvertently perhaps, and revealed in the preface of the book that it was compiled at the instance of the Englishman, Joseph Britejis, whose knowledge of Persian language was adequate, and who held the view that the existing dictionaries presented difficulty at the time of consultation, for, they were generally cumbersome. He, therefore, felt the need of a more convenient dictionary where an easier method should have been followed and the work gained striking popularity. Its lithograph editions appeared a number of times from Bombay and Calcutta. The date of the completion of *Shams ul-Lughāt* was indicated by the author in a chronogram = 1219/1804.

Shauq, Ilāhi Bakhsh (d. unknown) lived in Akbarabad Agra during the time of Shāh 'Alam II, and was a poet composing both in Persian and Urdu. He wrote a tract explaining rules of trade in seventeen chapters besides an introduction and a termination. Its title was *Qamān-i-Tijarat*,

completed in 1221/1806.

Shauq, Mankā Rāi (d. unknown) was a revenue officer in the reign of Ahmad Shāh at Delhi. As Ahmad Abdālī devastated the capital (1171/1757), he came to Agra and settled there. A poet himself, Bhagwān Dās Hindi ascribed to his pen a *tazkirah* of poets entitled *Safinat ush-Shauq*.

Shihab ud-Din Ansārī (d. unknown) was a literary scholar of the reign of Muhammad Shāh. He wrote a tract on rhetoric and prosody covering other intricacies of matter and manner in style and closely following the earlier masters, chiefly Rashid-i-Watwāt (d. 573/1173), Shams-i-Qais Rāzi (ca. 650/1252) and Fakhri Isfahāni (d. 758/1356). His work appeared as: *Kanz ul-Fawā'id*.

Shiv Dās Lukhnawi (d. unknown) held responsible position as a civil servant and closely watched the events before and after the reign of Farrukh Siyār (d. 1131/1716). He collected valuable and interesting information concerning the Mughal Imperial traditions on which the working of the government was based. For the purpose of demonstration, he introduced official documents illustrating the nature of civil and revenue administration adopted in the empire. The work was entitled *Shah-namah-i-Munawwar ul-Kalam*, completed ca. 1217/1802.

Shiv Narāyan (d. unknown) was a literary scholar of Delhi during the time of Shāh 'Alam II. Imitating the model of Zuhūrī's *Mina Bazar*, he portrayed the social life of the Mughal capital, naming his work: *Faiz-Bazar*, ca. 1252/1836.

Shuhrat, Hakim Husain (1149/1736) came from Shirāz during the last days of Aurangzeb and acquired fame as physician and poet in Muhammad Shāh's reign. Prince Muhammad A'zam and Farrukh Siyār conferred on him the titles of Hāziq Khān 'Hakim ul-Mumalik' respectively. Azad Bilgrami mourned his death in a chronogram. His *Diwan* and a *tazkirah* have survived.

Shayam Prashād (d. unknown) was in the service of an English officer of the East India Company. He collected details about the topography and history of the city of Gaur (Panduah) situated in Bengal. It was entitled

Khulasaḥ-i-Aḥval-i-Gaur, written in 1225/1810.

Sikandar b. Hakim Ismā'il (d. unknown) was a physician of Delhi living in the days of Muhammad Shah and his successors. His book on pharmacopia made him famous among the scholars of his profession. It was dedicated to the puppet emperor, Ahmad Shah (d. 1167/1753) and gained currency under double title: *Qarahadin-i-Sikandari/Qarahadin-i-Suryani*.

Sita Rām (d. unknown) served as *munshi* of the British Resident at Poona, the Maratha Peshwa's capital. He studied original records of historical material in 1240/1824. The work was entitled: *Tarjumah-i-Kaifiyat-i-Nasab-namah-i-Rajah-i-Satarah qaum Marhattah Bhonslah*.

Sudh Mal (d. unknown) served as *munshi* = secretary, under Rājah Ayah Mal. The latter was chief civil functionary and trusted counsellor of Maharajah Jai Singh, doyen of Rajpūt nobles at the court of Aurangzeb. Following the example of his superior official, Sudh Mal prepared a collection of Aurangzeb's letters, naming the work: *Ramz wa Isharat-i-'Alamgiri*, 1157/1744 (see Ayah Mal).

Tabi'at, Shaikh Saif ud-Din (d. 1155/1742) was born at Agra and received early education under the care of Mir 'Abd ul-Jalil Bilgrami. Bhagwān Dās Hindī found him living as the companion of Walih Daghistāni. Nawwab 'Alī Qulī Khān, the author of *Riyāz ush-Shu'ara*, in 1147/1734. Tabi'at wrote an independent *tazkirah* of poets, which could not survive. Its title was: *Tazkirah-i-Tabi'at*.

Tāhir, Maulawi Muhammad (d. 1143/1730) was the son of Shāh Khūb ullah Ilahabadi, the sufi of Allahabād. He wrote a commentary on Ibn Arabī's *Fūsūs ul-Hikam*, and also, was the author of a book, *Tahqiq ul-Haq*.

Tahmās Khān (d. 1217/1802) originally belonged to the area of Asia Minor, modern Turkey. Nādir's Uzbek soldiers captured him in young age and he gathered interesting observations of camp life. Having witnessed many vicissitudes, Tahmas khan finally settled in Delhi. Shah

'Alam was much impressed by his wit and conferred on him titles of honour: *Muhammād ud-Dawlah I'tiqād Jang*. He possessed brilliant personality and wrote his autobiography, *Tahmas-namah*, in 1193/1779. His son, Rangin, was equally gifted as a poet and writer. The latter's work, *Akhbar-i-Rangin*, is an interesting model of early Urdu journalism.

Tāj ud-Din (d. unknown) was a scholar and sufi, who witnessed the days of Muhammad Shah and his worthless successors. The helpless condition of the Mughal emperors and total loss of their prestige filled Tāj ud-Din with deep anguish. He wrote a book with a view to improve the moral calibre of the ruling classes, particularly the sovereign, who was the symbol of power. Its title was: *Mir'at ul-Mulak*.

Tazkirah-i-Sha'irat was an anonymous *tazkirah* of women versifiers, containing the account of Nūr Jahan Begum and Zeb un-Nisa and mentioning Khadijah Sultān of Isfahan as a living poetess. It was composed ca. 1174/1760.

Tek Chand (d. unknown) held the title of 'Rai' and was news-reporter of the East India Company at the court of Shāh 'Alam II. The collection of his news letters (*Akhbar*) made a volume and described interesting activities happening inside the Red Fort. It was entitled *Rūz-namchah-i-Shah 'Alam*.

Thakur Lāl Burhanpuri (d. unknown) belonged to Burhanpūr and possessed long experience of serving as revenue officer in the Deccan. He compiled a register of revenue records obtaining in the Mughal empire. The statistics of every province were sub-divided into smaller revenue units: parganah and sarkar, and their details separately presented. Brief historical information about important cities made the work more interesting. For its preparation the author consulted a large number of manuals written on concerned subject by the earlier experts. In the end, he appendix a table giving the year of accession and period of reign of all the Mughal emperors from Akbar to Shāh 'Alam II, in whose days the work was completed. Its title was: *Dastūr ul-'Amal-i-Shahanshahi*. 1192/1778.

'Uruj, Baha ud-Din Husain Quli (d. unknown) was the author of a *tazkirah* of Urdu poets, eighty-one in number, its title was *Bahar wa*

khizan, completed in 1192/1778.

Wahbi, Har Sahāi (d. unknown) was initially a *Qanāngū* = revenue officer and served around Delhi. Alamgir II, the later Mughal emperor (d. 1173/1759), employed him as his personal secretary. Wahbi's collection of letters survived under double title: *Insha-i-faiz paira/Insha-i-Wahbi*. Also he was the author of a tale of romance, its hero being a prince who loved the daughter of his father's wazīr, *Tuhfat ul-'ashiqin*, ca. 1159/1786.

Wahdat, Shāh 'Abd ul-Ahad (d. 1126/1714) was the grandson and spiritual successor of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi, called Mujjaddid-i-Alf-i-Sani (d. 1034/1626). He lived as a sufi and had his *khanqah* at Kotlah Firūz Shāh outside Shahjahanabad, Delhi. Among his disciples who rose to distinction was Sa'd ullah Gulshan. His devotees respectfully called him Miyān Gul/Shah Gul. The poets of the reign of Farrukh Siyār accepted his position as master of faultless style. He left a concise *Diwan* of verses and sufistic tracts. 1. *Chahar Chaman*, and 2. *Shawahid ut-Tajdid*.

Wajih ud-Din b. Muhammad Afzal (d. unknown) lived in Garh Mukteshar, a town in District Meerut, during the time of Muhammad Shah. A teacher by profession, he possessed command over Pashtu and translated from that language the voluminous work on jurisprudence: *Fawa'id ush-Shari'ah*, by the Afghan scholar, Hāji Muhammad Qāsim. His translation in eighty-two chapters appeared under the title: *Fawa'id-i-Afzaliyah*, ca. 1176/1762.

Wali ullah, Dihlawi, Shāh (d. 1174/1762) lived in the Mughal capital and witnessed the invasion of Nādir Shāh. As theologian he closely followed the line demarcated by Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi. In his two works, *Fuyūz-i-Haramain* and *Tafhimat-i-Ilahiyyah*, the Shāh introduced himself: "My emergence is that of a perfect man the integral part of great ontological scheme = *Tajalli-i-A'zam*". And "I am the chief *Imam* = guide in the journey along the sufi path. God has closed all earthly paths leading to Reality except one, which could be achieved only through obedience to and love of me." Also "Everyone inhabiting

the East and the West is my subject and I am their king. If people knew this, they will prosper spiritually. If not their damage would be sure". Common understanding being less responsive, the tone of his voice grew louder. "I am inspired by God to inform the people that I control the age in which they live; and not to walk under my banner would bring them shame". Again he reminded: "God has appointed me as final spokesman of the last cycle of the world. I am the leader and surety of the age". Furthermore, blessing descended one night in a dream: "you are the *Qa'im us-Zaman* = preserver of the world order, and instrument of Divine will and you will succeed in restoring righteousness that has vanished from the world". These claims of the Shāh as much dominated the beliefs of his faithful followers as they strained the credulity of modern sceptics. Invariably, history derived part of its charm from myths. In his famous letter, addressed to the Mughal emperor, Ahmad Shah (d. 1188/1774), and his Wazir, 'Imād ul-mulk, the Shāh summed up his entire programme in ten points. Salient among them, for example, the Hindus, infidels as they were, should be forbidden from the performance of public ceremonies, such as, Holi festival and ritual bathing in the Ganges. And similarly, the Shi'ahs must not be allowed to take out Muharram procession in bazars and streets; and strict punishment must be imposed on their repeating stupid things (point 8). The Shāh's unequivocal stand was that "the Mu'tazilah, the Imāmiyah, and the Isma'iliyah, were outside the pale of Islam." To sum up, all his writings carried three main concepts: 1. Rejection of the idea of *tafzil* = superiority of 'Ali, and special regards to the Prophet's family = *Ahl-i-Bait*, vis-a-vis other companions. 2. Establishment of harmony between various sufi orders in regard to their beliefs and practices. And 3. Waging of *Jihad* = holy war, against the infidels irrespective of whether they were the Mughal emperor's loyal subjects or in revolt against him. His opposition to *tafzil* provoked reaction among the Chishti sufis, and their contemporary leader in Delhi, Maulana Fakhr ud-Din, wrote a tract in refutation of his views. Mirza Sauda, the Urdu poet, directed his energy as a satirist against the Shāh's anti-Shi'ah outpourings and lashed him with abusive lampoons. The list of Shāh Waliullah's writings is lengthy. Among his major Arabic and Persian works are 1. *Izalat ul-khafa an-khilafat ul-khulafa*, 2. *Hujjat ul-Loh ul-Baligha*, 3. *Qurrat ul-Aynanyn fi Tafzil ush-Shaikhayn*, in exclusive praise of three orthodox caliphs: Abu Bakr, 'Umar, and 'Usman 4.

Sūrūr ul-Mahzun, a biography of the Prophet based on the work of the earlier writer, *Ibn Saiyed un-nas Andalusī* (d. 734/1334), 5. *Fuyūz ul-Haramain*, 6. *Tafhīmāt-i-Ilāhiyyah*, and 7. *Axar ul-Muhaddisīn*, etc. (Quotations: Athar Abbas Rīzawī: *Shah Wali ullah and His Times*).

Wārastah, Siyalkoti Mal (d. 1180/1766) belonged to Siyalkot, a town in Punjab, and lived in Lahore. He had friendship with Wāqif and Hākīm, popular poets of the city, whose creative ability made them masters and guides of the age. During his journey to Iran, he met all the important literary men of later Safawid period. Wārastah's fame is based chiefly on his dictionary of Persian idioms used by the classical authors. It was entitled *Mustalihat ush-Shu'ara*. Also, he attempted miscellaneous discourses: *Namah-i-Nigārīn wa Sahifah-i-Rangīn*.

Wārid, Muhammad Shafī' (d. unknown) was the son of Mirza Muhammad Sharif, an Iranian noble, who initially arrived in the Deccan from Tehran, Iran, and served in succession under 'Abd ullah Qutb Shah of Golconda and Prince Mu'azzam, the eldest son of Aurangzeb. Wārid was born and brought up in India and settled in Delhi, where he earned reputation as a literary man. In old age, he witnessed the invasion of Nādir Shāh and had acute feeling of the conditions responsible for the decline of the Indian Mughals. He took up the history of his benefactors and left on record a lot of revealing information. He was aware of economic deterioration and said that "Long before the invasion of Nādir, the imperial treasury had gone bankrupt". The book appeared under double title: *Mir'at-i-Warīdat/Tarikh-i- Chaghatai*, 1146/1734). Also, Wārid was a poet and left *Diwān* of verses and a number of *masnawīs*, noteworthy among them was: *Gulistan-i-Nairang*.

Wāsiti, Mir 'Abd ul Jalīl (d. 1138/1725) was a Saiyed of Bilgām, the town in North India, famous for its learned men. He was highly accomplished in all fields of Islamic and secular sciences. Aurangzeb was impressed by his disciplined character and offered him the post of news-writer. He expressed his thankfulness to the emperor in a quatrain and presented it on the day of his employment (1111/1699). Later on, he was transferred to Sind, and promoted to serve as news writer and *Bakhshi* = paymaster, of the province. These positions he held till the

reign of Muhammad Shāh. His death occurred in Delhi at the age of sixty-six, and his body was transferred for burial to Bilgrām, according to his will. As poet, a *masnawī* in praise of his birth-place made him famous among his contemporaries. Its title was: *Amwaj ul-Khayāl*.

Wāzih, Irādat Khān, Mirza Mubārak ullah (d. 1128/1716) obtained the above-mentioned title from Aurangzeb and passed active life in the days of his successors. He was the pupil of Muhammad Zamān Rāsikh in poetry. In the days of Shāh 'Alam Bahadur Shāh I, he rose to distinction, for, the Wazir, Mun'im Khān, treated Wāzih as his teacher. As poet, he left a *Diwān* and a *masnawī*, *A'inah-i-Raz*. Also, his collection of seven hundred and sixty-two quatrains survived under the title: *Kashf-i-Tariq*. His memoirs, depicting the events of seven years following the death of Aurangzeb to the accession of Farrukh Siyār, acquired popularity due to the author's intimate knowledge as an eye-witness and having friendly relations with all the men commanding highest positions in the government. The double title of the said work was: *Tarikh-i-Iradat Khan/ Mubārak nāmah*, completed in 1126/1714.

Yahya Khān (d. unknown) served as chief secretary = *mir munshi*, to the emperor, Farrukh Siyār (d. 1131/1719). He was the author of a historical work dealing in brief manner with the Indian ruling dynasties. It appeared as: *Tazkirat ul-Mulak*.

Yār Muhammad Kolawī (d. unknown) lived as a sufi in Aligarh, the ancient kol, now famous as university town. He wrote a treatise praising the saints of his native place and named the work *Ashjār ul-Jamal*, completed in 1151/1738.

Yatim, Kabir Khān b. Karim Khān (d. unknown) belonged to Sahsawan, a town in District Bada'un, North India, and was engaged in the profession of teaching during the time of Muhammad Shāh. Persuaded by friends and pupils, including his own son, Akbar Khān, he exercised his pen in the field of *insha*, and wrote a few essays on the pattern of *Maqamat*, introduced by early Arabic and Persian writers. Usually these essays evoked moral and social appeal. And, all the *maqamat* writers were treated in the category of social philosophers. Yatim followed the well-

known method of either choosing a proverb or a popular line of some poet, bearing ethical content to serve as heading of every essay. The style of his private letters being fairly concurrent with the rules of *insha*, he accommodated them in the same volume. Further more, the essays and letters, eighty-four in number, were appended by a *masnawi* poem in *mutaqarib* metre, narrating the war and defeat of Barhah Saiyeds. Yatim congratulated Muhammad Shāh and the victorious party of intriguing nobles. The collection appeared under the title, *Hosh-Afza*, completed in 1126/1714.

Zabidi, Saiyed Muhammad Murtaza (d. 1205/1790) was born in Bilgram, the town in Awadh, known for its scholars. Having completed education at Allahabad and other cities of North India, he went on pilgrimage to Mecca and stayed for many years in Zabid, the town of Yemen, whence he derived his connection. Saiyed 'Abd ur-Rahmān Idrūsi, a sufi scholar of Zabid, initiated him into the Idrūsi order of sufis. Later on, Zabidi settled in Egypt and attained fame for his knowledge of religious sciences. He wrote commentaries on 1. Ghazali's *Ihya' ul-'ulūm*, and 2. the dictionary, *Qamūs*, of Majd ud-Din Firuzabadi (d. 817/1415), naming it *Taj ul-Arās*.

Zaka ullah Khān (d. unknown) was a physicaian of Delhi and the son of Hakim Muhammad Ishāq Khān, Hāziq ul-Mulk, who witnessed the days of Muhammad Shāh and his successors. Zaka ullah was the author of 1. a voluminous *materia medica*, *Qarabādīn-i-Zaka'i* and 2. a concise handbook for the guidance of medical practitioners, *Dastūr ul-'Amal*, ca. 1200/1785.

Zākir, Khwajah Muhammad Zākir (d. unknown) belonged to Kashmir and received early education in Lahore. He settled at Benaras and was patronized by Maharajah Udit Narāyan Singh, the Rajah of that place, at whose instance he began a versified version in *khafif* metre of Malik Muhammad Ja'isi's *Padmāvat*. The work, perhaps, incomplete due to the poet's sudden death, has survived as: *Padmāvat-i-Zakir*, ca/ 1222/ 1807.

CHAPTER 11

Mirza Bedil: His Ascendancy (Part II)

Poetry of the Period

Surprisingly, Bedil's fame and literary influence increased after his death and crossed the borders of the sub-continent. No poet save 'Urfi before him had gained such privilege. It lasted more or less a hundred years, till the coming of a rightful successor, that is to say, Mirza Asad ullah Khan Ghalib, who shifted from Akbarabad Agra, his place of birth, to settle in Delhi. He was hardly above the age of a boy. It was the occasion of his marriage with a maiden of tender age, Umrão Begum. The bride's father, Nawwab Ilāhi Bukhsh Khan Ma'ruf, belonged to an aristocratic family of Delhi, 1225/1810. In Ghalib's case the budding season of genius arrived quite early.

For a more clear insight into the literary panorama of this long period, let us divide it into two parts: 1. Bedil's arrival to his death (56 years). 2. Bedil's death to Ghalib's arrival (90 years). Throughout the first part, the traditions of Persian literature remained firm. Bedil was a Persianized Turk and did not fully understand Bhaka, Hindawi or Hindi, which after further stages of purification became Rekhtah and finally Urdu. Similar was the case with large number of his literary contemporaries. In the second part, Indo-Islamic civilization took a new turn. The process of Urdu gradually taking the place of Persian as the language of literary fashion reached its

completion when the period closed. All great writers of the century contributed to the change. The leaders of the movement were chiefly Shah Gulshan, Bedil's disciple and Khān-i-Arzu.

Despite political disintegration, the literature of the period followed its own course quite independent of the uncertainties and turmoils which had become part of every day existence. Interestingly, the writers did not exhibit any slackness of spirit. Nor did they allow the quality of their works to deteriorate. In fact, with loss of power there was corresponding rise in cultural activities. Of them literature invited much attraction. Books were written in greater number and writers received wider acclaim for their labours. Poets commanded social dignity which was not ordinarily accorded to men of other classes. All sections of inhabitants in Delhi lived under constant fear of marauders. None the less, their love of pleasure remained impervious to frequent devastations. Among the popular hobbies of entertainment were: concerts of music and dance; *qawwals*, who sang devotional songs = *Qawwalis*, on the tombs of the saints; and then poets, whose gatherings, the *masha'irah* = recitation of verses in the mansions of the nobles, acquired the importance of most glittering functions for the lovers of literature. Nothing save the pangs of hunger could force them to repent from profligacies and abandon their good city. "Suppose, we live in Delhi, what shall we eat?" Eyewitness reporters have left extremely interesting picture of the Mughal capital and its high standard of culture.

Admittedly, after Bedil there appeared other masters, both of prose and poetry, during this century. Yet Bedil continued to shine like the polar star. All Central Asian poets, authors and critics acknowledged him as their living guide endowed with unquestionable greatness. His influence had magical effect and acquired a definite epithet: *Tarz-i-Bedil* = Bedil's style. In the sub-continent, the inheritors of his legacy preserved it intact, and in turn, utilized its essentials to raise the quality of Urdu literature. Only two points may be sufficient to reveal his curious nature: 1. He passed fifty six years in Delhi and never entered the Red Fort, nor requested royal audience. His unworldliness did not allow him such indiscretion. Once, the emperor Farrukh Siyār sent him a cash bounty and an elephant as gift.

He accepted the gold coins and returned the animal saying, it was not the item of his need. 2. Every famous poet encountered at least one formidable rival during his lifetime. Bedil had none; nor was he tormented by jealousy. Contrarily, both the nobles and the poets of the capital surrendered their pride and their ego at his doorsteps.

In contrast to the moral depravity and dissoluteness, which afflicted the generations of the age following Bedil's death, there were cultured classes side by side, whose members were exceptionally disciplined in their personal lives. Their character mirrored the noble principles, which usually secure the happiness of fellow-men and make peaceful living a reality on earth. They were highly educated and maintained the tradition of advanced education in their families. These classes were responsible for promoting the standard of learning and literature during the entire century. Thanks to their genius, we have inherited works of everlasting importance both in the realm of prose and poetry. They replaced in power and dignity the category of persons, whom decadence had made absolutely useless. Next to Mirza Bedil in the beginning and prior to Mirza Ghalib in the end the age exhibited many brilliant intellectuals; and undoubtedly their endowments made remarkable addition to the value and grace of Indo-Islamic civilization.

A curious process completed its full circle during the span of this period. It had become a fashion since the advent of Babur and his descendants that Iranian poets treated India as their spiritual home. They arrived as visitors and most of them preferred not to return. That old tradition witnessed its end. Among the last generation of poets, who still adhered to the familiar practice and whose presence adorned the literary stage of the sub-continent, the most noteworthy were Qizilbash Khan Ummid, Walih Daghistani, and Shaikh 'Ali Hazin.

POETS

Bedil, Mirza 'Abd ul-Qādir (d. 1133/1720) belonged to first rank in the history of Indo-Persian poetry and demonstrated in his works the vigour exceptionally possessed by great intellects. He was born (1054/1642) around Patna during the last days of Shāh Jahān, where his family members, the Turks of Barlās tribe, served as military officers under Prince Shuja', Shāh Jahān's second son. His literary career passed in Delhi and he enjoyed fame and respect for his artistic refinement and saintly character. As witnessed by a contemporary observer, Khān-i-Arzū, all the nobles of the capital visited his house and deemed it a privilege to engage his attention in conversation. Quality apart, Bedil was strikingly prodigious in quantity as well; his verses far exceeded one hundred thousand in number. In its metaphysical dimensions, Bedil's poetry embraced all the ideas, which human imagination has been able to grasp ever since the earliest reciters of the *Vedas* chanted their pious lines in praise of the Transcendental Reality. In spite of deep and difficult symbolism, his influences have remarkably survived in Urdu because of Mirza Ghālib, and in other regions beyond the boundaries of Indian subcontinent, due to the sweet music permeating his diction. To say the least, the Iranians lagged behind in discovering the legacy of Bedil, hitherto. The benefit of his genius was largely shared by the people of Afghanistan and Tajikistan. His style and ideas made his works a unique literary collection. Prose: 1. a philosophical autobiography; water, clay, air, and fire being constituents of human body, its name was: *Chahar 'Unsur*, 2. *Ruqqa'at* = letters; and 3. *Nikāt* = discourses; Poetry: *Masnawī*: (i) *Muhit-i-ā'zam*, (ii) *Tilism-i-hairat* (iii) *ūr-i-Ma'rīfat*, and (iv) *'Irfan*; and *Diwan of Ghazals* containing about one hundred thousand couplets.

Begham Bairāgi, Bhūpat Rāi (d. 1132/1719) was a scholar of Vedant living the life of worldly renouncement and enjoying the reputation of a poet. He witnessed the later days of Aurangzeb's reign and survived during the period of his successors. As a young man, he came out of his home and embraced the routine of a Bairagi, that is, seeker of

Divine Reality. In order to learn the exercise of spiritual purification and mortification of self, he spent many years sitting at the feet of another ascetic, Narāyan Bairagi. Mirza Afzal Sarkhwush, the outstanding poet and sufi of the age, had great liking for Begham and accepted him in the circle of his disciples. Islamic sufism, or to use the original phrase, *tasawwuf*, has close resemblance with the spiritual system developed in ancient India as *Vedanta*, or so to say, end-result of the *Vedas*. A sufi could easily communicate with a *sādhu* on familiar ground. For, the teachings embodied in *wahdat ul-wujūd*, supposed to be the essence of sufism, will be intelligible at once to those who are already familiar with the idea of Universal Soul: eternal, all-permeating and one. Begham was old and deaf when Khwushgu, a boy of fourteen, saw him and later on recorded his reminiscences in his *Safinah*. Begham's *Diwān* and some of his *masnawis* were read with interest by his contemporaries.

Abrū, Shāh Mubārak (d. 1146/1733) belonged to a sufi family, residing in Gwalior. Having arrived at Delhi, he maintained his family's tradition of learning and piety in his personal life. Initiated in poetry by Khān-i-Arzū, he was popular amongst his contemporaries as a leading poet of Urdu. Nonetheless, he composed graceful verses in Persian and left behind a *Diwān*.

Adab, Krishna Chandra (d. unknown) was a poet and enjoyed the patronage of Saiyed Husain 'Ali, younger brother of Qutb ul-Mulk Saiyed 'Abd ullah Bārhaḥ, the prime minister of Farukh Siyār. Many important nobles of the empire were his friends. Adab left a *masnawī*: *Bustān-i-Khayāl*, completed in 1154/1741.

'Adīm, Ja'far 'Ali Khān (d. unknown) came from Kabul to Delhi when Nādir Shāh left after devastating it (1152/1739). Amir Khān, the noble of Muhammad Shāh, employed him as Faujdār of Gwalior. His *Diwān* contained about six thousand verses.

Afrin, Shāh Faqir ullah (d. 1154/1741) was a sufi poet of Lahore living in the days of Muhammad Shāh. He rendered into Persian verse the romance of the two lovers of Punjab, Hir and Rānjha. His reputation had gathered around him large number of literary men, whom he offered guidance in the art of poetry. The contemporary scholar, Azād Bilgrami, had friendship

with Afrin and made selections from his *Diwān* of verses. Noteworthy among his *masnawīs* are: *Abjad-i-fikr*, *Raz wa Niyāz* and *Hir Ranjha*.

Afsar, Muhammad 'Ali (d. unknown) was a poet during the reign of Muhammad Shāh and served as a civil servant in Bengal. His literary merits were recognized by his contemporaries.

Aftāb, 'Ali Gohar (d. 1221/1806) was the pen-name of Shāh 'Alam II, the powerless emperor of Delhi, whose life was a tale of woe and misery. Disgraced by the Marathas, insulted by the Afghans, and blinded by the Rohellah adventurer, Ghulām Qādir, he passed his last days at the mercy of the English, receiving stipends from the East India Company. Aftāb was a discerning critic of poetry and possessed creative talents himself. His guide in poetry was Mirza Fakhir Makin, who collected his *Diwān* of verses.

Afzali, Shaikh Muhammad Nasir (d. unknown) was the son of Shaikh Khūb ullah, the sufi of Allahabad. Following the tradition of his family, he lived an unworldly life and was known for his cheerful temperament and wider human sympathies. Seekers of spiritual enlightenment and young lovers of poetry constituted the circle of his admirers. Afzali left a *Diwān*.

Agāh, Muhammad Kāzim (d. unknown) came from Peshawar and settled in Delhi, where his patron was Ma'ni-yāb Khān, the poet and noble in the reign of Muhammad Shāh. Khwushgu, the author of *Safinah*, admired the literary merits of the Agāh.

Ahsani, Mir Ghulām 'Ali (d. unknown) lived in Gwalior during the reign of Muhammad Shāh (d. 1161/1748). His name has survived because of his talented disciple, Sirāj ud-Din 'Ali Khān Arzū, whom he gave instruction in poetry.

Aiman, Ahmad Quli Khān (d. 1151/1739) was an emigrant from the city of Qum, Iran, and enjoyed the rank of a noble during the days of Muhammad Shāh. At the time of Nādir Shāh's invasion, he fought under the command of Burhān ul-Mulk and lost his life in the battle of Karnal. His contemporaries recognized him as a poet.

Akhtar, Shaikh Sa'd ullah (d. 1153/1740) lived in Ajmer and was known for raising intellectual controversies involving his contemporaries. Such an incident occurred with Khwushgu, the author of *Safinah*, when he stayed in that city. Gulāb Rāi Mukhlis, secretary to Zabardast Khān, the governor of Ajmer, organized literary gatherings in his house, and Akhtar amused the audience by his unusually lengthy *ghazals*.

'Ali, Mirza Abu'l Ma'ālī (d. 1128/1715) started his career under Prince Muhammad A'zam, the second son of Aurangzeb, and rose to high position in the reign of Farrukh Siyār, who conferred on him the title of Wizārat Khān. He pleased the emperor by his efficiency as *'Diwan'* of crown-lands. All the poets of the imperial capital enjoyed his generosity, and he arranged their grand assemblies at his residence. In poetry, 'Ali adhered to the pattern of the classics, expressing disagreement with his contemporaries, who adopted new style under the influence of Nāsir 'Ali and Mirza Bedil. A concise *Diwan* of 'Ali's verses was admired by literary men when Khwushgu was compiling his *Safinah*.

Anjām, Amir Khān (d. 1159/1747) was one of the influential nobles at the court of Muhammad Shāh. His pleasing sense of humour and intelligence combined with excellent taste for poetry and music, made him a popular figure in the cultured society of Delhi. Using the pen-name mentioned above, he composed verses, chiefly, *ghazal*, in a sublime fashion and was the unfailing literary guide for his contemporaries.

Anwar, Shāh 'Ali Akbar (d. 1155/1742) served under Amir Khān, a noble in the reign of Aurangzeb, who held the governorship of Kabul, Agra and other provinces in succession. Anwar survived till the days of Muhammad Shāh. He renounced the world in later life and settled as a sufi in 'Azimabad Patna. He was well-known as a calligraphist and poet, and left behind a *Diwan* of verses.

'Aqil, Khwajah Muhammad 'Aqil (d. 1143/1730) claimed descent from the celebrated sufi of Khurasān, Shaikh Ahmad-i-Jam alias Zhandah Pil (d. 536/1142). He lived in the town of Sonipat near Delhi. All his family members rendered civil and military services to the Mughal government, but he preferred the independence of a literary man and devoted his time

to poetry. He was the pupil of Hakim Shuhrat and attended the gatherings of poets in the house of Khān-i-Arzū, where all the bright and boisterous personalities of Delhi passed their evenings together. 'Aqil composed poetry in Hindi also, using the pen-name *Budhwant*. Khwushgā, the author of *Safinah*, saw him in the commemoration of Mirza Bedil's death anniversary and was impressed by his *masnawi*: *Mir'at ul-Jamāl*. Another *masnawi* of ethical nature, ascribed to 'Aqil, was: *Wajib ul-hifz*.

Asad, Ghulām Asad ullah (d. unknown) was a Farūqī Shaikh living in the town of Muhammadābad, situated between A'zamgarh and Benaras. He was a friend of Bindrāban Khwushgu, the author of *Safinah*, who settled in the holy city of Benaras to seek spiritual solace as an old man. Asad was a regular visitor, and the two friends amused each other by reciting their verses, ca. 1170/1756.

'Ashiq, Mir Karam ullah (d. 1124/1712) was the daughter's son of 'Alamgir's noble, 'Aqil Khān Rāzi, and after the latter's death, obtained the same title 'Aqil Khān from the emperor. He was the disciple of Mirza Bedil in poetry. He used to pay regular stipends to the poet-saint. 'Ashiq left a *Divān* of verses.

'Asim, Khwajah (d. 1151/1739) was the chief noble of Muhammad Shāh, who conferred on him the title of '*Khan-i-Dawrān*', and his counsels guided the emperor's policies. He commanded the Mughal armies against Nādir Shāh, the Iranian invader, and lost his life in the battle of Karnāl. A large number of poets enjoyed his hospitality and he himself composed verses of considerable merit.

'Ata, 'Ata ullah (d. 1136/1723) belonged to Amroha, a town in district Muradabad, North India, and was the pupil of Mirza Bedil in poetry. The latter gave away to 'Ata his ink-horn and notebook of selected verses, a mark of special favour reserved by the master-poet for the most distinguished of his disciples. Also, he was honoured with the title of Khān by the emperor Muhammad Shāh on the recommendation of Anand Rām Mukhlis. The death-anniversary of Mirza Bedil, popularly called '*Urs*, to which the poets of the capital attached so much importance, was organised by 'Ata with singular enthusiasm. And, as pointed out by

Khwushgu, the author of *Safinah*, the charm and grace of that function was never the same after 'Ata's death. In the gathering, he read out his poem composed on the metre of the children's song, *Khaliq-Bari*. It rhymed: '*Abd ul Qadir Bedil raft*.

Azād, Muhammad Muqim (d. 1150/1737) was a poet in the reign of Muhammad Shāh and enjoyed the patronage of the emperor's chief noble, Amir Khān Anjām. Having arrived from Kashmir, his birth-place, he had settled in Akbarabād Agra, where the literary company of Khān-i-Arzū subscribed to polish his taste. Azād Bilgrami noticed his *Diwān* of verses in the collection of Anand Ram Mukhlis.

'Azīm, 'Ali 'Azīm (d. unknown) was son of the famous poet, Nāsir 'Ali Sirhindi and followed his father's style in poetry. Khwushgu, the author of *Safinah*, was a friend of 'Azīm and admired his verses. He left a *Diwān*.

'Azīm, Maulawi Fazl-i-'Azīm (d. unknown) belonged to Khairābād a town in Awadh, and served as *munshi* = secretary under the officials of the British East India Company. 'Ashiqi Azimabadi met him in Delhi and selected verses from his *Diwān* to include in the *Tazkirah*, over which 'Ashiqi was working.

'Aziz, Bhikan Lāl (d. unknown) belonged to Allahabād and had friendly relations with Bhagwān Dās Hindi, the author of *Safinah*, when Hindi was posted there as an official of the Awadh government. Rājah Rām Nāth, a noble of Shāh 'Alam II, introduced him to the emperor who was pleased with the poet and engaged him for writing an account of his reign: *Shah 'Alam-namah*.

Bahjat, Shāh Muhammad Husain (d. 1140/1727) lived in Delhi and was a friend of Bindraban Khwushgu, the author of *Safinah*. Due to his over-emphasis on the choice of appropriate words in versification, his contemporaries mockingly called him "wife of Mirza Sā'ib". He was very much liked for his vivacious temperament and unfailingly participated in the literary gatherings of the capital. As a poet, composing under the pen-name mentioned above, he had succeeded in creating a circle of his admirers.

Bāqir Khādim (d. unknown) was a poet during the reign of Muhammad Shāh. Essentially a man of religious upbringing, he attempted a versified account of the prophets from Adam to Muhammad, whose details occurred in the Qur'an. Its title was: *Rauzat ul-Muttaqin*, 1149/1736.

Bekas, Mehr 'Ali (d. unknown) : His ancestors held the post of *qāzi* in the city of Mathura. He was a friend of Khwushgu, the author of *Safinah*, who admired his poetry.

Berang, Mirza Muhammadi Beg (d. 1123/1711) lived in Lahore and was a contemporary of Shāh Afrin and 'Abd ul-Latif Tanha, whose company inspired him for composing poetry. He traced his link as a sufi from Khwajah Bāqi-billah, the Naqshbandi saint of Delhi (d. 1012/1603), and expressed sufistic thoughts in his verses.

Betakalluf, Sada Nand (d. 1129/1716) was the uncle of Bindraban Khwushgu, the author of *Safinah*. His ancestors enjoyed the confidence of Shāh Jahān and Dara Shikoh and were employed in the service of the royal family. He himself passed his career as manager of the estates of Jahanzeb Bano, wife of Prince Muhammad A'zam, the second son of Aurangzeb. At the time of his death, Betakalluf summoned his nephew and advised him to take care of his *Diwān* of verses.

Bismil, Khwajah 'Abd ul 'Aziz (d. unknown) improved his poetry under the instruction of Shaikh Afzal Ilahabadi, a man of saintly qualities, whose company turned him to sufi way of life. Bismil settled in Gorakhpur, where Khwushgu, the author of *Safinah*, saw him and borrowed verses from his *Diwān*.

Burhān, Aqa Salih (d. 1151/1739) came from Sistan and settled in Delhi. Muhammad Shāh enlisted him among the poets of his court. He lost his life in the general massacre of the capital ordered by Nādir Shah.

Dāna, Mulla Fakhr ud-Din (d. 1150/1737) came from Kashmir and found employment at the court of Jahandār Shāh (d. 1125/1713). Farrukh Siyār retained him, and he was associated with the official historiographer, Nāzim Khān Fāriḡh, to assist him in the intended project of writing a

history of the emperor's reign. He received a land grant in his own province in reward for his labours. The poets of the capital acknowledged his literary merits.

Dardmand, Faqih Saheb (d. unknown) was brought up in Delhi, although his ancestors belonged to the Deccan. They came in company of Prince Muhammad A'zam, the second son of Aurangzeb, who unsuccessfully contested for India's throne after his father's death. Dardmand was the disciple of Mirza Jān-i-Jānān (d. 1195/1781) and followed his teacher's style in poetry.

Didah, Aghār Khān Mughal (d. 1160/1747) was a noble of Turkman race. His father held high positions under Shāh Jahān and Aurangzeb. Muhammad Shāh sent him as governor of Kashmir, but his harsh temperament and cruelty forced the people of the province to revolt against him and he was called back to Delhi. As reported by Hākīm Lahori, the author of *Mardum-i-Didah*, he composed funny verses and was fond of self-praise.

Faizān, Aqa Ibrahim (d. unknown) was a friend of Mirza Bedil, who acknowledged his abilities and enjoyed his literary discussions. Faizān was one of the regular visitors to Bedil's house, which had gained the prestige of a literary academy in Delhi. Also, he possessed fine taste for music and could successfully demonstrate before the master singers of the capital. His *Diwan* of verses was popular among the contemporaries.

Fakhir, Shaikh Muhammad Fakhir (d. unknown) was the son and successor of Shaikh Khūb ullah, the well-known sufi of Allahabad, who lived in the reign of Aurangzeb. Like his father and other members of the family, Fakhir was respected for his piety and had acquired reputation as an accomplished poet. He left *Diwan* of verses.

Faqir, Mir Shams ud-Din (d. 1183/1769) was famous as a scholar, sufi, and poet during the later days of Muhammad Shāh. Born in Delhi, he moved in the general exodus to Lucknow, where Nawwāb Wazīr of Awadh received him with respect. From early life Faqir was inclined to sufism and wandered freely across the country in the garb of a derwish for many years. His life came to an end due to shipwreck in the Arabian Sea as he

voyaged back with pilgrims from the holy city of Karbala. He left: 1. a *Diwan* of verses, 2. *Taswir-i-mahabbat*, a versified tale of romance, 3. *Sanihah-i-Karbala*, describing the tragedy of the martyrdom of Prophet's family, 4. *Shams uz-Zuhā*, virtues of the Prophet's family in verse, 5. *Hada'iq ul-balaghāt*, a book on rhetoric.

Farhat, Mirza Ta'lim Beg (d. unknown) lived as a young man in Ajmer and was a friend of Bindraban Khwushgu. The two started their literary career at the same time and passed many happy days together in that city. Later on, Farhat came to settle in Delhi and acquired fame among the poets of the capital. He left a *Diwan* of verses.

Fard, Mir Asad ullah (d. 1149/1736) was grandson of the sufi, Shāh Laddah Bilgrami, and had gained popularity as a poet.

Farhat, Maulawi Muhammad Miran (d. 1138/1725) belonged to Kashmir and lived in Delhi. In poetry he was the disciple of Sa'd ullah Gulshan. Mushafi found him a very old man, estimating his age as around one hundred years and praised his erudition, especially, in the field of Arabic and Islamic sciences.

Fārigh, Nāzim Khān (d. unknown) came from Qum, the seat of religious learning in Iran, and gained access to the court of Farrukh Siyār. The emperor employed him as royal historiographer and conferred on him the title mentioned above. His versified chronicle, *Farrukh Siyar-namah*, narrated the role played by the Saiyed brothers of Barhah in raising Farrukh Siyār to the Mughal throne. Mirza Bedil and Mir 'Abd ul-Jalil Bilgrami had friendly relations with Fārigh. He could not complete the intended project due to the abrupt and tragic end of his master (1131/1718). His romantic tale: *Firūz wa Shahbāz*, has survived.

Fārigh, Saiyed Gulām Mustafa (d. 1143/1730) was the nephew of Shāh Laddah, the famous sufi of Bilgram, who imparted him spiritual and literary training. He served as a soldier under Sar-buland Khān, the governor of Gujrat, and was killed in a battle fought by the governor against the rebel Rajah of Jodhpur. His contemporaries acknowledged him as a poet.

Farrukh (d. unknown) was a poet during the reign of Muhammad Shāh. His residence was Amnabād, a suburban quarter of Lahore. He was famous for his literary skill and left a concise *Diwan* of verses.

Farāgh Isfahani, Mirza Muhammad 'Ali (d. 1210/1795) came from his hometown Isfahan, and settled in Delhi, where Mirza Najaf Khān, the governor, treated him with kindness. Later on he moved to Benaras and died there at the age of seventy, leaving behind a *Diwan* of verses.

Fasih, Mirza (d. unknown) belonged to Kashmir and in poetry he was the teacher of Khwajah Muhammad 'Asim, Samsām ud-Dawlah Khān-i-Daurān, the premier noble of Muhammad Shāh, who led the battle against Nadir Shāh and lost his life in the field at Karnāl (1152/1739). Mirza Fasih held a place of honour among the poets of the capital.

Fida, Khair ullah (d. unknown) belonged to a small town near Lahore and lived the simple and pious life of a sufi. He gained importance among the poets of the reign of Muhammad Shāh (d. 1161/1748) and left a *Diwan* of verses.

Fursat (d. 1138/1725) came from Kashmir and settled in Delhi, where he improved his poetic talents under the instruction of Shāh Gulshan, the sufi-poet of the capital. In old age Fursat returned to his homeland. Khwushgu, the author of *Safinah*, remembered him as one of his friends and praised his verses.

Ghālib, Asad ullah (d. unknown) was the grandson of Shaikh Muhammad Afzal, a learned scholar of Jaunpur. In poetry he was the disciple of Mir Ghulām 'Ali Azād Bilgrami, the well-known author of anthologies (d. 1200/1786).

Ghairat, Nawwab Salābat Jang (d. 1161/1748) was a noble in the reign of Muhammad Shāh. The literary men of Delhi enjoyed his generous hospitality and acknowledged him as a poet. He left a *Diwan* of verses.

Ghubār, Mirza Abū Turāb (1150/1737) was the son of Mirza Muhammad 'Ali, an emigrant from Iran, who served under Aurangzeb. Ghubār received literary training in the polished society of Agra and Delhi and was the friend of Nāsir 'Ali and Shāh Gulshan. While suppressing a

revolt against the governor of Gujrat, he lost his life at Ahmadabad. Khān-i-Arzā was deeply impressed by Ghubar and estimated him as a brilliant poet.

Girāmi, Mirza (d. 1156/1743) was the son of Mirza Qabūl Kashmiri whose literary influence lasted in Delhi, where he had settled, from the days of Jahandār Shah till it was superseded by Mirza Bedil. Girāmi's personality was more amusing than his poetry. He belonged to the class of sufis, the monotheists, who held all religions as equally good with bias or preference towards none. Khān-i-Arzā has made interesting comments in his *Majma' un-Nafa'is*. "Girami presented himself as a Shi'ah to the Shi'ahs, a Sunni to the Sunnis and a perfect Hindu to the Hindus, wrapping saffron-coloured loin cloth down the waist and shaving the face clean. Indeed, his latitudinarianism allowed him to behave like a Christian among the Christians and a Jew among the Jews". Khwushgu, in similar strain, added further: "His all-embracing tolerance made him rather a funny character. All the youths of Delhi declared themselves as his faithful disciples and he walked at the head of about fifty or a hundred young poets whenever invited by a nobleman to attend a *mushairah* = poetic function. Once, there was the 'urs = death anniversary, of Mirza Bedil and some seven hundred dancing girls of the capital had gathered to display their art in the garden of Mir Musharraf. The whole crowd of people left them and flocked around Mirza Girāmi when he began his fascinating *ghazal* in the opposite corner of the garden." Girāmi's pupils estimated his *Diwan* as of great literary value.

Gulshan, Shaikh Sa'd ullah (d. 1140/1727) was one of the last great sufis of Delhi famous for his piety as well as poetry. Also, he excelled in music and his contemporaries called him 'Amir Khusraw, the second'. All his life, he adhered to the ideal of self-imposed poverty and service to mankind, living in Zinat-ul-Masājid., the mosque constructed by Aurangzeb's daughter, Zinat un-Nisā Begum along the bank of River Jamuna. A large number of disciples and devotees were attached to him, and in spite of his unworldliness, he commanded social influence in the Mughal capital due to his extraordinary personality. His *Diwan* of verses contained about four thousand verses. Originally, Shāh Gulshan advised Wali Daccani, the first eminent poet of Urdu, to switch over from Persian

to the language of the motherland.

Hairān, Shaikh Mahmād (d. unknown) lived in Sirhind and was a sufi by training. In poetry he was the disciple of Nasir 'Ali (d. 1108/1696) and followed his style. Hairān left a *Diwan* of verses.

Hairat Shāh, Muhammad 'Alim ullah (d. 1223/1808) lived in Allahabad and belonged to sufi background, his maternal uncle being the well-known scholar and spiritual leader, Shāh Khūb ullah Ilahabadi. He was the author of two didactic poems: 1. *Jawahir-i-zawahir* and 2. *Shir wa Biranj*.

Haqiqat, Mir 'Ali Reza (d. unknown) was a poet of Sirhind, and to the surprise of all his contemporaries, raised critical objections against his fellow-townsmen, Nasir 'Ali, whose influence was supreme during those days. Haqiqat left a *Diwan*.

Haqir, Shaikh Kamāl ud-Din (d. unknown) lived in Allahabad and was the son of Shaikh Muhammad Afzal, a learned man of the city, famous for his piety and scholarly pursuits. Like his father, Haqir adopted sufi way of life and was acknowledged as an accomplished poet.

Hashmat, Muhtasham 'Ali Khān (d. 1163/1749) was a Saiyed of noble family living in the imperial capital and passed many years in the company of Khān-i-Arzū, whom he acknowledged as his teacher in poetry. The other famous poets of the age, whose training polished his taste, were Mir Afzal Sābit and Shaikh 'Abd ur-Reza Matin. Hashmat left his *Diwan* of verses.

Hasrat, Saiyed Muhammad Ashraf (d. unknown) lived in Sandilah, a town near Lucknow, and was the disciple of Mirza Bedil in poetry. He imitated his master's style and left a *Diwan*.

Hātim, Mirza Hātim Beg (d. unknown) lived in Delhi and combined the art of calligraphy with poetry. He enjoyed the literary company of two celebrated men of the capital, Shāh Gulshan (d. 1140/1727) and Khān-i-Arzū (d. 1169/1756). Hātim's *Diwan* of verses acquired popularity.

Hātim, Shāh, Shaikh Zuhūr ud-Din (d. 1196/1781) was born in a

noble family of Delhi and had tasted the luxuries of upper class life in young age. Later on, he renounced the world and embraced the discipline of a derwish. Initially, he enjoyed the patronage of Amir Khān, Anjām, an influential dignitary of the court of Muhammad Shāh; but the company of a holy ascetic, Mir Bādal 'Alī Shāh, whose abode was in Qadam-Rasūl, a desolate quarter of the capital, caused inner transformation. He repented from sins and embraced sufi's ways of piety, humility and poverty. Shāh Hātim was a man of exceedingly good nature and retained his ready wit and sense of humour till the advanced old age of about ninety. He was a bilingual poet, composing both in Urdu and Persian, and his literary influence had been supreme in the capital for over half a century. One of the disciples trained by him was Mirza Sauda, the genius of Urdu poetry. Shāh Hātim's *Diwān* of Persian verses was concise in volume, containing chiefly *ghazals*, in less than a hundred pages.

Hazin, Shaikh 'Alī (d. 1180/1766) was the scion of a noble family of Isfahān. Unluckily, his life-span coincided with the parallel degeneration of two great empires of the East: the Safawis of Iran and the Mughals of India. He experienced the calamities of the Afghan invasion (1134/1721) in which the beautiful city of his birth, metaphorically called *Nisf-i-Jahān* (half the world), was plundered and ruined. During the dark days of the siege of Isfahān, Hazin maintained his family by selling away his precious belongings including the books of his personal library. The rest was taken away by the Afghans as booty. In search of safety, he migrated from Isfahān to Delhi. Not long afterwards, came Nadir Shāh (1152/1739) and wrought similar havoc over the grand city of the Mughals. Hazin went into hiding as Delhi was being sacked and its people butchered by the terrible invader. These agonies impaired his sensitive nature and made him ill-tempered rather a cynic for the rest of his life. Nonetheless, he lived as a socially active man and maintained familiar relations with political personalities of his time. In Iran, the last representative of the royal dynasty of the Safawis approached Hazin to seek advice for rebuilding his position. And, in India, Shāh 'Alam II consulted him twice over matters worrying the helpless emperor. Similarly, his opinions were discreetly accepted by Nawwab Shuja' ud-Dawlah of Awadh and Mir Qasim of Bengal. He had chosen Benaras (Varanasi), the holy city of the Hindus, as

his permanent resting place. A poet himself, he held his Indian counterparts in low esteem and frankly poured out his contempt on them. Having seen Mirza Sauda, the great living poet of Urdu literature, he is said to have remarked, "Among the petty scribblers of India you are not so bad." And, about Khān-i-Arzū, the highly respected scholar, he used words unbecoming of a gentleman. These arrogant sallies of Hazin subscribed to damage the cause of Persian in India. His literary contributions were: 1. a *Diwān* of verses, 2. a sketchy account of poets whom he saw in Iran: *Tazkirat ul-Ma'asirin*, and 3. his autobiography giving information of the tumultuous events observed by him in Iran and India, *Tazkirat ul-Ahwal*, completed ca. 1154/1741.

Hazrat, Muhammad Hayāt (d. unknown) lived in old Delhi, located in the south of Shahjahanabad, and belonged to the literary circle of Bindrāban Khwushgu, disciple of Bedil and author of *Safinah*. Hazrat's *Diwān* gained popularity among his contemporaries.

Hikmat, Muhibb 'Alī Khān (d. unknown) picked up Bazil's unfinished *Hamlah-i-Haidari* (see Bāzil) and brought out his own continuation under the title : *Saulat-i-Safdari*, completed in 1143/1730. Also, Hikmat left an incomplete poem in praise of the Prophet's daughter, Fatima. Another poet, Muhammad Kāzim Hāziq, completed the project. It appeared as *Farah-namah-i-Fatimi*, ca. 1150/1737.

Himmat, Muhammad 'Ashiq (d. unknown) was the son of a Hindu goldsmith, who lived as Nāsir 'Alī Sirhindi's next-door neighbour. His parents died leaving him a child of two years and he was brought up by Nāsir 'Alī. Naturally, there was nothing to learn in a poet's house save poetry and he soon showed his intelligence as an amateur of the art. Himmat Khān, the governor of Allahabad, having heard about his literary gifts, offered him patronage and Himmat went to live there in happy circumstances. Once, a *qasidah* composed in praise of the new patron created an embarrassing situation. For, after reciting the poem in traditional manner, he begged for a reward, and his heart's desire was Munno, a dancing girl of the city, who had stolen his tender heart. The audience-hall resounded with laughter as the governor bluntly retorted. "Fool. Do you think your patron must be a tout running after transactions

in brothels." Next day, in utter shame, Himmat packed his baggage and left for Benares (Varanāsi) in order to make that city his permanent home. His death occurred a few years before Khān-i-Arzū completed his *tazkirah* of poets, 1164/1750. A *Diwān* and a *masnawī* of Himmat have survived.

Husām ullah, Shaikh (d. unknown) composed a *masnawī* describing the invasion of Ahmad Shāh Abdālī and named it *Fath-namah-i-Abdālī*, 1161/1747.

Iksir, Imām ud-Dīn (d. unknown) came from Isfahan and settled in Delhi during the days of Muhammad Shāh. A physician by profession, his chief interest was in poetry and the literary men of the capital acknowledged his views about taste and style. He left a *Diwān* of verses.

Insān, Asad Yār Khān (d. 1158/1745) enjoyed the patronage of Amir Khān Anjām, an influential nobleman at the court of Muhammad Shāh, who introduced him to the emperor. Impressed by his intelligence Muhammad Shāh elevated his rank and he was sent as governor to Kashmir. He was a popular poet of the capital and left a *Diwān*.

Ishtiyāq, Shāh Wali ullah (d. unknown) was a sufi of Delhi and lived in Kotlah Firūz Shāh outside Shahjahanābād. All the young men of the capital thronged around him for poetic inspiration and were greatly pleased by his open-hearted manners. Khwushgu, the author of *tazkirah*, regularly invited him to attend the literary function, *musha'arah*, organized at his house. Ishtiyāq had a *Diwān* of verses.

Ja'far Zatali (d. 1125/1713) was a popular satirist living in Delhi during the later days of Aurangzeb and survived till the accession of Farrukh Siyār, who ordered him to be executed in retaliation for an insulting verse. Ja'far's poetry, apparently charged with frolic and laughter, was in fact a severe stricture on the state of utter degeneration in which the Mughal society was sinking day by day. The skilful and amusing mixture of Persian and indigenous Hindustāni words in his expression gave it a close resemblance to farce. And, the title, *zatal*, suggested its peculiar brand. Incidentally, it subscribed to the development of a new and fast growing language, Urdu. Ja'far chose for his *Diwān* of verses the symbolic title: *Zatal-namah*.

Jawlān, Mir Saiyed 'Ali (d. unknown): His ancestors held the post of *qāzī*—jurist, in the town of Sunām near Sirhind. He lived in Delhi and was fond of raising literary controversies among the poets of the capital. His friends, Khān-i-Arzū and Bindrāban Khwushgū, always supported his stand and warmly admired his *Diwān* of verses.

Jādat, Mirza Muhammad Ayyūb (d. 1125/1713) was the son of an emigrant nobleman from Badakhshān, Mirza Salim Beg, whom Aurangzeb honoured with rank in his army. Earlier, Jādat also served as a military officer, but soon resigned his post and settled in Delhi, where literary men of the capital acknowledged him as a poet. Khwushgū saw him in the reign of Shāh 'Alam Bahādur Shāh I, and was impressed by his abilities. His friend, Mirza Afzal Sarkhwush, mourned his death in a chronogram meaning: Ayyūb made paradise his abode - 1125/1713.

Jur'at, Mir Muhammad Ja'far (d. unknown) served as a soldier in the armies of Muhammad Shāh and was inclined to the spiritual discipline of sufism. His teacher was the famous sufi of the age, Shāh Sa'd ullah Gulshan. Khwushgū, the author of *Safinah*, heard him reciting verses before his Shaikh in *Zinat ul-Masajid*, Shāh Gulshan's abode in Delhi. Jur'at's *Diwān* was popular among his contemporaries.

Kāmil, Shaikh 'Azmat ullah (d. unknown) was a nobleman of the reign of Muhammad Shāh. In early life, he served as an officer in the army; but soon retired to his place of birth, Muradabād, North India, where his family estate provided him modest income. A disciple of Mirza Bedil, he was well known as a poet to contemporary men of letters and collected his verses in a *Diwān*.

Karam, Karam 'Ali (d. unknown) served as a soldier in the armies of Shāh 'Alam Bahādur Shāh (d. 1124/1712), and composed *qasidāhs* in praise of his master. His lyrical verses appealed to contemporary taste and he collected them in a *Diwān*.

Khal'at, 'Abd ullah (d. unknown) came from Kashmir and settled in Delhi, where he earned a meagre livelihood as tutor to the children of nobles. Bindrababn Khwushgū, the author of *Safinah*, offered him a place to live in his house. In poetry he was the disciple of Nudrat Kashmiri and

had acquired a position among the literary men of the capital.

Khīrad, Mir Muhammad Khān (d. 1161/1748) served as governor of Lahore under Farrukh Siyār and was respected as a scholar and poet. Many contemporary men of letters acknowledged him as their patron and guide in the style of poetry. Khīrad left a *Diwān*.

Lāmi', Shaikh Jamāl ullah (d. unknown) lived in Akbarabād Agra and was known as a literary man of the city. He witnessed the days of Shāh 'Alam Bahādur Shāh I, and left behind him a *masnawī* and a *Diwān*.

Latīf, 'Abd ul-Latīf (d. unknown) belonged to a small place near Rohtak, modern Haryana, and possessed good taste for poetry. He composed a *masnawī*, narrating the invasions of Ahmad Shāh Abdālī that repeatedly swept the plains of Punjab down to Delhi; its title was: *Ahmad-namah*, ca. 1184/1770.

Maimanat Khān, Khwajah Muhammad Yūsuf (d. 1140/1727) was the nephew of Rukn ud-Dawlah Irādāt Khān, a noble of Farrukh Siyār. The latter originally came from Kashmir as a trader, succeeded in gaining confidence of the young emperor and rose to high position in his court. Maimanat, like his uncle, was also honoured with title and rank by Muhammad Shāh. Khwushgu, the author of *Safinah*, saw him in the grand function of poets held for commemorating the 'Urs = death anniversary, of Mirza Bedil, where Maimanat arrived in company of Shāh Gulshan, the venerable sufi of the capital. His callous frankness earned him the censure of his contemporaries, for, he insulted his father in a couplet: "People complain of unworthy sons; and to my luck, I have an unworthy father." Maimanat's independent style was evident from the *ghazals* he collected into a *Diwān*.

Makhzan, 'Abd ul-Qādir (d. unknown) lived as a sufi in Bahra'ich, Awadh, and was the spiritual disciple of Shāh Qāsim Daryabādī. The latter composed a poem in Hindi, *Hans Jawahar* (1149/1736) dealing with sufistic allegories. Makhzan made its versified translation into Persian, which appeared under the title: *Farhat ul-Arwah*, completed ca. 1192/1778.

Mashrab, 'Abd ur-Razzāq (d. 1127/1715) was an emigrant from Isfahān and possessed special skill as a physician. Having arrived during the later period of Aurangzeb, he spent life in many places, namely, Bareilly, Lucknow and Sind. In the meantime, he held various government offices. He was well-known as a poet and collected his verses in a *Diwan*.

Masih, Muhammad Muqim Khān (d. unknown) came from Iran in the reign of Jahandār Shāh and held important positions under Farrukh Siyār and Muhammad Shāh. His death occurred at Jhānsi, a place near Gwalior, where he was posted as steward of the fort. He was an enthusiastic follower of Mirza Jalāl Asir, an abstruse poet of Iran, whose style he strived to popularize in India.

Mast, Abu'l Faiz (d. unknown) lived in Delhi during the reign of Muhammad Shāh and enjoyed the literary company of Hakīm Shuhrat, Mirza Bedil and other eminent scholars of the capital. He claimed to have been blessed by Shaikh Sa'di of Shirāz in a dream, and therefore, declared himself as the Shaikh's direct disciple. He composed *ghazals*.

Matin Kāshmiri (d. unknown) belonged to the reign of Muhammad Shāh and wrote a *tazkirah* of contemporary poets. Azād Bilgrāmi and other writers utilized it as their source. But, there seems to be no trace of Matin's *Hayat ush Shā' ara*.

Mazhar, Muhammad Sami' (d. unknown) was a Tūrāni noble and served as censor of public morals, *muhtasib*, of the province of Ajmer in the reign of Farrukh Siyār (d. 1131/1718). In poetry he was the disciple of Muhammad Muqim Khān Masih and composed on the model of classical poets.

Mukhlis, Anand Rām (d. 1164/1751) belonged to a Khattari family of Lahore known for their refinement and culture. His father, Rajah Hirdey Rām, was a nobleman of the city. Mukhlis served as representative, *wakil*, of the governor of Punjab and lived mostly in Delhi. As every provincial governor had his *wakil* posted at the Mughal court, whose duty was to represent the interest of his master and keep him informed about the day-to-day developments around the emperor, a considerable dignity was attached to the *wakil's* position. Mukhlis was an eye-witness to the drama

of events that occurred in the reign of Muhammad Shah and has left a detailed record of his observations. The emperor trusted him as a man of sound judgement and often invited him for the drafting of important letters and documents. In poetry, he was the disciple of Mirza Bedil and exhibited marvellous creative energy. His pen was equally fluent in prose and verse. Shafiq Aurangabadi, a literary critic of great distinction, estimated that Mukhlis was the best Hindu poet, who composed in Persian. The same view has been affirmed by Walih Daghistani. Of his numerous works, the most interesting were 1. *Mir'at ul-istilah*, a manual of technical phrases explaining the rules of Mughal government; 2. *Bada'i' Waqa'i'*, a combination of three historical treatises (a) *tazkirah* dealing with the invasion of Nadir Shah, (b) *Safar-namah*, narrating Muhammad Shah's invasion of the Rohellah territory and giving the picture of rural and urban conditions obtaining in the Indo-Gangetic plain, and (c) account of Ahmad Shah Abdali's invasions; 3. *Diwan* of verses; and 4. *Hangamah-i-'Ishq*, prose version of *Hir-Ranjha*, dedicated to the emperor, Muhammad Shah.

Mohammad Tahir Kulabi (d. unknown) lived as a sufi in the reign of Muhammad Shah. He described the teachings of sufism in the allegorical form of versified love letters: *Mahbub-i-Nayrang*.

Muhibb, Bhim Sen (d. unknown) was a poet of the time of Muhammad Shah. He made a versified list of the subjects narrated by Ferdowsi in his great epic. It appeared as *Fihrist-i-Shah namah*, ca. 1147/1735.

Mushtaq Kashmiri (d. unknown) lived in Delhi and earned his living as a professional calligraphist. He was personal friend of Khan-i-Arzu, who held Mushtaq in high esteem. He placed him as next to Haji Aslam Salim in the line of prominent poets who came out from the valley of Kashmir. Mushtaq imitated Jalal Asir, Sa'ib, and Nasir 'Ali in his poetry. His *Diwan* was popular among the contemporaries.

Nisari, Shah 'Abd ul-Latif (d. 1174/1760) lived during the days of Farrukh Siyar and Muhammad Shah and combined theological knowledge with poetry. He delivered sermons after Friday prayers in the Fathpuri Mosque of Delhi. His *Diwan* of verses was popular among the

contemporaries.

Nizām ud-Din Siyālkoti (d. unknown) was acknowledged for his scholarship and enjoyed the patronage of the Afghan king, Ahmad Shāh Abdālī. Except for a few brief visits to Kabul, he passed most of his life in his hometown, Siyālkot, Punjab, remaining engaged in the pious routine of study and religious observances. He composed a versified history of his patron using Ferdowsi's *Mutaqarib* metre, and named it *Shah-namah-i-Ahmadi*. And also, he composed a similar *masnawi* dealing with the invasion of Nadir Shāh. Its title was: *Shah-namah-i-Nadiri*, 1173/1759.

Nudrat, Lālā Hukam (Hakim?) Chand (d. unknown) was a playmate of Bindraban Khwushgu, the author of *Safinah*. Both studied *Akhlaq-i-Nasiri* and other textbooks under the same teacher, Maulawī 'Abid. And, the poet whom both of them showed their verses as pupils was Mirza Afzal Sar-Khwush. In young age, Nudrat entered the service of Samsām ud-Dawlah Khān-i-Dawrān, the chief noble of Muhammad Shāh, who appointed him revenue officer of Thanesar. For many years he moved in the literary circles of Delhi and absorbed the influences of Mirza Bedil and Shāh Gulshan, the most distinguished men of those days. As poet, he prepared a versified version of the *Bhagwad-Gita* in the metre of Nizāmī's *Khusraw wa Shirin*, carrying the poem to fourteen thousand verses. Another *Masnawi* of two thousand verses, being an exercise of youth, was *Zarrah wa Khurshid*. There was a *Sāqi-namah* of seven hundred verses, in Praise of his patron Khān-i-Dawrān Bahādur. And the number of couplets comprising his *ghazals* amounted to fifteen thousand. Also, he attempted specimens of ornate prose after the fashion of professional secretaries and left a miscellaneous collection under the title, *Shash Jihat*.

Nuzhat, Nūr ullah Beg (d. 1140/1727) lived in Delhi during the reign of Muhammad Shāh and was the disciple of Qabul Kashmiri. Khwushgu, the author of *Safinah*, found him a young man, actively participating in the poetic functions of the capital, and composing impressive verses.

Payām, Mir Sharaf ud-Din 'Ali (d. 1145/1732) was born at Agra and lived in Delhi. He enjoyed the literary company of Khān-i-Arzū and Anand Rām Mukhlis. Khwushgu invited him to the poetic functions held

in his house. He left a *Diwan* of verses.

Qābil, Saiyed ‘Abd ullah (d. 1132/1719) belonged to Bilgram, the town famous in Mughal age for its scholars. Apart from poetry which was his chief field of interest, he possessed mastery in the art of calligraphy and was supposed to be able to write all the seven scripts. Interestingly, he claimed vast experience about various kinds of swords and arrows and all the other weapons of warfare. Khwushgu, the author of *Safinah*, informed that Qābil’s personal library was scattered after his death, and therefore, there was no trace left of his *Diwan* of verses.

Qābil, Muhammad Panāh (d. 1170/1756) came from Kashmir to settle in Delhi and was the disciple of Mirza Bedil in poetry. Like his teacher, Qābil was a man of unworldly manners for which the people of the capital treated him with respect. Hākīm, the author of *Mardum-i-Didah*, saw him in Lahore and was impressed by his conversation. He composed his *Diwan* on the pattern of Khwajah Hāfiz of Shirāz.

Qābil Khān, Mirza Abu’l Hasan (d. 1160/1747) was a scholar and poet at the court of Shāh ‘Alam Bahādur Shāh I, the son and successor of Aurangzeb. During the course of his stay in Lahore, Shāh Afrin and Hākīm accepted him as their literary companion. The nobles, Dīl Diler Khān and his son, Himmat Khān, were impressed by his literary qualities and he lived with them in Thatta, Sind, and Kashmir, where they were posted as governors in succession. Khwushgu, the author of *Safinah*, saw him quite often in the gathering of poets held at Mirza Mazhar Jan-i-Jānān’s house in Delhi. His *Diwan* of verses was studied by Khwushgu.

Qabūl, ‘Abd ul Ghani Beg (d. 1138/1745) belonged to Kashmir and was trained in poetry by Mirza Darāb Beg Juyā. Having arrived in Delhi, he rose to fame in the reign of Muhammad Shāh. There were large number of young disciples in his circle and they treated him as their literary guide. Qabūl’s *Diwan* of verses did not seem to have survived.

Qāni’, Maulana ‘Aziz ullah (d. unknown) belonged to Kashmir and lived in Delhi during the reign of Farrukh Siyār (d. 1131/1718). He composed poetry under the pen-name mentioned above and was known for his knowledge of religious sciences; but, he earned his living chiefly as

a calligraphist.

Raghubat Siyālkoti (d. unknown) was a poet during the reign of Muhammad Shāh (d. 1161/1748). He composed a *masnawi* of didactic nature in which he praised the emperor. Its title was *Qissah-i-Haqqat-i-Rai*.

Rāhi (d. unknown) lived as a poet in the reign of Shāh 'Alam Bahādur Shāh I, son and successor of Aurangzeb. The emperor's eldest son, Prince Mu'izz ud-Din, who later on came to the throne as Jahandār Shāh, once killed a wild elephant in the forest of Nānparah, situated in Awadh. Rāhi narrated the details of the hunting expedition and praised the prince in a *masnawi*, naming it: *Fil-namah*.

Rā'ij, Mir Muhammad 'Ali (d. 1150/1737) belonged to Siyālkot, a town in Punjab, and lived in Lahore. He was contemporary of Mirza Bedil and Shāh Afrin, who acknowledged his poetry. His pious life and inclination to sufistic discipline earned him popular respect. His death occurred the same day Bindraban Khwushgu arrived in Lahore, and the author of *Safinah* participated in his funeral procession.

Rasā'i, Arshad 'Ali (d. 1144/1731) lived in the fashion of a sufi at Delhi and presented his verses for improvement to Khān-i-Arzū. Earlier, Nasir 'Ali had trained him as poet. His *Diwan* of verses was popular among literary men of the capital.

Rawāj, Shaikh Muhammad 'Ali (d. 1140/1727) was a disciple of the celebrated sufi of Delhi, Shaikh Sa'd ullah Gulshan. He had friendship with Khwushgu, who invited him to his house in the gathering of poets, *musha'irah*.

Rāzi, Ahsan ullah Khān (d. unknown) belonged to Kashmir and was a noble holding responsible position in the reign of Muhammad Shāh. The emperor conferred on him the title of Fasāhat Khān in recognition of his talents as a poet. He was a disciple of Mirza 'Abd ul-Ghani Beg Qabūl and had been popular among the poets of the capital. His *Diwan* of verses has survived.

Reḡat, Ghulām Ashraf Khān (d. unknown) lived in Delhi and came to attend the assembly of poets regularly organized by Khwushgu, the author of *Safinah*, in his house.

Reza, Muhammad Reza Zulfaqār (d. unknown) lived in the time of Muhammad Shāh and performed military service. He composed a *masnawī* praising the emperor and his ancestors and named it: *Sharaf-namah-i-Muhammad Shāh*.

Rindi, Babri alias Bhūri (d. unknown) was initially a dancing girl of Delhi. Under the influence of the poet saint, Mirza Bedil, she repented and renounced her profession. The Mirza (d. 1133/1720) accepted Rindi as a disciple and his guidance almost transformed Rindi's personality. Already accomplished in singing, she recited verses to the heart's delight of the entire poetic gatherings and acquired popularity in Delhi's literary circles. Poetry, of all the fine arts, had its healing effect on the Indo-Muslim society while it passed through the agony of political and moral decadence.

Rūhi, Mir Saiyed Muhammad Ja'far (d. 1154/1741) was a poet of the reign of Shāh 'Alam Bahādur Shāh I whom he praised in a *qasidah* at the time of his accession (1119/1707). He lived in Lucknow like a sufi and claimed his allegiance with the *Ni'mat ullahi order*. His spiritual guide was the sufi poet of Bilgram, Mir Lutf ullah Ahmadi, popular as Shāh Laddha Bilgrami. Ruhi's *Diwan* of verses has survived.

Sabāt, Mir 'Azim (d. unknown) was the son of Mir Afzal Sābit and devoted all his life to the art of poetry. He possessed excellent memory and Wālih Dāghistāni sought his assistance in the compilation of his voluminous *tazkirah* of poets, *Riyāz ush-Shu'ara*. Khān-i-Arzū stated that Sabāt presented his verses for improvement to him. A similar claim was made by Wālih. Like his father, he preferred the unworldly life of a sufi. There were four thousand verses in his *Diwan*.

Sābir Shah (d. unknown) lived as a pious sufi in Delhi during the days of Muhammad Shāh and composed poetry under the pen-name Sābir. He left a *Diwan* containing mostly *ghazals*.

Sabit, Mir Afzal (d. 1152/1739) was the descendant of Islām Khān Mashhādī, the noble of Shāh Jahān. From Allahābād, which was his place of residence, he came to settle in Delhi and acquired fame as a poet. A man of pious and unworldly character, he was much respected by his contemporaries. His *Dīwān*, as witnessed by Khwushgu and Bhagwān Dās Hindī, contained about ten or twelve thousand verses.

Sādiq Multānī (d. unknown) lived as a poet in the company of Prince Timūr Shāh, son of Ahmad Shāh Abdālī, and was the author of a romantic *masnawī*: *Shatīq-nāmāh*, completed in 1186/1772.

Shivji Rām (d. unknown) lived during the reign of Shāh 'Alam II, whom he praised in the introduction, and was the author of a book in verse dealing with geomancy = *Ramal*. There were eighteen chapters with ample sub-divisions in each one of them. The title of the book was: *Intikhab ur-Ramal*, completed in 1186/1772.

Shorish, Shaikh 'Abd ul-Haq (d. unknown) belonged to Akbarābād and lived in Delhi. He was a friend of Khān-i-Arzū who recognized his literary abilities. He left *Dīwān* of verses.

Sabqat, Lāla Sukh Rāj (d. 1138/1745) belonged to the neighbourhood of Lucknow and was Kayasth by caste. In poetry he received instruction under Mirza Bedil. The latter acknowledged him as the most accomplished of his Hindu pupils. His cultivated manners and brilliant wit made him a successful man in the learned society of his age. He gained the confidence of the Saiyeds of Barhah by displaying professional efficiency as a civil servant; and Qutb ul-Mulk Saiyed 'Abd ullah honoured him with the rank of five hundred. After the downfall of his patrons, he transferred his services to Rajah Girdhar Bahadur in Malwah. His relations with the Rajah ended in violent controversy and Sabqat lost his life. His *Dīwān* containing about ten thousand verses, which he held very dear and always kept in his own possession, was destroyed in the tragic scuffle. Also, he depicted the war fought by his patron, Saiyed Husain 'Alī, against the governor of the Deccan, Dāwūd Khān, naming it: *Jang-nāmāh*.

Saiyed, Salābat Khān (d. 1127/1724) belonged to the seaport of Surat

and held the position of '*mir-atish*' = chief of the security guard, posted at the imperial palace, in the reign of Farrukh Siyār. In poetry he was the pupil of Mirza 'Abd ul-Ghani Beg Qabūl. All the poets of Delhi were entertained by him in the weekly assemblies held at his house. He followed the style of his teacher, Qabūl, and left behind him a *Diwan* of verses.

Sakha, Mir Zahid 'Ali (d. 1146/1733) fought against the Afghans during the terrible siege of Isfahān (1134/1721) and came to India in the early years of Muhammad Shah's reign. He was received with kindness by Sa'adat Khān Burhān ul-Mulk, the influential noble of the imperial court. A fantastic tale gained currency among the poets of the capital that the emperor had offered Sakha the rank of five thousand, which he declined as below his dignity; but his patron, Burhān ul-Mulk, gave him the promise of *haft-hazari* = Seven Thousand. In the meantime, his wife developed illicit relations with a domestic servant, and walking in the footsteps of Hamlet's mother, sent the husband to his grave by administering deadly poison. The servant, not content with the spoliation of the poor poet's honour and life, also took away his *Diwan* of verses. Thākur Dās, personal secretary to Burhān ul-Mulk who was a poet himself with *Bandah* as pen-name, maintained a diary in which he collected specimens of verses from the poets of his time in their own hand-writing. Sakha had also obliged him. Later on, Khwushgu, the author of *Safinah*, read the diary of Thākur Dās and was delighted by Sakha's verses; he transferred them into his *Safinah*.

Samān, Mir Muhammad Nāsir (d. 1147/1734) belonged to Jaunpur and was trained as a poet by Mirza Mazhar Jān-i-Jānān. He entered the imperial service and got appointment as *bakhshi* = paymaster, and news-reporter in his home-town, where death overtook him in young age.

Sanad, Mir Shams ud-Din (d. unknown) was the son of Wajdān, Mir Ma'sūm (d. 1160/1747), and lived in Lahore. His father trained him in the art of poetry, and he was popular as a poet among his contemporary men of letters.

Shahid, Mirza Ghazi (d. 1130/1717) was trained in poetry by Rasikh,

Mir Muhammad Zamān, who was Shahid's uncle. He lived in Lahore; and among his literary friends the most intimate was Ahmad Yār Khān Yaktā. He composed a *masnawī* on the pattern of Zulali's *Sabī'-Sayyārī* and named it: *shor-i-Junān*.

Shā'ir, Gul Muhammad (d. 1157/1744) was the disciple of Mirza Bedil in poetry. Also, his relations with Anand Rām Mukhlis, the famous poet of the age, were very cordial. On the latter's recommendation he was honoured with the title, Ma'ni-yāb Khān, by the emperor, Muhammad Shāh. In old age, Bedil gave away his staff and sword to Shā'ir. He was popular among the poets of Delhi.

Shāriq, Mirza Nūr ud-Dīn (d. unknown) came from Iran during the days of Aurangzeb and was appointed Dīwān of Kashmir in the reign of Farrukh Siyār, where he stayed till the end of his life. Shāriq was known as a poet and left his *Dīwān* of verses.

Shuhād, Bāl Mukand (d. unknown) was a Kayasth scholar of Bihār and served there in the revenue department. He came to Delhi in the reign of Muhammad Shāh in connection with official business and stayed there for some time. He developed contacts with poets of the capital and enjoyed their literary company. Particularly, he was deeply impressed by Khān-i-Arzū (d. 1169/1756). The pantheistic philosophy of sūfism being his chief interest, he adopted the pen-name mentioned above.

Sūfi, Abu'l Barakāt Khān (d. 1160/1747) was a nobleman of Kashmir and enjoyed the confidence of Farrukh Siyār, who assigned him with important functions concerning the administration of his homeland. Khwushgu, the author of *Safinah*, received his protection and help during the unlucky days of Nādir's invasion. In poetry, he was the pupil of Mulla Sāti'. He could write prose as good as poetry and left a *Dīwān*.

Sukhan, Mir 'Abd us-Samad (d. 1141/1728) belonged to Akbarabad, Agra, and was the disciple of Mirza Bedil. He passed his last days in Ahmadabad, Gujrat, in the company of Sarbaland Khān, the governor of the province. Khān-i-Arzū was one of his disciples in poetry. Sukhan left a *Dīwān*.

Suwaïda, Mulla Jamāl (d. unknown) lived in Lahore and was well-known in the city as a poet. Rā'ij, Muhammad 'Alī, and Nāsir 'Alī were his rivals, as claimed by him. He was the author of a *masnawi*, entitled *But wa Brahman*.

Tajrid, Mir Haider (d. unknown) lived as a poet during the reign of Muhammad Shah and his successors. From Sūrat, Gujrat, where he passed most of his life, he came for a brief visit to Delhi and cultivated friendship with Khān-i-Arzū (d. 1169/1755). The latter has acknowledged his *Saqi-namah*.

Talāsh, Hājī Muhammad Jamāl (d. unknown) lived the life of an unworldly sufi and was Mirza Bedil's pupil in poetry. Khwushgu, the author of *Safinah*, saw him in literary gatherings of Delhi and was impressed by his merits. Talāsh left a *Diwān*.

Tālī', Mir 'Abd ul-'Alī (d. unknown) came from Sabzwār, a town in Khurasān, and developed association with the poets of the capital living in the reign of Muhammad Shāh. His *Diwān* of verses gained popularity among the men of literary taste.

Tālī', Nawazish Khān (d. 1124/1713) belonged to a noble family, for, his father, Islām Khān Rūmī, was a man of rank and held important military position. Tālī' inherited his father's title, but instead of turning to perform official duties, he devoted much of his time to literary pursuits. Ijād and Najīb were his chief associates and he was acknowledged as the leading poet of Delhi during the reign of Shāh 'Alam Bahādur Shāh. He was killed in the battle of succession fought near Agra between Jahandār Shāh and Farrukh Siyār, 13th Zul Hijja 1124 H/10th January, 1713.

Tamīz, Shri Gopāl (d. unknown) learned the art of versification under the care of Mirza Bedil. A high-caste Brahman, he resided at Mathura, the home-town of Khwushgu, who borrowed verses from Tamīz to record into his *Safinah*.

Tamkīn, Rahmat ullah (d. unknown) belonged to Kashmir and lived in Delhi. In poetry, he was the disciple of Mirza 'Abd ul-Ghani Beg Qabūl. Tamkīn's presence in the gathering of poets, Khwushgu customarily

arranged in his house, has been mentioned by him in his *Safinah*.

Tanhâ, 'Abd ul-Latif Khân (d. unknown) was the nephew and disciple of Mirza Jalâl Asir, the Iranian poet of later Safawid period famous for his abstruse expression. Tanhâ lived in Delhi and was the contemporary of Khân-i-Arzû (d. 1169/1755).

Ulfat, Mir Muhammad Hanif (d. 1130/1717) lived in Allahabâd and was elder brother of the more famous sufi of those those days, Mir Afzal Sâbit. Ulfat was a poet and left a *Diwân* of verses.

Ulfat, Mirza Ghulâm Muhammad (d. unknown) was a Turk of Barlâs tribe and lived in the neighbourhood of Lahore during the days of Muhammad Shâh. His source of livelihood was teaching to young boys, a poor man's profession. Khwushgu saw him as he journeyed across Punjab and was impressed by his style of poetry. Ulfat offered some of his select verses to the author of *Safinah*.

Ummid, Qizilbâsh Khân, Mirza Muhammad Reza (d. 1159/1746) arrived from Isfahân in the reign of Aurangzeb, and gained the confidence of his successor, Shâh 'Alam Bahâdur Shâh I, who conferred on him the title mentioned above. Originally, Ummid received instruction in the art of poetry under Mirza Tâhir Wahid, the famous literary guide of Isfahân at the time. In India, his friend and supporter was Nizâm ul-Mulk Asaf Jah I. As the latter marched to the Deccan, Ummid accompanied him, and passed a few years in the cities of Hyderabad and Arcot. Finally, he returned to Delhi, where Khân-i-Arzû and other literary men of the capital attended his discourses. Ummid liked India's classical music and was supposed to be its expert. His *Diwân* of verses has survived.

Wafa, Mirza Sharaf ud-Din 'Ali alias Qâsimi Beg (d. unknown) came from Qum, Iran, and stayed as guest of Walih Daghistâni at Delhi, whose house was open to every new-comer from his homeland. Khân-i-Arzû was impressed by his verses and mentioned him in his *tazkirah*.

Wahshat, Muhammad Sana Khân (d. unknown) came from Kashmir and lived as a friend of Ikhlâs-kesh Khân Wâmiq, the noble of

Farrukh Siyar. He raised literary controversies against Nāsir 'Ali Sirhindi involving many poets of the imperial capital. His satire against Nāsir 'Ali and objections about the latter's style became a literary event of Farrukh Siyar's time.

Wahshat, Shaikh 'Abd ul-Wāhid (d. unknown) belonged to Thanesar, the holy town of the Hindus in Punjab, and in poetry was the pupil of Nāsir 'Ali Sirhindi. He passed many years of his life in the company of his literary guide and teacher. Earlier, Wahshat served as a soldier in the armies of Aurangzeb. Sa'd ullah Gulshan admired Wahshat's poetry and recommended the study of his *Diwān* to his friends.

Wajdān, Mir Ma'sūm (d. unknown) obtained the title of 'Ali-nasab Khān from Muhammad Shāh. His father, Muhammad Zamān Rāsikh, was also a poet of distinct position. Wajdān lived in Lahore and sent his verses for correction and improvement to Mirza Bedil, whom he recognized as his teacher. The two Mughal governors of Lahore, 'Abd us-Samad Khān and his son, Zakariya Khān, treated Wajdān with respect for his literary abilities combined with pious character. Also, his relations with Shāh Afrin and other literary men of the city were free from jealousy, the general weakness of poets. Wajdān's *Diwān* has survived.

Wali Muhammad Akbarabādi (d. unknown) lived in Agra during the days of Muhammad Shāh and enjoyed the reputation of a sufi poet. He wrote a versified commentary on Rumi's *Masnawi*, naming it: *Makhzan-i-Asrār*, 1151/1738.

Walih Daghistāni, Nawwab 'Ali Quli Khān (d. 1169/1756) was born in Isfahān, the capital of the Safawis, known for its vast gardens and grand architecture as *Nisf-i-Jahān* = half the world. His family enjoyed great position and prestige, but fell from favour due to some incident of royal displeasure. Like the tragic hero of a drama, Walih was chased by hostile luck all his life and even after death. As a youth he loved his cousin sister, Khadijah Sultān. The young lady was cruelly snatched away from him. He experienced the agony of the siege of Isfahān by the Afghān invaders and the insult inflicted by them on his king and countrymen (1134/1721). Disgusted and heart-broken, Walih left Iran and came to settle in Delhi, where he was honourably received by the nobles and the

emperor. A few years later, Nadir Shah came to devastate the imperial city of the Mughals, and Wālih went into hiding till the tyrant remained in Delhi for two months (1152/1739). Tragedy did not end with life. After him, his beautiful daughter, Ganna Begum, became a matter of dispute among the lusty and degenerate nobles of the time; and the innocent girl died an extremely painful death. To forget the adversities, Wālih took refuge in literature. He laboured over a *tazkirah* of poets for many years. In the work, he made about two thousand and five hundred entries with select verses from each poet. For material, he studied more than seventy *Diwāns* and equal number of anthologies and other sources. It was entitled as: *Riyāz ush-Shū'ara*, completed in 1161/1748.

Wāqif, Nūr ul-'ain (d. 1195/1780) belonged to Batālah, a town in Punjab, where his ancestors served as *qāzi* and were held in esteem. Wāqif left the lucrative profession of *qāzi*, hereditary in his family, and devoted all his life to literature and the spiritual discipline of sufism demanding poverty and avoidance of worldly pleasures as preconditions. He passed many years as a free-wanderer, journeying across many places from Kashmir to Golconda in the Deccan, and tasted starvation as a genuine sufi. Both, Azād Bilgrami and Khān-i-Arzū, the two learned men of the age, were his friends and entertained him in their company. The century of political turmoil following the death of Aurangzeb, which ruined India's prestige and robbed its people of their peace and prosperity, was keenly felt by Wāqif. Naturally, his poetic imagination was coloured with melancholy and pathos. He lived till about a hundred years and the generations contemporaneous to him treated his poetry as the voice of their age. Interest in Wāqif's literary style continued undiminished and was at its climax when Mirza Ghālib visited Calcutta. The Mirza, having taken exception to the authority of Wāqif and Qatīl, provoked serious controversy and had to face the wrath of poets and other men of taste in Calcutta. Wāqif's *Diwan* was published a number of times in lithograph.

Wāzih, Aqā 'Alī Asghar (d. unknown) was a poet at the court of Shāh 'Alam Bahādur Shāh, I, and witnessed the days, of Jahandār Shāh and Farrukh Siyār. Nizām ul-Mulk Asaf Jāh I, having established himself

in the Deccan, was very enthusiastic in extending invitations to men of learning and literature from North India. Wazīh also responded to the Nizām's call in old age and went to settle in Hyderabad. His *Diwan* of verses contained *qasidahs* in praise of the above-named Mughal emperors and their nobles.

Yakta, Ahmad Yār Khān (d. 1147/1734) was a noble at the court of Muhammad Shāh and commanded respect for his literary talents. His father, Allah Yār Khān, was warden of the fortress of Ghaznah and Yakta held the same position till his death. Khwushgu saw him once in Delhi at the annual function of Mirza Bedil's death anniversary and recorded the poet's impressions in his *Safinah*. Yakta composed in *masnawi* metre the popular romantic tale of Punjab, *Hir-wa-Ranjha*.

Yakta, Muhammad 'Aqil (d. unknown) belonged to Kashmir and quarrelled with Ahmad Yār Khān Yakta over the common pen-name. Their literary battle evoked much interest among the poets of Lahore, who requested them to accept Afrin as their mediator. Muhammad 'Aqil lost his claim as Afrin's verdict was in favour of Ahmad Yār Khān.

Yaqin, 'Abd ullah (d. unknown) was a poet of the time of Muhammad Shāh and lived the life of a care-free sufi, frequenting coffee-shops, where literary men usually met in Delhi. Sabit-qadam Khān, a noble in the imperial service, treated Yaqin with kindness. He wrote a versified account of the Muslim dynasties who ruled in different parts of the sub-continent and named it after his patron, *Tazkirah-i-Sabit*, completed in 1133/1720.

Yatim, Nasr ullah (d. unknown) lived in Lahore and was the pupil in poetry of Shāh Afrin, the famous poet of the city in the days of Muhammad Shāh (d. 1161/1748). Yatim left a *Diwan* of verses.

CHAPTER 12

Multiple Centres of Protection and Patronage 1152/1739 - 1274/1857

A general exodus of the inhabitants of Delhi started when their city was incessantly ravaged by vandalizing forces. Of the other sections of people, those engaged in gentlemanly occupations were faced with more bleak future. For, most of them lived on patronage; they found themselves burdened with unprecedented difficulties. At last, a ray of hope gleamed to relieve them of their sufferings. The provincial governors, who broke away from the Central authority, for, in actual fact it had ceased to exist, built up their own centres of power; and there, they provided refuge to needy souls endowed with talents. Other potentates, whose background was not very dignified, also developed the same degree of attachment and strived for the propagation of arts and learning with equal sincerity. In exhibiting generosity towards scholars, these rulers, the *nawwābs*, devoutly followed the etiquette of their old masters, the Mughal emperors. Later on, their territories were identified as princely states; and by spending lavishly to the advancement of various cultural fields, chiefly poetry, the princes more than compensated their other degenerate habits.

Many states emerged on the scene like broken pieces of a big edifice after Nadir's return, 1152/1739. Practically, the rulers were independent, but in theory paid lip service to the Mughal emperor; hence they preferred to be addressed as *nawwābs*; it was a genuine necessity. Later on, as the English

East India Company enlarged its control, these rulers were forced to make subsidiary alliances. It was tacit agreement of submission. Meanwhile, some of the states lost their existence altogether by the time of Revolt 1274/1857. We must count the year 1253/1837, as a milestone. At that stage the governor general of the Company approved new educational scheme for the Indians, known as *Macaulay's Minutes*. Thereby, Persian was removed and English was installed as official language of the government. On the pleadings of the Indians, indigenous languages were allowed to be employed at lower levels of administration. Thus, Urdu language, that is, Hindustani written in Persian script, got a chance to be accommodated in government offices. Retrospectively, the first blow to Persian was struck by Nādir. It was in use as state language since the days of Sultan Muhammad b. Sam Ghorī, 588/1192. From the coming of Babur 932/1526, it attained new heights of prestige. The Mughal empire was administered by the Iranians. Nādir's invasion caused to block those advantages for his countrymen. The sub-continent, precisely the Mughal court served as grand stage where Iranians displayed their genius and obtained rich rewards. That stage was smashed. The European sea-powers hesitated to expand their activities over the mainland. Nādir's sack of Delhi paved the way for them; shortly, Iran was not going to escape the sharing of loss. And, the second shattering blow was hurled by the English in 1253/1837, when their language occupied the place of Persian and the latter was evicted for ever.

Throughout that tragic century of invasions and depredations, and further, during the early decades of the next century, Persian language managed to retain its existence intact. The princely families patronized it vigorously and their courts proved hospitable centres for its protection. Briefly, the centres, where writers of Persian remained happily engaged in their activities, may be enumerated in the following order : 1. Lucknow. 2. Rohelkhand. 3. Patna. 4. Murshidabad. 5. Punjab. 6. Kashmir. 7. Sind. 8. Tonk (Rajasthan). 9. Bhopal. 10. Hyderabad. 11. Karnatak. 12. Mysore.

1. Lucknow

The impact of exodus from Delhi was absorbed mostly by Lucknow. A

memorable period of cultural activities started there, which made it a distinct place and a symbol of refined manners. In literature, from the early generation of the evacuees to their oncoming descendants, the writers were generally bilingual; they exercised their pen in Persian as well as in Urdu. From the third generation and henceforth, Urdu occupied dominant position, chiefly as vehicle of poetry.

Sa'adat Khān Burhan ul-Mulk, an emigrant from Nishāpur and one of the chief nobles of Muhammad Shāh, obtained the emperor's approval for the governorship of Awadh province. On the eve of Nādir's entry in Delhi, he died with an uneasy conscience. For having been denied the title of *Amir ul-umara*, which Nizām ul-Mulk Asaf Jah manipulated for himself, he had induced Nādir to march from Karnāl to Delhi, and could hardly absolve himself from the consequent tragedy of 'general massacre'. His successor, Abū Mansūr Safdar Jang, remained involved in Delhi politics, serving as prime minister of Ahmad Shāh, and passed much of his time in the imperial capital. At intervals he made hasty visits to his provincial seat. His son, Shūjā'ud-Dawlah, stayed permanently in Fiazabād. Initially, it served as the capital of the province and was an extemporized habitation near Ayodhya, the historical city. Shūjā'ud-Dawlah decorated it with fine buildings. When his son, Asaf ud-Dawlah, ascended the throne he effected the change by ordering the transfer of capital from Faizabād to Lucknow, 1188/1774. The most grand and wonderful building of Lucknow, the *Imāmbārah*, was built by that prince. Asaf ud-Daulah was succeeded by nine more rulers upto the year of Revolt 1274/1857. The last was Wājid 'Alī Shāh, who was dethroned by the English and spent his remaining life in Matya Bāj, Calcutta, as a prisoner.

PROSE WRITERS

Abū Tālib Khān Tabrizi Isfahāni (d. 1220/1805) came to settle in Lucknow, where he was famous as Mirza Abū Tālib Landāni, due to his stay in the city of London for about five years. He passed an eventful career and offered his services to many eminent men of his times, namely:

Muzaffar Jang, the deputy governor of Bengal; Mukhtar ud-Dawlah, the representative of Nawwab Asaf ud-Dawlah of Awadh; Col. Hannay of the East India Company; and Middleton, the British resident at the court of Asaf ud-Dawlah. Then he shifted from Lucknow to Calcutta and sailed for Europe. He passed through France during the stormy days (1799) when after the French Revolution power was transferred to Napoleon Bonaparte. He had made notes of his observations. A man of exceptional intelligence, Mirza Abū Talib was the author of many books: 1. *Diwān* of verses and a *masnawī* = narrative poem, *Surār-afzā*; 2. biographical notices of poets with specimens of their verses: *Hadiqat ul-Afkar*; 3. a metrical treatise on astronomy, *Mi'raj ut-tawhid*; 4. a collection of anecdotes and stray description of events during the reign of Nawwab Asaf ud-Dawlah, *Tafzih ul-Ghafilin*; 5. a historical survey giving contemporary information, *Lubb us-Siyar wa Jahan-numa*; and 6. an eye-witness report of the conditions obtaining in Europe on the eve of French Revolution, first of its kind by an Asian traveller, *Masir-i-Talibi*.

Ahmad 'Ali, Maulawi (d. 1295/1878) lived in Lucknow and enjoyed respect for his theological learning and pious life. Amjad 'Ali Shāh, the king of Awadh, and his prime minister, Amir ud-Dawlah, were his patrons. He was the author of: 1. a biography of the Prophet, *Tuhfat ul-Mu'jizat*, and 2. an account of *Imām Mahdī*, the twelfth *Imām* of the Shi'ahs, *Ahwal-i-Sahib uz-Zaman*.

'Abd ul-Karim Lakhnawi (d. unknown) lived in Lucknow during the days of Amjad 'Ali Shāh and Wājid 'Ali Shāh, rulers of Awadh. He wrote a general history confining his attention mainly to India: *Gulshan-i-Hind*, 1262/1845.

Ahmad ullah, Imām Baksh (d. unknown) lived as a physician in Lucknow and enjoyed the patronage of Maharajah Tiket Rai, the nobleman and chief functionary = *Diwān* of Asaf ud-Dawlah, the ruler of Awadh. At the instance of the Maharajah, the ruler of Awadh conferred on Ahmad ullah the title of *Masih uz-Zaman Khan*. The latter's home-town was Kiratpur, Bijnora, and he learned medicine under Hakim Muhammad Ishaq Khān, Hāziq ul-Mulk of Delhi. Ahmad ullah's work on the subject was: *Khulasat ut-Tibb*, completed in 1177/1761.

Ahmad ullah Bilgrāmi, Muhammad 'Usmān b. Muhammad Ihsān (d. unknown) served as *qāzi* of Bilgram, Awadh, during the days of Shujā' ud-Dawlah and Asaf ud-Dawlah. The position being hereditary in the family, he wrote a history of his ancestors, who were all scholars of Islamic law. Simultaneously, he added significant details about the duties and privileges of a *qāzi*. Its title was: *Musajjalat fi Tarikh ul-Quzzat*, ca. 1196/1782.

A'inah-i-Haq Numa: Anonymous anthology of Shi'ah scholars, particularly, those who lived in Awadh during the days of Asaf ud-Dawlah and his successors. The author was a contemporary of Ghufrān Ma'āb, Saiyed Dildār 'Ali and therefore, gave detailed information about the latter, his teacher and pupils. He dedicated the work to Ghāzi ud-Din Haidar, the first ruler who declared himself king of Awadh. Its date of completion was 1231/1816.

'Ali Anwar (d. unknown) belonged to the order of sufis famous as 'Qalandar' and was the disciple of Shāh Tāqi 'Ali of Kakori, near Lucknow. In order to explain the beliefs and practices of various sufi orders, particularly, the manners followed by the *Qalandriyah* order, he wrote many small tracts; noteworthy amongst them was: *Tahrir ul-Anwar fi Tafsir ul-Qalandar*, completed in 1291/1874.

'Ali Naqi Khān, Saiyed (d. unknown) belonged to Sandhi, near Khairabād, Awadh, and was the author of a tract explaining the principles of letter writing. According to him, there were seven rules to make a successful letter-writer. He described them in seven brief chapters and named the work: *Nuskhah-i-Hafi Zabītah*.

'Ali Shāh Kashmiri (d. 1269/1852) was a religious scholar of Lucknow. He completed his studies in the Shi'ah academy of divinity at Najaf, 'Iraq, where he wrote a commentary on Shaikh Mu'iyad's famous work of jurisprudence, *Shara'i'ul-Islam*. It appeared under the title: *Mi'yar ul-Ahkam*.

Amir Benārasi, Mirza Amir Beg (d. unknown) lived in Lucknow and enjoyed the patronage of Amjad 'Ali Shāh, the king of Awadh (d.

1263/1846). He composed a *tazkirah* of poets and named it: *Hada'iq ush-Shu'ara*, completed in 1262/1845.

Aqa Hasan, Maulawi Saiyed (d. unknown) lived in Lucknow and was famous for his theological scholarship. One of his ancestors, Maulawi Muhammad Yūsuf, was the teacher of Aurangzeb's eldest son and successor Shah 'Alam Bahādur Shah I. He was the founder of a welfare society, "Sadr us-Sudūr", 1319/1901, which later on emerged as *Shi'ah Conference* 1323/1905, and played active role in highlighting the issues of Shi'ah community for many decades. Aqa Hasan's contribution was an incomplete translation of *Imad ul-Islam*, written by the elder theologian, Ghufrān Ma'ab. Among his contemporaries, he was known as editor of the prestigious magazine, *Ma'alim*.

Bahādur Singh (d. unknown) belonged to a Kayastha family of Delhi and came to take refuge in Lucknow when the capital of the Mughals was deserted and ruined by political storms. He was the author of an interesting book containing personal reminiscences of men and events. In the four sections of the book, he touched upon a variety of subjects ranging from biography to geography and sciences. Its title was: *Yadgar-i-Bahaduri*, completed in 1249/1833.

Band-i-'Ali (d. unknown) lived in the service of Sultan Muhammad Mirza, a Safawid prince of later days, who emigrated to Lucknow in 1210/1795. By chance, Band-i-'Ali met an interesting person, Hajji 'Abd ul-Wahhab Baghdādi, who satisfied his wander lust by going on pilgrimage to Mecca thirty-three times. The Hajji related the observations of his journeys, performed through various routes, and Band-i-'Ali prepared the notes, which he published under the title: *Manāzil ul-Hajj*, 1214/1799.

Chaturmān Kayasth, Rāi (d. 1173/1759) was a civil servant in the government of Burhān-ul-Mulk of Awadh and author of a history of India, containing information of general and useful nature in four sections: 1. account of the kings from Yadhushtra to Ahmad Abdali, and the provinces with area and revenue of each; 2. provinces of the South with their area and revenue; 3. routes leading from Shahjahanabad, the capital, to different quarters; and 4. orders of Muslim sufis and Hindu yogis in the sub-

continent, its double title was: *Chahar-Gulshan/Akhbar un-Nawadir*. Also, he left an administrative manual: *Dastūr ul-'Amal*.

Debi Chand Khattri (d. unknown) belonged to Delhi and spent his career in Awadh as a revenue officer during the days of Amjad 'Ali Shah, ruler of Awadh (d. 1263/1846). He collected historical letters, best specimens of *Insha*, written by earlier masters, *Ustadān-i-Salaf*. And, added with the work important documents giving insight into civil administration of Mughal government. An incomplete copy of the above mentioned collection, prepared by the author's son, Dharam Chand, has survived under the title: *Majmū'ah-i-Ruqqa'at-i-Debi Chand*, copied ca. 1267/1850.

Dhan Singh, Rāi, b. Rāi Bir Bal (d. unknown) lived in Lucknow during the time of Shujā' ud-Dawlah and his successors. He composed poetry under the pen-name, Kāshi. In collaboration with his friend, Shaikh Hayāt 'Ali, Dhan Singh prepared a grammar of Turkish language in four chapters and dedicated the work to Rājah Ajit Singh (d. 1208/1793) who served as administrator of Delhi during the days of Shāh 'Alam II. Its title was: *Nūr ul-Absār*, 1195/1781.

Durga Prashād, Kanwar (d. unknown) belonged to a landlord family of Sandilāh, a town near Lucknow, and composed poetry under the pen-name, Mehr Sindilawī. Among his works were: 1. a general history of India published on the occasion of Queen Victoria's jubilee, 1305/1887. It was arranged in four sections = *daftars*: pre-Islamic, Islamic, British period and history of the author's ancestors; its title was *Gulistan-i-Hind*, 1311/1893; 2. a history of his own province, *Būstān-i-Awadh*; and 3. a *tazkirah* of poetesses: *Hadiqah-i-'Ishrat*, 1312/1894.

Fā'iq, Maulawī Muhammad Fā'iq b. Ghulām Husain (d. unknown) lived in Lucknow and enjoyed the patronage of Nawwāb Shujā'ud-Dawlah (d. 1188/1774) and his son, Asaf ud-Dawlah (d. 1212/1797). He was the author of a book of knowledge, particularly, dealing with poetry, rhetorics, music and astronomy besides many other miscellaneous subjects. Its title *Makhzan ul-Fawa'id*, completed in 1225/1810.

Faiz Bakhsh (d. unknown) belonged to Kakori, a town near Lucknow, and lived in Faizabad during the days of Nawwāb Shujā' ud-Dawlah (d. 1188/1774). He served in the treasury department under Shujā' ud-Dawlah's chief revenue officers, Jawāhir 'Alī Khān and Darāb 'Alī Khān. Burhān ul-Mulk and his immediate successors made Faizabad the seat of their government and the city became famous for its cultural attractions. Faiz Bakhsh attempted a contemporary history of Faizabad covering the period of about half a century. The title of the book was: *Farah-Bakhsh*. Also, his collection of letters survived under the title: *Ruqqa' at-i-Faiz Bakhsh*.

Fath Chand Kayath Bilgrāmi (d. 1181/1767) came from his hometown to settle in Lucknow. He traced the course of the river Gomti on the bank of which the city of Lucknow stands, and placed his information in a tract. The book was completed in 1180/1766. Also, he left a collection of model documents and letters for guidance of professional secretaries: *Dastār ul-Maktūbat*.

Ghani Naqi (d. 1257/1814) belonged to Zaidpur, a town in the district of Barabanki, Awadh. His contemporaries acknowledged him for literary and religious scholarship. Wajid 'Alī Shāh, the last ruler of Awadh, appointed him chief of the bureau he constituted for the compilation of an official dictionary: *Taj ul-Lughat*.

Ghāzi ud-Din Haidar (d. 1243/1827) was the fifth descendant of Burhān ul-Mulk, the noble of Muhammad Shāh, who held virtually independent control of Awadh as the central authority of the Mughal empire broke down after the return of the Iranian invader, Nādir Shāh. Ghāzi ud-Din Haidar declared himself king of Awadh, of course, with the connivance of the British East India Company. One of his courtiers, Qabūl Muhammad, compiled a dictionary and ascribed its authorship to his master by way of flattery. The book was divided into seven chapters, but, oddly enough, there were as many as twelve sub-divisions in each chapter. *Qulzum* = ocean being the title of the chapter, its amusing bifurcations were: shore, river, canal, stream, ford, and so on. The last chapter was devoted to a detailed discussion of prosody and grammar. It was named as: *Hafi-Qulzum*, and appeared in 1237/1821.

Ghufrān Ma'ab, Maulawī Saiyed Dildār 'Alī (d. 1235/1819) was Shi'ah theologian of Lucknow during the days of Asaf ud-Dawlah and his successors. His place of birth was Nasirabad, a small town in the district of Rāi Bareilly, Awadh. After completing his studies in India, he passed a few years in the religious seminaries of Najaf and Karbala, Iraq. The scholars of the above-named centres of learning accredited him with the highest honour awarded to a jurisconsult, and he was raised to the position of *Mujtahid*, that is, an authority capable of exercising independent judgement in matters of religious law. As he returned to India, the Nawwab's prime minister, Hasan Reza Khān, invited him to settle at Lucknow. He accepted the offer and made that city the focus of religious activities for the Shi'ahs of the sub-continent. His success was remarkable as a pioneer in shaping the identity of the Shi'ah community. He had been the first religious dignitary to lead separate and open Friday prayer of the Shi'ahs, and it was an event in their history, 27 Rajab 1200/1787. The members of his family retained the distinction of being eminent theologians and pulpit orators in the tradition of their illustrious ancestor. After his death, which occurred in the reign of Ghāzi ud-Din Haidar, his devotees gratefully remembered him by the title, *Ghufrān Ma'ab* = Centre of (Divine) Forgiveness. Among his remains which he announced as *waqf* = trust, there were (i) a building, *Imambarha*, for religious gatherings, particularly, in the month of Muharram, and (ii) a big library full of rare books on all subjects of Islamic sciences and a great source of attraction for scholars. As a writer, he exercised his pen mostly in Arabic, and, of all the works the embodiment of his juristic and philosophical scholarship must be: 1. *'Imad ul-Islam*. His Persian treatises were 2. *Husām ul-Islām*, 3. *Sawārim-i-Ilāhiyat*, 4. *Rauzat ul-Ahkām*, and 5. *Fawā'id-i-Asāfiyah*.

Ghulām 'Alī Khān (d. unknown) was employed as scribe = *munshi*, by Prince Jawān-bakht at Lucknow. He wrote a history of 'Alamgir II and Shāh 'Alam II covering the events from 1167/1754 down to 1203/1789. Its original title was: *A'in-i-'Alam Shahi*, but it gained popularity as: *Shah 'Alam-Namah*. Encouraged by the above work, he extended his studies from the death of 'Alamgir Aurangzeb to the accession of 'Alamgir II and named it: *Muqaddimah-i-Shah 'Alam-Namah*.

Ghulām 'Alī Khān Naqawī (d. unknown) passed early life in Delhi.

where his father was employed at the court of Shāh 'Alam II as royal physician. He witnessed Ghulam Qādir's invasion and the cruelties inflicted by the Rohellah chief on the emperor and his family (1202/1788). Consequently, his father left for the Deccan; but Ghulam 'Ali did not stay there much longer and returned to Lucknow. He obtained a job under the British Resident of the East India Company and devoted himself to the career of writing. Ghulam 'Ali's major contribution was a detailed record of events since Burhān ul-mulk broke away from the central authority and made the city of Faizabād his independent seat of government. The narrative came down to the period of Sa'adat 'Ali Khān and contained interesting glimpses of the changing picture of Awadh. Its title was: *'Imād us-Sa'adat*. His other work was a concise account of the battle of Panipat, it was named as: *Nigār-Namah-i-Hind* alias *Bhav-Namah*, completed ca. 1223/1808.

Ghulam Bāsīt (d. unknown) was the resident of Amethi, a small town in Awadh, and served an English army officer of the East India Company. He was the author of a concise history: *Tarikh-i-Mamalik-i-Hind*, completed in 1196/1781.

Ghulam Hasan Zaidi (d. unknown) belonged to Jaunpur and served as scribe = *munshi*, under a British officer of his district. He wrote a history of Jaunpur giving a detailed account of its buildings and of the scholars who lived in that city. Since the days of its foundation by Sultān Muhammad b. Tughluq (d. 752/1351) along the bank of the river Gomti Jaunpur flourished as an important centre of learning. Impressed by its long tradition of seminaries, madrasahs, and the number of scholars who came out from there, Shāh Jahān once remarked, "Jaunpur is Shirāz of India", and in view of its aptness, the emperor's dictum acquired proverbial fame. The title of Ghulam Hasan's book was: *Tarikh-i-Jaunpur*.

Ghulam Hasanain, Allamah Kantūri (d. 1337/1918) lived in Lucknow and was known by the title mentioned above, due to his versatile qualities as a scholar. Religious learning apart, he was an excellent physician and pharmacologist, and also, tried his hand at alchemy. His place of birth was Kantūr, a town in the district of Barabanki, Awadh. In boyhood days, when a student in Lucknow, he witnessed the reign of

Wajid 'Ali Shah and the subsequent transition, the so-called Mutiny of 1857. One of his teachers was the famous theologian, Miran Saheb, Maulawi Saiyed Husain, son of Ghufrān Ma'ab. The latter's grandson, Maulawi Muhammad Taqi, also took interest in promoting Ghulam Hasanain's career. The rulers of Awadh being powerful agents of culture infused the entire society around them with their taste. Music, otherwise forbidden in Islam, was ardently patronized by them; and, notwithstanding their piety, the religious classes also responded to its charm. Allamah Kantari, commanding the position of a *Mujtahid* = religious dignitary, was supposed to have attained perfection in that field before turning to serious studies. His superior, Maulawi Saiyed Muhammad, whom Amjad 'Ali Shah made Chief *Mufti* = judicial authority, of his kingdom, also possessed the knowledge of classical music and quite often discussed the subject with professional masters. It must be interesting to note that the dancing girl, Haidar Jan, who acquired fame as "Nightingale of Lucknow", had been trained in the art of singing by the pious scholar and reciter of the Qur'an, Mirza Jan 'Azimabadi. The latter, like Allamah Kantari, was a favourite pupil of the above named Miran Saheb. Allamah Kantari left many works to his credit. He was the earliest scholar to make full-length translation of Avicenna's *al-Qanun* into Urdu. Among his Persian works concerning medicine was: *Tarjumah-i-Tashkhis-i-Jalinus*.

Ghulam Hazrat (d. 1234/1818) belonged to Lucknow and served as *Mufti* = jurist, and *Sadr-Amin* = chief revenue officer, of district Gorakhpur till it was taken away by the East India Company from the government of Awadh. He wrote a history of that place and named it: *Kawa'if-i-Zil'-Gorakhpur*.

Ghulam Husain, Saiyed (d. unknown) lived in Lucknow and enjoyed the patronage of Nawwab Asaf ud-Dawlah, ruler of Awadh. He compiled a dictionary: *Farhang-i-Husaini*, 1237/1821.

Ghulam Muhammad Khan (d. unknown) belonged to Sirhind and passed many years in the service of Nawwab Shuja' ud-Dawlah of Awadh. In old age, he recorded his observations of peoples and places, ostensibly, for the benefit of his son, naming the work: *Nawadir ul-Qisas*, ca. 1214/1799.

Haidar Shikoh (d. unknown) was the grandson of Mirza Sulaiman Shikoh. The latter, a son of Muhammad Shāh, was the first Mughal prince who left the capital of his ancestors and fled to Lucknow in search of peace and safety. Haidar Shikoh published a miscellaneous collection, mainly containing the account of his life. It appeared under the title: *Majmu'ah-i-Haidar Shikoh*, 1270/1854. Another surviving work by the same author, perhaps, was: *Shaukat-i-Haidari*.

Hāmid Husain (d. 1306/1888) was a religious scholar of Lucknow. His ancestors came from Nishapur. He was the author of many works in Arabic and Persian; most outstanding among them was: *Abaqāt ul-Anwār*, completed ca. 1293/1876.

Har Charan Dās (d. unknown) belonged to Meerut and stayed for some time in Delhi after the invasion of Nadir Shāh (1151/1739). Thereafter, he moved to Awadh and served in the government of Shujā' ud-Dawlah. He was the author of a history containing mythological legends of ancient India. In the later portion of the book, he carried the account of his own days and allowed ample space to contemporary events. As a token of gratitude, he named it after his master: *Chahar Gulzar-i-Shujā'i*, completed ca. 1201/1786.

Harnām Singh (d. unknown) lived in Lucknow and composed poetry under the pen-name, Nāmi. His father was an official of the government of Awadh and he was confirmed in the same position by Nawwāb Sa'adat 'Ali Khān. His contribution was a history; much of its portion being devoted to contemporary events. He dedicated the work to his master, naming it: *Sa'adat-i-Jawaid*, completed in 1221/1806.

Hashim 'Ali Rizawi, Saiyed (d. unknown) belonged to Lucknow and witnessed the reign of Ghāzi ud-Din Haidar, ruler of Awadh (d. 1243/1827). He was the author of a geographical and historical work containing an introduction and seven chapters, each devoted to a clime. There are interesting references to contemporary events of which the author possessed intimate knowledge. He picked up these events from clime two: Arabia, clime three: India, and clime four: Iran. The work appeared under the title: *Mir'at ul-Bilad*, 1235/1819.

Hikmat, Abu'l Hasan Pir Muhammad, Hāfiz (d. unknown) belonged to Lahore and lived in Lucknow during the time of Asaf ud-Dawlah. He earned his living as a physician and was active in literary and social circles of the city. Hikmat wrote a textbook for instruction of young students in eight sections. Its contents dealt with grammar, rhetoric, prosody, model letters, and in the end, Platonic discourses, which were meant to cultivate the mind of future civil servants. Its title was: *Hasht-Khuld*, ca. 1210/1795.

Hindi, Bhagwān Dās (d. unknown) lived in Lucknow during the time of Nawwāb Asaf ud-Dawlah and held high position as an expert of revenue matters. He was earnestly devoted to literature and left a number of *masnawis* together with a *Diwān* of verses. Earlier, he announced his pen-name as Bismil, but changed it to "Hindi". Most famous among his works was a *tazkirah* of Indian poets covering information from the reign of Shāh 'Alam Bahādur Shāh (d. 1124/1712) to his own days. The work acquired popularity as *Safinah-i-Hindi*, completed in 1219/1804. Another work by him on the same subject was: *Hadiqah-i-Hindi*.

Hiram (Haniram?) (d. unknown) was a revenue officer of small rank, *qanūngu*, at Unnao under the Awadh government. He composed a historical work, beginning from ancient Hindu Rajahs and coming down to the reign of Shāh 'Alam II (d. 1221/1806). There are statistical details regarding various provincial regions of the country for which the author claimed to have consulted a number of Sanskrit and Persian sources. Its title was *Raj Sohawali*, completed ca. 1207/1792.

Ibn Hasan, Maulawi Saiyed (d. 1285/1846) belonged to Bilgram and settled in Lucknow. He was a friend of Mirza Ghālib and exchanged letters with the great poet. Ghālib sent his book of history, *Mehr-i-Nim rūz*, as gift to Ibn Hasan. He was the author of a history of the Awadh Nawwābs. The work cast light on many important events which occurred in North India from the emergence of Burhān-ul-Mulk to the author's own time. Its title was: *Burhan-i-Awadh*.

Ilāhi Luckhnawi (d. unknown) lived as a physician in Lucknow during the days of Amjad 'Ali Shah and his successor, Wājid 'Ali Shāh. He was

the author of a book on geography: *Kashshaf-i- 'Alam*, ca. 1265/1849.

Imām Ashraf (d. unknown) was in the service of Wajid 'Ali Shāh, the last ruler of Awadh. At the instance of his master, he wrote a concise tract bearing information about the army of Lucknow. Seemingly, the author had no experience or knowledge of camp life. He mentioned only the names and brief account of the army commanders: some of them were Europeans. The title of the tract was: *Tāzūk-i-Shahī*, completed in 1265/1848.

Imām ud-Din Husaini Chishti (d. unknown) belonged to Lucknow, where he enjoyed the company of a sufi scholar, Khwajah Abu'l Hasan Husaini Maududi. Under his guidance, Imām ud-Din acquired spiritual training, and therefore, mentioned his name with lengthy honorifics. Wandering being a sufi practice, Imām ud-Din went towards Peshawar and moved freely with the armies of Zamān Shāh, grandson of Ahmad Abdālī. Meanwhile, he wrote memoirs, mentioning the events of Zamān Shāh's reign and the history of his dynasty. Having returned to Lucknow after a few years, he submitted the notes to his spiritual guide, who was much pleased. Incidentally, Khwajah Husaini had also recorded the account of Ahmad Shāh Durrāni and his son, Timūr Shāh. With the Khwajah's permission, Imām ud-Din incorporated the material into his own work, which appeared under the double title: *Tarikh-i-Husain Shahi/ Durrani-Nāmah*, completed in 1213/1798.

Imāmi, Imām ud-Din (d. unknown) was a poet of Lucknow, where he resided during the time of Ghāzi ud-Din Haidar, king of Awadh (d. 1242/1827). His teacher in poetry was Mirza Muhammad Hasan Qatil. He prepared a collection of Qatil's letters under the title: *Ma'dan ul-Fawa'id*, ca. 1232/1816.

Inām 'Ali, Munshi (d. unknown) belonged to Bijnore and was employed in the service of Nawwāb Safdar Jang and his son, Shujā' ud-Dawlah, rulers of Awadh. He was the author of a history of his patrons covering the period of five Nawwābs from Safdar Jang to Wazir 'Ali Khān. The book contained interesting information about literary and cultural activities of which Awadh became the centre when Delhi of the Mughals

declined. As a token of his gratitude to Nawwāb Asaf ud-Dawlah, he named the work: *Ausaf ul-Asaf*. 1199/1784.

‘Imdād ‘Ali, Maulawī (d. 1290/1873) was a theologian of Lucknow famous for his piety and learning. Badshah Begum, the chief queen of Amjad ‘Ali Shāh, gave her adopted daughter in marriage to Maulawī Imdād ‘Ali, and he lived in the royal palace. Consequent upon the Revolt of 1857, the English deprived him of property and stipends that he drew from the Awadh government. He retired to his birth-place, Khairmah, a town in the district of Muzaffarnagar, North India where he passed the rest of his life in scholarly leisure and contentment. Maulawī Imdād ‘Ali was the author of a book narrating the martyrdom of Husain, the Prophet’s grandson, at Karbala. Its title was: *Bahr ul-Masa’ib*.

‘Itrat Husain Tirmizi (d. unknown) was a scholar of Bilgrām, Awadh, and must be a contemporary of Asaf ud-Dawlah (d. 1212/1797) and his immediate successor. Inspired by Shams ud-Din Muhammad b. Mahmūd Amulī (d. 753/1352), whose encyclopaedia, *Nafa’is ul-Funūn*, was popular in learned circles, he was filled with the ambition to undertake a similar work. Having covered about thirty branches of knowledge, he felt that personal circumstances might not permit him to accomplish his heart’s desire. He, therefore, reduced the shape of his intended project and tried to place the whole material in sixteen sections. In sections three and four, he examined the British administration of the East India Company and praised it with further suggestions for improvement. The working of the Awadh government, which he compared with that of the Company, was less impressive in his estimate. Nor were the officials of Awadh as much duty conscious as the British. The remaining sections of the book drifted farther apart from purely scientific subjects. Instead, the author added moral themes in greater proportion in order to make the book more useful for the seekers of Divine blessings. Its title was: *‘Itrat un-Nazirin*,

Ja’far ‘Ali Khān (d. unknown) lived in Lucknow during the days of Wājīd ‘Ali Shāh, the last ruler of Awadh. His father, ‘Inayat ‘Ali Khān, served as a noble at the court of Amjad ‘Ali Shāh and held the titles of Mu’in ud-Dawlah Intizām ul-Mulk. Ja’far ‘Ali compiled an exclusive dictionary of *Shah-Namah*, the great epic of Ferdowsī and named his

work: *Farhang-i-Ja'fari*, completed ca. 1259/1843.

Kamāl ud-Din Haidar Husaini (d. unknown) was employed in Lucknow observatory during the time of Muhammad 'Ali Shah. He possessed command over English and translated from that language a number of scientific books concerning astronomy and mathematics. His chief work was a detailed history of Awadh from the rise of Burhān ul-Mulk to the accession of Wajid 'Ali Shah. Its title was: *Tārīkh-i-Awadh*, ca. 1263/1847.

Kātib Safawi, Mirza Muhammad 'Ali (d. unknown) was a servant of Mirza Sulaimān Shikoh, son of Shah 'Alam II. When the Prince shifted from his ancestor's capital to settle in Lucknow, Kātib also accompanied his master. Another royal refugee, who employed Kātib, was Sultān Abu'l Fath Muhammad, the last puppet king of Safawi dynasty enjoying hospitality of the Awadh rulers. Kātib was the author of a *tazkirah* of poets, its title was *Tazkirah-i-Katib*, completed in 1225/1810.

Lālji b. Sital Prashād (d. unknown) was an employee of Awadh government and witnessed the last days of the kingship of Wajid 'Ali Shah. He composed a history of the Awadh Nawwābs based on anecdotes. It appeared under the title: *Sultān ul-Hikayat*, completed in 1270/1853. And, as appendix, containing revenue matters of Awadh government, he brought out *Mir'at ul-Awzā'*.

Makīn, Mirzā Fākhīr (1221/1806) was esteemed for having offered instruction to Shah 'Alam II in the art of versification. His great-grandfather arrived in the company of 'Ali Mardān Khān, whom Shah Jahan had invited from Kabul. The family of the poet enjoyed aristocratic privileges in Delhi, his place of birth. Qasim-i-Kāhi, the celebrated poet of the days of Humāyūn and Akbar, was Makīn's ancestor. As Abdālī's recurrent invasions ruined the Mughal capital, he moved to Lucknow, where a large number of disciples gathered, around him. He had collected twelve thousand verses in his *Diwan*.

Mir Hasan (d. unknown) lived in Lucknow during the time of Asaf ud-Dawlah, the Nawwāb of Awadh. He was the author of a dictionary *Sharaf*

ul-Lughāt, completed in 1211/1796.

Mitthū Lāl (d. unknown) lived during the days of Sa'adat 'Ali Khān, ruler of Awadh, whom he praised in the preface of his book. He collected ancient legends and Hindu beliefs; and incorporated them in a historical account beginning from Sultan Bahlol Lodi (d. 894/1488) and coming down to the time of Shāh 'Alam II, 1212/1797. The work appeared under double title: *Chahār-Chaman/Tārīkh-i-Hosh Afza*. Its year of completion came out from the chronogram (*bād anjamash - bekhair* - 1214) - 1799.

Muhammad 'Ali, Mirza. Qa'imāt ud-Din (d. unknown) was the descendant of a Kashmiri family settled in Lucknow. As a student, he studied philosophy under Mufti Zuhūr ullah and Maulawi Muhammad Wali ullah, the Hanafi divines of Lucknow. A local sufi, Saiyed Safdar Shāh, trained him in the spiritual and esoteric discipline. Wājid 'Ali Shāh conferred on him the title of *Qa'imāt ud-Din* = Right angle of Faith, for the king offered his daily prayers behind him. As Wājid 'Ali Shāh was deported to Calcutta after the Revolt of 1857, *Qa'imāt ud-Din* also went there in order to lead the king's prayers. He collected the biographies of Shī'ah scholars, of course in Arabic, under the title: *Najūm us-Sama fi Tarajim-i-'Ulama*, completed in 1290/1873.

Muhammad 'Ali, Mirza (d. unknown) belonged to Jaunpur and lived in Lucknow during the days of Amjad 'Ali Shāh and his successor, Wājid 'Ali Shāh, rulers of Awadh. He was a well-known physician and left a textbook of medicine: *Dastūr ul-'Amal-i-Mirza Muhammad 'Ali*, 1270/1853.

Muhammad 'Ali Bihbahāni, Agha (d. unknown) lived in Lucknow and was the author of a concise history, dealing with the career of Nawwāb Wazīr 'Ali Khān of Awadh, whom the East India Company deposed after about four months rule. The book was named *Tārīkh-i-Wazīr 'Ali*. Another work from his pen was a repudiation of the sufis, particularly the Naqshbandis of Mujaddidi sub-order, whose anti-Shī'ah stance created hostile reaction. Its title was: *Risalah-i-Khairatiyah*.

Muhammad 'Ali Hindi (d. unknown) served in the government of

Nawwāb Asaf ud-Dawlah and stayed at Lucknow for thirty-seven years before finally returning to his homeland, Iran. He collected anecdotes of pious men, who distinguished themselves as devotees of the family of the Prophet. The work was named: *Majma' un-Naqal*, completed in 1227/1812.

Muhammad 'Ali Kāzimi (d. unknown) was an emigrant from Iran and a widely travelled man. His religious scholarship made him honoured, particularly, among the Shi'ah community, in the cities of Bombay and Lucknow. Among his works are, 1. a guidebook of religious sermons, *Lisān ul-Wa' izin*, 2. lives of 'Ali and his descendants to the death of Mukhtār, *Huẓn ul-Mū'minin*, and 3. a similar work, *Sārār ul-Mū'minin*, ca. 1290/1873.

Muhammad 'Askari Husaini (d. unknown) was employed in the government of Asaf ud-Dawlah, ruler of Awadh, and belonged to Bilgrām, a town in North India known for its scholars. He left an anthology of Indian prose writers, much of the material being letters of historical importance. It contained specimens of writings by Mughal princes and princesses. Its double title was: *Durr ul-Mansūr* (chronogram - 1231) *Sahā' if-i-Sharā'if*, 1231/1815.

Muhammad Aslam Mūn'imi (d. unknown) came from Kashmir and entered the service of Nawwāb Shujā' ud-Dawlah of Awadh. He wrote a history of Kashmir and dedicated it to Shāh 'Alam II. It was named: *Gauhar-Namah-i-'Alam*, completed in 1200/1786.

Muhammad Aslam Parasūri Ansāri Qādiri (d. unknown) belonged to Parasūr, a town near Lahore, and had settled in Lucknow. He obtained service in the government of Nawwāb Shujā' ud-Dawlah and developed friendly relations with Colonel Gentil, a Frenchman of the band of European adventurers, who placed their expertise at the disposal of Indian princes in return for money and booty. Colonel Gentil, who trained the soldiers of Shujā' ud-Dawlah in modern warfare possessed a large collection of books and had acquainted himself with India's history and culture. His company inspired Muhammad Aslam to write a general history, which he executed in three main sections together with an introduction,

muqaddimah, and a termination, *khatimah*. In the last section and the termination, he narrated events that took place around Nawwāb Wazīr of Awadh and the Mughal emperor respectively. These are authentic reports based on the author's personal knowledge. Also, the book gave information about the scholars, saints, and poets, who lived from Aurangzeb to his own time. All the important dramatis personae of the age: Nādir Shāh, Burhān ul-Mulk, Ahmad Abdālī, Alamgir II, and the Rohellah leaders, found their due place in the work. Its title was: *Farhat un-Nazirīn*, completed in 1184/1770.

Muhammad Bashir Lakhnawī (d. unknown) was a resident of Lucknow and witnessed India's Revolt of 1857 against British occupation and the rapacious rule of the East India Company. His memoirs came out under double title: *Tarikh-i-Ghadar-i-Hind/A'inah-i-Hairat-Numa*.

Muhammad b. Muhammad Sādiq Shāstari (d. unknown) lived in Lucknow and was a versatile scholar like his father. The latter enjoyed the patronage of Asaf Dawlah. Muhammad wrote a book of general knowledge. It contained elements of history, philosophy, sufism, astronomy, medicine, and other subjects. Its title was: *Jam-i-Jahān Numa*.

Muhammad Haidar (d. unknown) lived in Lucknow and was the author of a tract that explained the method of determining the direction of *qiblah*, that is, holy Ka'bah situated in the city of Mecca, toward which the Muslims turned their faces for the daily five times prayer. Its title chosen by Muhammad Haidar was: *Zawābit-i-Istikhrāj-i-Samt-i-Qiblah*.

Muhammad Husain b. Saiyed Muhammad Hādī (d. unknown) lived in Lucknow and was a physician of established reputation. Responding to the request of his friend, Mirza Muhammad Mahdi Isfahani, he took up a dictionary of medical terms. While the work was in progress, other physicians of the city, known for their experience and scholarship, also joined in the project. They were, to wit, Hakim Mujib ur-Rahmān, Hakim Dilāwar 'Alī, Maulawī Ulfat Husain, Maulawī Mahfūz ud-Din, and Hakim Saiyed Panāh 'Alī. The pooling of their efforts led to brilliant results in the form of a book of knowledge. Its title was *Majma' ul-Jawāmī'*. Among the original and equally important works on medicine written by

Muhammad Husain were, 1. *Makhzan ul-Ashviyah*, 2. *Khulasat ul-Hikmat*, and 3. *Qarabadin-i-Kabir*, ca. 1195/1780.

Muhammad Ibrāhīm, Maulawī (d. 1307/1889) belonged to Lucknow and was acknowledged for his pious character and religious scholarship. After the Revolt of 1857, he directed his efforts, and at last succeeded, in recovering the important monument of his city, Imambāra Asaf ud-Dawlah, which the English had confiscated on the charge of being the rallying point of rebellious elements. Among his Persian works was a book on ethical and religious topics: *Nār ul-Ahsar*.

Muhammad Ja'far Shāmlū (d. unknown) served in the army of Shujā' ud-Dawlah, ruler of Awadh, and participated in the third battle of Panipat, fought between the Marathās and Ahmad Shāh Abdālī (1175/1761). He wrote an eyewitness report *Tārīkh-i-Manāzil ul-Fātāh*.

Muhammad Khān Razzāqī (d. unknown) was a follower of Shāh Abd ur-Razzāq, a Qādiri Sūfi, whose spiritual centre was situated at a small place, Bānsa, near Bārahbanki, Awadh (d. 1136/1724). The Shāh's grandfather, an emigrant from Badakhshān, served as army officer during the reign of Jahangir. 'Abd ur-Razzāq renounced the world and like all sufis spent his life in religious routines, which included the imparting of moral instruction to a large number of disciples. One of his students, who rose to eminence, was Mulla Nizām ud-Dīn Sihālāwī, the ancestor of the theologians of Farangi Mahal, Lucknow. Sa'adat Khān Burhān ul-Mulk, the governor of Awadh, who became almost independent at the end of Muhammad Shāh's reign, treated Shāh 'Abd ur-Razzāq with kindness. The above-named Muhammad Khān wrote a biography of the Shāh abundantly quoting his utterances. Its title was *Malfūz-i-Razzāqī*.

Muhammad Mahdi Astarabādi (d. 1259/1843) came from Astrabād, North Iran, and settled in Lucknow, where Nasir ud-Din Haidar, king of Awadh, offered him warm welcome. He was famous for his religious scholarship and wrote a number of books. Among them a juristic treatise, *Hadyat us-Sultan*, and the translation of the eighth volume of Muhammad Bāqir Majlisi's *Bahar ul-Anwar*, under the title *Majari ul-Anhar* were dedicated by him to Nasir ud-din Haidar and his mother, Badshāh Begum,

respectively.

Muhammad Mubin Hanafī Ansārī, Mulla (d. 1225/1810) belonged to Lucknow and was famous for his learning. He was the author of a number of books on religious subjects. Popular among them was a work in praise of the twelve descendants of the Prophet, the *Imams*. Its title was: *Wasilat un-Najāt*.

Muhammad Muhsin, Mir (d. unknown) belonged to Agra and passed his life first in Delhi, and then, in Lucknow. He was the grandson of Sirāj ud-Dīn 'Alī Khān Arzū. As the storm of literary controversy between Shaikh 'Alī Hazin and Khān-i-Arzū subsided with the passing of time, Muhsin wrote an impassioned judgement of the case. In the whole affair, Shaikh Hazin, an arrogant man beyond doubt, took illogical stand and proved himself indiscreet rather ill-bred for treating all the poets of India with unrestrained disrespect and using words against Khān-i-Arzū which a gentleman would prefer to avoid. Muhsin, in spite of his relationship with Khān-i-Arzū, was most objective, impartial, and open-minded in estimating the plus and minus points of Shaikh 'Alī Hazin. The title of his tract was: *Muhakamat ush-Shu'ara*, completed in 1180/1766.

Muhammad Nādir (d. unknown) was the author of a book dealing with the lives of the Prophet and his descendants, the twelve Imāms including the fourteen martyrs of Karbala. It was named: *Tazkirat ul-Ma'sumin*, completed ca. 1225/1810.

Muhammad Nūr ud-Dīn (d. unknown) was the disciple of 'Abd ur-Rahmān Chishtī, the sufi of Lucknow (d. 1245/1829). He wrote a treatise supporting the validity of *sama'* = sufi music, and cited rulings from the authorities of Islamic law. Its title was: *Naghmah-i-'Ushshaq*, completed in 1275/1858.

Muhammad Reza (d. unknown) was employed in the service of Muhammad Amir Hasan Khān, the Rājah of Mahmudabad, Awadh. As the Rājah proceeded on pilgrimage to the holy cities of Mashhad and Karbala, Muhammad. Reza accompanied him and wrote an account of the journey: *Dalil uz-Zafar fī Tazkirat us-Safar*, 1306/1889. Also, he wrote a

tract in defence of Muharram: *'Ashrah-i-Kamilah*.

Muhammad Sādiq Shustāri (d. unknown) lived in Lucknow during the days of Nawwāb Asaf ud-Dawlah (d. 1212/1797). He rendered an Arabic astronomical treatise into Persian. It dealt with twenty-eight mansions of the moon and their influence on the luck of terrestrial beings. Its title was *Kanz ul-'Ashiqin*, completed in 1216/1801.

Muhammad Sajjād, Saiyed (d. unknown) belonged to Mohān, a town near Lucknow, and earned his living as a physician. His teacher, who imparted him knowledge of medicine, was Saiyed Murtaza alias Hakim Dulha Saheb, personal physician to Wajid 'Ali Shah, the last ruler of Awadh. Muhammad Sajjād's book dealing with medicine appeared under double title: *Qanun ul-'Ilaj/Hazāqat-i-Mohani*, completed in 1305/1887.

Muhammad Sālih (d. unknown) lived in Lucknow and served under the two kings of Awadh, Ghāzi ud-Din Haidar and Nasir ud-Din Haidar. As desired by his former master, he prepared an abridged version of Ghulam 'Ali's history, *'Imad us-Sa'adat*, naming it: *Bahr us-Sa'adat*. And, responding to the request of his patron, Nawwāb Fath 'Ali Khān, a nobleman of the city, he wrote a concise dictionary of medical terms, *Farhang-i-Zafari*, 1252/1836.

Muhammad Taqi, Maulawi (d. 1289/1872) was one of the leading theologians of Lucknow during the time of Amjad 'Ali Shah. The latter conferred on him the title of Mumtāz ul-'Ulama. He wrote a number of books on religious subjects, most popular among them was: *Irshād ul-Mu'minin*.

Muhsin 'Ali Khān, Nawwāb Iqbāl ud-Dawlah (d. 1305/1887) was the grandson of Sa'adat 'Ali Khān, ruler of Awadh. He made a voyage to England and submitted before the British government his petition as claimant to the throne of Awadh. The claim was rejected, but, in order to gladden the petitioner's heart, His Majesty's government conferred on him the title mentioned above. Muhsin 'Ali returned to settle in the holy city of Karbala, Iraq. He seemed to be an intelligent observer as no ordinary scene of interest obtaining in the nineteenth century England escaped his

notice. His memoirs appeared under the title: *Iqbal-i-Farang*.

Muhtasham Khān (d. unknown) was a descendant of the Rohella chief, Hafiz Rahmat Khān of Bareilly, and lived in Lucknow. He wrote a history of the Nawwabs of Awadh down to the death of Nasir ud-Din Haidar. It gained popularity as: *Tārīkh-i-Muhtasham*, completed in 1253/1837.

Najm Tabatabā'i, Muhammad Reza (d. 1270/1854) was born in Patna where his father was stationed to represent the interest of the Mughal emperor before the East India Company's Dual Government. As a young man, he returned to Delhi and gained his father's prestigious but hollow titles: he was Najm ud Daulah Iftikhar ul-Mulk Hūsam Jang. The Maratha Chief, Raghubaji Bhonsley, employed him as his *Diwan* and he controlled that office at Nagpur for seven years. Afterwards, he returned to settle at Lucknow during the reign of Wajid 'Ali Shāh and passed his life in literary pursuits. His chief work is: *Bahr uz-Zakhkhar*, a historical encyclopaedia of voluminous size. It has been divided into sections which bear distinct titles, for example, *Maqāṭih ur-Riyasat*, *Naghmah-i-'Andalib*, *Manzar-i-'Alam*, *Majma' ul-Mulūk* and the like. Perhaps, the author realised the bulk of his work and later on wrote a more concise general history, naming it: *Zubdat ul-Ghara'ib*, 1261/1845.

Najm ul-Hasan, Maulawi (d. 1351/1938) was the Shi'ah theologian of Lucknow, who wrote all his life on religious topics. His works were approved by the divines of Najaf, a centre of Shi'ah learning in Iraq. At his instance, the Rajah of Mahamudabad, 'Ali Muhammad Khān, an eminent Muslim leader and first Vice-Chancellor of Aligarh Muslim University drawing an honorarium of one rupee per month, made cash donation to establish an institution for the training of Shi'ah missionaries, *Madrasat ul-Wa'izin*, 1338/1919.

Nasir Husain, Maulawi (d. 1361/1942) lived in Lucknow and was respected for his scholarship. His father, Maulawi Hamid Husain, was the author of a stupendous work '*Abaqat ul-Amwar*. Nasir Husain made substantial contribution to Shi'ah theological and scholastic learning. Noteworthy among his books were, 1. *Nafahat ul-Azhār*, 2. *Tahqiq ul-*

Masā'il, and 3. *Kitāb ul-Mawā'iz*.

Nazr 'Ali Jaisi (d. unknown) was in the service of Shujā' ud-Dawlah, the Nawwāb of Awadh (d. 1188/1774). He wrote a history of his times, casting light on the events of Bengal from Mir Ja'far onwards and the situation that gradually developed in Awadh. Its title was: *Sawānīh-i-Gharā'ib*.

Nizām ud-Din Sihālāwī, Mulla (d. 1161/1748) belonged to a small town in the vicinity of Lucknow and passed all his life in that city earning his livelihood as a teacher. He wrote commentaries on many works of earlier masters which he used for classroom instruction to his students. His fame has been mainly due to the syllabus, *Dars-i-Nizāmī*, framed by him, which was adopted by the traditional institutions of higher learning, the *madrasas*, throughout India. Invariably, Islamic scholarship has embraced sufism as an essential element of thought and practice since the time of Ghazālī (d. 505/1111). Mulla Nizām ud-Din was also a sufi and the disciple of a pious man of those days, Shaikh 'Abd ur-Razzāq Bānsawī whose bio-graphical account he sketched under the title: *Manāqib-i-Razzāqīah*.

Pūran Chand (d. unknown) was a revenue officer in the government of Amjad 'Ali Shāh and Wājīd 'Ali Shāh. At the latter's request, he wrote a detailed history of Awadh, *I'jaz us-Siyar*, in 1267/1850.

Qabūl Muhammad (d. unknown) lived in Lucknow and enjoyed the patronage of Nasir ud-Din Haidar, ruler of Awadh (d. 1253/1837). He wrote an astronomical treatise that explained the methods of calculating constellations and horoscopes. Its title was *Anwār un-Nujūm*. And, his other work, dedicated to his patron, was a Persian dictionary, *Haft-Qulzum*.

Qādir Bakhsh (d. unknown) was a sufi claiming his descent from Shāh Nūr, a famous saint. He lived in Lucknow when Ghāzī ud-Din Haidar ruled there. His contribution was an ethical monograph: *Kasir ul-Manfa'at*.

Qāsim 'Ali b. Mirza Muhammad Hamadani (d. unknown) lived in Lucknow and served under Muhammad 'Ali Shāh, ruler of Awadh (d.

1258/1842). He wrote a history of Burhān ul-Mulk and his descendants. Its title was: *Tārīkh-i-Nishapurīyah*.

Rām Prashād (d. unknown) served as treasury officer under Nawwāb Darāb 'Alī Khān of Awadh and was the author of a brief history, which in fact was an abridgment of Sujān Rāi Bhandārī's *Khulāsat ut-Tawārīkh*. In his narrative, Rām Prashād came down to Akbar Shāh II (d. 1253/1837). The title of his work was: *Muntakhab-i-Khulāsat ut-Tawārīkh*.

Saiyed Ahmad, Maulawī (d. unknown) lived in Lucknow and commanded respect as a religious scholar. His home town was Nasirabād in district Rāi Bareli, Awadh. He was the author of 1. a *tazkirah* of Shi'ah divines, *Warasat ul-Anbiya*; 2. a collection of legal judgements, *Fatawa-i-Ahmadiyah*; 3. a voluminous work dealing with Islamic philosophy, *Falasafat ul-Islām*, 4. a tract on logic, *ad-Dalil wa Burhan*; and 5. a commentary on the first *Sūra* of the Qur'ān, *Jawhar-i-Fard*, ca. 1335/1916.

Saiyed Husain, Maulawī (d. 1260/1844) was the son of Ghufrān Ma'ab, the eminent Shi'ah theologian of Lucknow during the time of Asaf ud-Dawlah, ruler of Awadh. He wrote a treatise on *tajwid* = recitation of the Qur'ān and named it: *Rashhah-i-Faiz*.

Saiyed Muhammad, Sultān ul-'Ulama (d. 1284/1867) was the son of Ghufrān Ma'ab, Maulawī Dildār 'Alī, and had been famous as theologian and religious leader in the days of Amjad 'Alī Shāh, king of Awadh. The latter conferred on him the title mentioned above and appointed him chief judicial authority of his kingdom. Of his numerous works in Arabic and Persian, the widely read were: 1. *Ihya ul-Ijtihad*, concerning jurisprudence; 2. *'Ujalah-i-Nafi'ah*, principles of Shi'ah faith; and 3. *Gauhar-i-Shahwār*, in praise of the family of the Prophet.

Shā'iq, Khuda Bakhsh (d. unknown) was the follower of a sufi, Hāji Wāris 'Alī Shāh, whose shrine is now situated at Dewa, a town in District Barabanki, near Lucknow. Shā'iq collected the sayings of his spiritual guide: *Malfūzat-i-Haji Waris 'Ali Shah*, ca. 1294/1877.

Sultān 'Alī Husaini Musawi Safawi Ardabili (d. unknown) came

from his home-town to settle in Lucknow during the days of Shuja' ud-Dawlah. He wrote a history of the Indian Mughals from Timūr to Muhammad Shah. Furthermore, he extended the narrative to the seventh year of Nawwāb Sa'adat 'Alī Khān, 1218/1804, whom it was dedicated. Its title was: *Ma'dan us-Sa'adat*.

Sūraj Bhān (d. unknown) served as an officer of Awadh government in the reign of Ghāzi ud-Dīn Haider (d. 1243/1827). He prepared a monograph based on personal recollections and observations and named it: *Waqā'i-i-Awadh*.

Tafazzul Husain Khān (d. 1215/1800) was born in Siyalkot, Punjab, and came as a student to Delhi, where he completed his education, particularly, in mathematics under the guidance of Mirza Muhammad 'Alī, son of Mirza Khair ullah Khān of Delhi. Later on, he lived in Lucknow and was popular as "Khān-i-'Allamah" due to the scholarship and worldly prestige he combined in his person. His associations were simultaneously close with Asaf ud-Dawlah and the officials of the East India Company. He virtually guided the Awadh Government by offering advice to Asaf ud-Dawlah and was the teacher of his successor, Sa'adat 'Alī Khān. In later life, he settled at Calcutta and devoted all his time to study and writing. A perfect master of traditional learning he must be one of the earliest Indians possessing considerable familiarity with Latin and English. His interest in advanced mathematics turned his attention to the works of Greek masters on concerned topics. He left tracts on as varied problems as cones, spherics, algebra, jurisprudence, and scholastic philosophy. Also, his contribution was a Persian translation of Newton's *Differential*.

Tasadduq Husain Rizawi, Saiyed (d. unknown) lived in Lucknow and was a friend of Munshi Nawal Kishor, the foremost publisher of Persian, and also Arabic, books after the introduction of printing press in India. At the latter's instance, he compiled a Persian-Urdu dictionary and as a tribute to the Munshi's pioneer services in the field of publication, named it after him as: *Lughat-i-Kishori*, 1322/1904.

Uday Lāl (d. unknown) belonged to Daryabād, a town, as reported by him, situated under the sarkār of Lucknow, and served as revenue officer

in the government of Sa'adat 'Ali Khān, ruler of Awadh (d. 1231/1815). He studied the Sanskrit book on mathematics, *Budh-Prakash*, and translated from it portions dealing with the methods of land measurement and revenue assessment. The work was divided into eleven major sections and further sub-sections. It appeared as: *Dastār us-Siyāq*, 1226/1811.

Usūl un-naghmāt-i-Asafiyah: Anonymous tract dealing with music, was written under the patronage of and dedicated to Asaf ud-Dawlah, Nawwāb wazīr of Awadh (d. 1212/1797).

Wājīd 'Alī Shāh (d. 1305/1887) was the last ruling descendant of Burhān ul-Mulk Mashhādī, the noble of Muhammad Shāh, who broke away from the imperial government and established his independent position in Awadh. As the 'Revolt' of 1857 began to collapse, the British overlords of the East India Company removed Wājīd 'Alī Shāh from Lucknow to Calcutta, where he passed the remaining life virtually as a prisoner. His residence, an improvised palace, of mud, was called 'Matya-burj' by the people of Calcutta. In his days, Lucknow, his seat of government, reached the high point of cultural advancement and became the symbol of aesthetic sensibility. But, at the time Wājīd 'Alī Shāh bid farewell to the city, people had been overtaken by decadence. In personal life, Wājīd 'Alī Shāh was a man of admirable qualities. He was extremely good natured, possessed mature scholarship, and could write rather good prose and poetry. Poetic works apart, a dictionary is also ascribed to him, which he compiled, perhaps, as a creative diversion, for, he had enough time in the environs of his prison-palace, the Matya-burj. Its title was: *Malaz ul-kalimat*.

Wājīh ud-Dīn Ashraf (d. unknown) was one of the disciples of Muftī Yāqūb, the religious scholar of Farangī. Mahal (d. 1187/1773). His wife was the daughter of the venerable Shaikh, famous during the days of Shujā' ud-Dawlah and his successors as 'Qidwat ul-'Arifin' (d. 1198/1782). Wājīh ud-Dīn Ashraf wrote a voluminous and entertaining *tazkirah* of sufis and their orders in four sections entitled: *Bahr-i-Zakhkhar*, completed in 1203/1788.

Wālī Ullāh, Maulawī (d. 1270/1853) was a religious scholar belonging

to the famous family of Farangi-Mahal, Lucknow. He wrote a book dealing with the biographies of his ancestor, Mulla Qutb ud-Din Sihālawī, and his four sons. It appeared under the title: *Aghsan ul-Arba' li-l Shajarat ut-Taiyibah*.

Zakhmi, Rajah Ratan Singh (d. 1268/1851) held the titles of Rājah and Fakhr ud-Dawlah Dabir ul-Mulk. His family commanded great respect in Awadh, for, his grandfather was the teacher of Asaf ud-Dawlah. A kayasth by caste, he composed poetry under the pen name mentioned above. He wrote a history of the Awadh Nawwābs upto Muhammad 'Alī Shah, 1258/1842, entitled: *Sultan ut-Tawārikh*. Among his other works were a *tazkirah* of poets, *Anis ul-'Ashiqin* (1245/1829), and a manual of moral exhortations, *Jam-i-Giti Numa*. Also, Zakhmi was an accomplished scholar of astronomy and composed two books on that subject, namely, *Hada'iq un-Nujūm* and *Mi'yar ul-Azman*. The latter deals with the eras of various peoples and contains an introduction, two discourses and a termination = *khatimah*. It was completed in 1234/1818.

POETS

'Aishi, Talib 'Alī (d. 1240/1824) lived as a poet during the time of Sa'adat 'Alī Khān, ruler of Awadh. He composed a *masnawi* on the pattern of Nizāmi's *Haft-Paika*, in which he described many contemporary events. Its title was: *Haft-Akhtar*. His *Diwan* of verses has survived, 1230/1814.

'Ashiq, Shaikh Muhammad 'Ashiq (d. unknown) was seven years old when his father, Shaikh Muhammad Hayāt, left Delhi and came to settle in Lucknow. 'Ashiq was a friend of Bhagwan Dās Hindi, the author of *Safinah*. The latter praised him as a poet.

Ashob, Muhammad Bakhsh (d. 1199/1784) was a noble and literary man in the reign of Muhammad Shah and witnessed all the terrible events of later days. He left the capital and sought refuge in Lucknow like many other people, when Delhi was ruined by continuous depredatory invasions from all sides. In later life, he served the British officers of the

East India Company. Besides the *Diwān* of verses and numerous *masnawī* poems, Ashob contributed many important works: 1. an account of the murder of Farrukh Siyar and accession of Muhammad Shah, *Tarikh-i-Shahadat-i-Farrukh Siyar wa Julus-i-Muhammad Shah*, 2. a versified chronicle showing an overall picture of his times, *Falak-Ashob*, and 3. a *masnawī* on the war waged against Ahmad Abdālī, *Kurnamah*.

Azar, Jwāla Prashād (d. unknown) belonged to an emigrant Brahman family of Kashmir and was born in Lucknow. He served the East India Company and stayed at many places, chiefly Mathura and Meerut, during the course of his official career. Poetry made him famous among his contemporaries and he left a *Diwān* of verses.

Bedār, Rāi Sārṇāth Singh (d. unknown) was an officer of Awadh government under Shujā' ud-Dawlah and Asaf ud-Dawlah. He was a man of sprightly nature, and his excellence as a poet displayed itself in chronograms.

Beni Rām Ilahabādi (d. unknown) was employed in Awadh government during the days of Asaf ud-Dawlah and Sa'adat 'Alī Khān, his hometown being Allahabad. In the versified preface to his book of history, he made passing reference to Shāh 'Alam II and praised the ruling Nawwāb Sa'adat 'Alī Khān. Beni Rām divided his book into five chapters and a termination, naming each chapter as *fihrist* = inventory. Beginning from Koravs and Pāndaws, the legendary heroes of the *Mahabharat*, he brought the account down to his own times. The last chapter gave details about contemporary events, scholars, and poets etc. Its title was: *Hind-Namah* completed in the year of Asaf ud-Dawlah's death, 1212/1797.

Betāb, Muhammad Hayāt (d. unknown) belonged to Bilgrām, the town of learned men, in Awadh, and received instruction in poetry from Rāi Sarab-Sukh Diwānah. Later on, he submitted his verses to Mirza Qatīl. His life passed in the literary company of Mirza Fakhir Makin and Mir Qamar ud-Din Minnat, the two leading poets of Lucknow. Muhammad Sādiq Khān Akhtar presented him to the audience of Ghāzi ud-Din Haidar, king of Awadh (d. 1245/1829), who was pleased with the poet and conferred on him a regular service. Betāb left a *Diwān* of verses.

Diwānah, Rai Sarab-sukh (d. 1203/1788) was a Khattri of Lahore, but lived in Delhi. After the Mughal capital was ruined by Ahmad Abdali, he went to Lucknow and met with kind treatment by Nawwāb Shujā' ud-Dawlah, who gave him employment in his government. Diwānah was a leading poet of Lucknow; many of his disciples attained literary fame. He left a *Diwan* of verses.

Ghalib, Jalāl ud-Din (d. unknown) belonged to Zaidpur, a town in Awadh, and held a minor post in the government of Nawwāb Shujā' ud-Dawlah (d. 1188/1774). Bhagwan Dās Hindi, the author of *Safinah*, saw him in Lucknow and praised his poetry. Also, Ghalib was famous for his mastery over music.

Halim, Hafiz (d. unknown) lived as an unworldly derwish in Delhi, where the author of *Safinah-i-Hindi* saw him. After the imperial capital was ruined by various free-booters, Hafiz Halim shifted like many others to Lucknow and settled near the mausoleum of the saint, Shāh Mina (d. 870/1465). A large gathering of people attended his weekly sermons on Friday. Also, he was well known as a poet.

Hatīf, Mirza Abū 'Alī (d. unknown) accompanied his grandfather as a boy from Isfahān, Iran, and received early education in Delhi. His teacher in poetry was Mir Shams ud-Din Faqir. Having moved to Lucknow, he witnessed the rule of three Nawwābs of Awadh and rendered service under Safdar Jang (d. 1168/1754), Shujā' ud-Dawlah (d. 1188/1774) and Mahārājah Tikait Rāi Bahādur, the noble of Asaf ud-Dawlah (d. 1212/1797). His contemporaries admired him as a poet.

Jūdat, Multāni Lāl (d. unknown) was the son of Rājah Hira Lāl, a Kayasth nobleman belonging to Awadh. He addressed private letters to friends in ornate prose, liked by popular taste of the times. Some letters carried specimens of his *ghazals* for the amusement and approval of his friends, who were all polished literary men. Besides letters, Jūdat exercised his pen as a writer of *inshā*, too. He attempted essays on the known pattern of *Maqamat*, initiated by early masters of Arabic and Persian prose. One of his essays portrayed the revelries of *Holi*, seasonal festival of the Hindus, celebrated before the beginning of summer. The work

appeared as: *Bahār-Fītrat*, ca. 1224/1809.

Khayālī, Munshi Khayālī Rām (d. unknown) lived in Lucknow and served in the government of Wajid 'Alī Shāh, the last ruler of Awadh. His contemporaries admired his literary works. 1. *Silk-i-Musalsal*, 2. *Ganjīnah-i-Khayāl*, and 3. *Diwān* of verses.

Mahabbat, Nawwāb Mahabbat Khān (d. unknown) was son of Hāfīz Rahmat Khān, the Rohellah chief and ruler of the territory of Bareilly (d. 1188/1774). Mahabbat passed his last days in Lucknow under the patronage of the Nawwābs of Awadh. He was a popular poet and left a *Diwān* of verses. Also, he composed a Pashtū-Persian dictionary, containing elements of Pashtū grammar.

Masarrat, 'Iwaz Rāi (d. unknown) was a poet of Delhi, but later on moved to Lucknow. He composed *qasīdahs* in praise of Shāh 'Alam II. In Lucknow, he obtained employment under Sa'adat 'Alī Khān, ruler of Awadh (d. 1219/1804). As his patron built a palace, "Qasr-i-Dil Kūsha", Masarrat congratulated him in a piece of rhetoric: *Nasr-i-Dil Kūsha*.

Mastānah, Rāi Miku Lāl (d. 1204/1789) belonged to Ghazipur, Uttar Pradesh, and served in the government of Nawwāb Asaf ud-Dawlah of Awadh. He was a friend of Bhagwān Dās Hindī, the author of *Safīnah*, who mourned his death in a chronogram.

Matin, Shaikh 'Abd ur-Reza (d. 1175/1761) emigrated from Isfahān during the beginning of Muhammad Shāh's reign. In Delhi his chief literary rival was Mirza Afzal Sābit. Having moved to Lucknow, he organised poetic gatherings in his house on every Thursday. It was a popular function attended by all the young and old poets of the city. Mirza Fakhir Makin regularly went there accompanied by the crowd of his disciples. In old age the poet received an invitation from Qāsim Khān, the governor of Bengal. He died in Murshidabad leaving behind a *Diwān* of verses.

Mauzān (d. unknown) served as a poet at the court of Nawwāb Asaf ud-Dawlah, ruler of Awadh. He prepared a versified account of the campaign in which his master marched personally to fight, of course with the help of the English soldiers of the Company, against Ghulām

Muhammad Khan of Rampur. Summary of events: Nawwab Faiz ullah Khān's son, Muhammad 'Ali, who succeeded his father to the state of Rampur, declared himself a Shi'ah. The change of faith offended the Rohellah Afghans. Ghulam Muhammad Khān, the younger son of Faiz ullah, murdered Muhammad 'Ali and took control of Rampur. Asaf ud-Dawlah, a staunch Shi'ah, retaliated by taking military action and deposed Ghulam Muhammad from power. Mauzūn's *masnawi*, narrating the developments, came out as *Asaf-Namah*, completed in 1250/1834. (For the version of the other side, see Ref'at: *Jang-Namah*). Also, Mauzūn described the stage by stage progress of the English from the death of Asaf ud-Dawlah onwards in another *masnawi*. There were details in it of the circumstances which led to the deposition of Wazir 'Ali. Obviously, the *masnawi* praised the English for their smooth plan of success. Its title was: *Iqbal-Namah*, completed earlier in 1214/1799.

Mir, Muhammad Taqi (d. 1225/1810) was born at Akbarabad Agra and passed early life in Delhi, where his education was completed. Thereafter, a hard and hostile luck pushed him to Lucknow. Unhappy in his attitude towards the world and life around him, simultaneously, Mir possessed great creative energy as a poet. For the first time, he infused Urdu poetry with seriousness and dignity. Literary critics, in their reckoning, gave priority to him among the eminent poets of Urdu. Mir embodied in his poetry and personality the inevitability and misery of a society witnessing the decline of a great age. With the downfall of the Mughal empire, prosperity and peace of life had totally disappeared. The poet felt the painful situation, and to his credit, discovered a pathetic tone for the expression of his feelings. Outside his chief realm, Urdu ghazal, Mir tried his pen for the writing of prose in Persian. Contrary to his style of Urdu verses, there was a gaiety and humour in his prose that surprised his readers. He was the author of his autobiography, *Zikr-i-Mir*, and a *tazkirah* of Urdu poets, *Nikat ush-Shu'ara*, 1165/1752.

Mubtala, Mardān 'Ali Khān, Mirza Kāzim (d. 1212/1797) was born in Lucknow and served in the government of Nawwab Safdar Jang of Awadh, who conferred on him the title of Mardān 'Ali Khān. He was a contemporary of 'Abd ur-Reza Matin and Wafa 'Azimabādi. Among his

works are, 1. a *Diwān* of verses, 2. a *tazkirah* of Urdu poets, *Gulshan-i-Sukhan*, and 3. another *tazkirah* of Persian poets, *Muntakhab ul-Ash'ar/Guldastah-i-Ma'āni*, 1194/1780.

Muhammad 'Abbās Shūstari, Mufti (d. 1306/1888) lived in Lucknow during the days of Amjad 'Ali Shāh and Wājid 'Ali Shāh, the kings of Awadh, and was famous as a theologian and literary scholar. His ancestors came from Shūstar, South Iran, and settled in Lucknow. As Amjad 'Ali Shāh appointed *muftis* = jurists, to decide private and public disputes according to Islamic Law throughout his kingdom, Muhammad 'Abbās was found competent to hold the job. Unlike his contemporary divines, who avoided being associated with poetry, he freely exhibited his poetic taste. Instead of *ghazal*, the popular and familiar form of verse, he chose the less fashionable realm of *masnawi* as it provided much scope for didactic themes. When Wājid 'Ali Shāh was taken as prisoner to pass the rest of his days in Matiya-burj, Calcutta, Muhammad 'Abbās stayed with his patron for some time. Disgusted with the brand of sufism advocated in India from the time of Mūjaddid and pursued further by Shāh Wali ullah, he repudiated sufi beliefs and ridiculed their works. Arabic being the medium to which Muslim divines adhered faithfully, he wrote a number of treatises dealing with religious topics in the same language. His book on *Insha* = secretary's art, appeared in two volumes, containing Arabic and Persian epistolary specimens respectively. Its title was *Zill-i-Mamdūd*. About a dozen *masnawi* poems were composed by him. Noteworthy among them were: 1. *Tiskin-i-Miskin*, 2. *Gauhar-i-Shahwar*, and 3. *Manna wa Salwa*.

Mukhtār, Sital Dās (d. unknown) was born in Delhi and moved to Lucknow, where he found employment in the government of Nawwāb Asaf ud-Dawlah. He was a poet and disciple of Mirza Fakhir Makin. His *Diwān* was popular.

Mumkin, Kāzim Beg Khān (d. unknown) belonged to Delhi and came to Lucknow, where Rājah Beni Bahādur, a dignitary of Nawwāb Shujā' ud-Dawlah's government, provided him employment. In poetry, Mumkin was one of the disciples of Mirza Fakhir Makin.

Mumtāz, Ahsan ullah (d. 1275/1858) lived in Lucknow and was known for his poetry. In a *masnawi*, he narrated the lives of the prophets, particularly, that of Muhammad, his companions, and his family, peace be on them. Its title was: *Bahr-i-Mawwaj*.

Mushafi, Ghulam Hamadani (d. 1240/1824) lived in Delhi and finally migrated to Lucknow. Many writers traced his family origins from Amroha, a town in district Muradabad, North India. As the Mughal empire declined, the fascination for arts, especially poetry, increased among a large section of people, and they gradually adopted the indigenous *Rekhta* or Urdu as their literary language in place of Persian. Delhi and Lucknow in succession served as the two cradles of culture. Mushafi played a significant role in the purification and uplift of Urdu through its early stages of flourishing in North India. Many critics gave him the credit for being the founder of a school followed ardently by later generations. In response to the established tradition, Mushafi composed in Persian as well, placing before him Jalal Asir and Nasir 'Ali as models. The style of both of them was artificial. Naturally enough, nobody ever cared to read the Persian *Diwan* of Mushafi. Only his Urdu poetry saved his position in literary history. In prose, he attempted *tazkirahs* of Urdu and Persian poets; 1. *Tazkirah-i-Hindi*, 2. *Riyaz ul-Fusaha*, 3. *Tazkirah-i-Farsi*, and 4. *Iqd-i-Surayya*. The latter precisely dealt with 133 poets who lived from the days of Muhammad Shah to Shah 'Alam II (1131/1718-1221/1806).

Nami, Shaikh Fasih ud-Din (d. unknown) belonged to Mohan, a town near Lucknow, and was the pupil of Mirza Dagh Dehlawi in poetry. He prepared a collection of letters: *Chiragh-i-Mufid-i-'Am*, 1305/1887.

Nasir, Mir Faiz 'Ali (d. unknown) belonged to Delhi and was in the service of Nawwab Safdar Jang (d. 1168/1754) in whose praise he composed lengthy poems and received lavish rewards.

Parwanah, Kanwar Jaswant Singh (d. unknown) was the son of Rajah Beni Bahadur, the chief noble of Nawwab Shuja' ud-Dawlah. His teacher in poetry was Diwanah, Rai Sarab Sukh, the popular poet of Lucknow. Sadiq Khan Akhtar had friendly relations with him. His *Diwan* of verses is available.

Qarib, Kishan Chand (d. unknown) belonged to Delhi, where his ancestors, Kayasth by caste, held responsible positions in the administration of Mughal government. Qarib came to Lucknow and succeeded in getting an employment under Asaf ud-Dawlah. Bhagwān Dās Hindi, the author of *Safinah* (1219/1804), found him an active man in the literary circles of Lucknow and was impressed by his critical ability as a poet.

Qarin, Mir Nisār 'Alī (d. unknown) served in the government of Asaf ud-Dawlah, ruler of Awadh, and was popular in Lucknow for his brilliant personality and sense of humour. Bhagwān Dās Hindi attested to have read Qarin's *Diwān* of verses.

Qatil, Mirza Muhammad Hasan (d. 1232/1817) was born in the house of Hindū parents belonging to Khattri caste. Having embraced Islam in young age, he left for Iran and travelled widely in that country. He returned to Delhi, and thereafter moved to Lucknow, where he gained prestige as the leading poet of his age. Bhagwān Dās Hindi, the author of *Safinah*, saw him around 1219/1804, and was deeply impressed by his pleasing manners and literary sophistication. Qatil left his influence on the following generation of poets, who treated his style as model of perfect eloquence. Among his works were: 1. *Diwān* of verses, 2. *Haft-Tamasha*, memoirs describing the contemporary social picture, 3. *Mazhar ul-'Aja'ib*, dictionary of literary idioms, 4. *Shajarat ul-Amāni*, on poetics, and 5. *Nahr ul-Fasahat*, which contained specimens of *insha* = letters.

Rahin, Burhān 'Alī (d. unknown) was the son of Muhammad Mū'izz ud-Din Khān, a noble of Lucknow, serving under Nawwāb Safdar Jang and his son, Shujā' ud-Dawlah. As Ahmad Khān Bangash of Farrukhabād once attempted to annex the province of Allahabad from the Awadh government and his son plundered the city of Lucknow, extorting money from its rich inhabitants, including the grandfather of Bhagwān Dās Hindi, who lost three hundred thousand rupees, Mū'izz ud-Din Khān and his sons displayed great courage in resisting the Bangash depredation. Hindi had in his collection a copy of the *Diwān* of Rahin, (ca. 1219/1804).

Rai, Makkhan Lāl (d. unknown) was landlord of a village, Mohanpur,

near Akbarpur, District Faizabad; and the daughter of Bhagwān Dās Hindi was married to him. His ancestors held responsible positions in the government of Awadh. He presented his verses to Hindi for improvement, who has preserved their specimens in his *Safinah* (1219/1804).

Raushan, Raushan Lāl (d. unknown) was the nephew of Bhagwān Dās Hindi, the author of *Safinah*, who supervised his early career and whose training ultimately made him a poet. He earned his living by serving as a revenue officer of small rank in the Awadh government. Raushan left a *Diwan* of verses.

Ref'at, Maulawi Ref'at 'Ali (d. unknown) was a poet of Lucknow during the time of Amjad 'Ali Shāh. He versified the biography of Rājah Darshan Singh, who entered the service of Sa'adat 'Ali Khān as a young boy and gradually rose to high positions. The title, Ghālib Jang, was conferred on him by the successor of the above mentioned ruler, and he served the Awadh government till the reign of Wajid 'Ali Shāh. His death occurred in 1267/1850. Ref'at's *masnawi* appeared under the title: *Naqd-i-Ghālib Jangi*, completed in 1270/1853.

Rind, Rāi Khem Narāyan (d. unknown) was an official of high rank under Nawwāb Asaf ud-Dawlah of Awadh. His grandfather Maharājah Lachhmi Narāyan, was the representative, *wakil*, of Safdar Jang in the court of Muhammad Shāh at Delhi. In poetry Bhagwān Dās Hindi acknowledged him as his disciple and informed that his *Diwan* contained about twenty thousand verses, ca. 1219/1804.

Sādiq (d. unknown) was a poet and scholar enjoying the patronage of Ghāzi ud-Din Haider, king of Awadh (d. 1243/1827). He was the author of a collection of sufistic phrases including a number of indigenous proverbs. Its title was: *Nikat ul-'Arifin*.

Sāhir, Shaikh Fazl-i-Haq (d. 1250/1834) belonged to Kakori, a town near Lucknow, and completed his education in Delhi, where he attended the lectures of Shāh 'Abd ul-'Aziz. He was a popular poet of Lucknow and Mirza Qatil acknowledged him as his teacher in poetry.

Sāqī (d. unknown) was a sufi poet of Lucknow. He witnessed the days

of three Nawwābs: Safdar Jang, Shujā'ud-Dawlah, and Asaf ud-Dawlah, who treated Sāqī with kindness. He praised his patrons in a *masnawī*: *Bahar-i-Dilhā*.

Sāqib, Maharājah Jai Gopāl Singh (d. unknown) was a nobleman of Awadh during the time of Wajid 'Alī Shāh, whom he praised as his patron and benefactor. He was a poet and friend of scholars. At their instance, he wrote a tract on rhetoric: *Nadīrat-i-Sāqib*, 1292/1875.

Shād, Rāi Bāl Govind (d. unknown) was the son-in-law of Rājah Pattar Chand, a noble of Awadh serving under Asaf ud-Dawlah. In poetry he was the disciple of Bhagwān Dās Hindi, the author of *Safīnah* (1219/1804).

Shorish, Muhammad Mahdi (d. unknown) belonged to Bilgrām, Awadh, and passed active career as scholar and poet during the time of Asaf ud-Dawlah and his successors. He prepared a collection of *Insha* = letters, under the title: *Bahar-i-Sukhan*, ca. 1227/1812.

Shukri, Daulat Singh (d. unknown) lived in Lucknow during the days of Asaf ud-Dawlah and his successors. He composed poetry under the pen-name mentioned above, but, his chief interest was mathematics. As he mentioned in the preface to his existing treatise on logarithm, he was the author of a mathematical book, *Tuhfat ul-Hisab*. Thereafter, he devoted his attention to translate, obviously from English, an elaborate work dealing with the principles of logarithm. The manuscript, preserved in Aligarh Muslim University, is complete but does not bear any date. Its title is *Lāg-i-Rūm*.

Wāmiq, Niyāz Muhyi ud-Dīn (d. unknown) belonged to Bilgrām and was a friend of Azād Bilgrāmi, who took interest in Wāmiq's literary career. He served under Rājah Shitāb Rāi of Jaunpur (ca. 1201/1786). His *Diwān* of verses has survived.

Wārid, Mirza Muhammad Zamān (d. unknown) moved from Delhi to Lucknow and found employment in the government of Shujā'ud-Dawlah. Wārid was popular as a poet in Lucknow and left a *Diwān*.

Wasil, Muhammad Wasil Khān (d. 1216/1801) belonged to Kashmir and came to settle in Delhi in the reign of Muhammad Shāh. As Ahmad Abdālī plundered Delhi (1171/1757), he took shelter under the Mahārājah of Jaipur. Soon, Ahmad 'Alī Khān, governor of 'Azimabad, invited him to his court. In old age, Wasil returned to Lucknow from Patna, where his friend and patron was Mahārājah Tīket Rāi Bahādur, the chief noble of Asaf ud-Dawlah. He composed a versified account of the events of his age and dedicated the work to the said nobleman of Lucknow, naming it: *Maharaj-Namah*.

Wasili, Imām Wirdi Beg (d. unknown) lived as a poet in Lucknow and enjoyed the patronage of Nawwāb Asaf ud-Dawlah (d. 1212/1797). His *Diwan* has survived.

Zarrah, Mirza Bhachchā (d. unknown) lived in Lucknow and was employed in the government of Nawwāb Shujā'ud-Dawlah. Like his father, Hakim Muhammad Shafī', he was also a competent physician. In poetry he was the disciple of Mir Shams ud-Din Faqir. His *Diwan* contained about two thousand verses.

Zarrah, Mirza Muhammad Shafī' (d. unknown): His ancestors came from Kashmir and settled in Agra. He was born and brought up in Lucknow, where he started his career under Shujā'ud-Dawlah. In the days of Asaf ud-Dawlah, he migrated with his family to live at Karbala, the mausoleum of Imām Husain in Irāq. Mushafī, the author of *'Iqd-i-Sāraiya*, read his *Diwan* of verses, but was little impressed by his art as a poet.

Zirak, Pandit Govind Rām (d. unknown): His family came from Kashmir and settled in Lucknow. He wrote a brilliant reply against Shaikh 'Alī Hazin (d. 1180/1766), who condemned the people of Kashmir in one of his irritable moods. Zirak's poem, in the same metre and rhyme, was more forceful in tone, and thus, Hazin had to repent for his satire. As noted by Mushafī, Zirak composed fine verses and his contemporaries admired him as a poet.

2. Rohelkhand :

The territory at a small distance from Delhi, partly lying in the valley called *Ganga-Jamuna doab*, and mostly extending on the other side of river Ganges, bounded by Himalayan jungles in the North, assumed the above mentioned name during the post-Nādir era. Earlier, it was familiar as Kather. The pathān inhabitants of *Roh* = a roughly triangular area situated in Southern Afghanistan, with Peshawar, Kabul and Qandhar forming three sides of the imaginary triangle, emigrated from their original homeland. They founded chain of settlements in upper India and were identified as Rohellah Afghāns. Earlier, the Mughal Government welcomed them with a definite purpose: settle them in tumultuous pockets; they would maintain law and order without burden on the imperial treasury. At later stage, they came to offer themselves as mercenary soldiers whoever wanted their services: Religion no bar. If the employer failed to disburse regular salary, they made up the loss by plunder, of course with the connivance of the employer. There was neither cohesion nor compactness in these settlements. Scattered like dots on a map, every principality had its own leader or chieftain. These power centres, which emerged one after the other and eclipsed in course of time due to fighting either among themselves or against other heavy weight rivals, may be reckoned as follows: 1. *Shahjahanpur*, came up during the reign of Shāh Jahān and named after that emperor. About nine thousand emigrants from Roh, belonging to fifty *khails* = clans, came to settle there. 2. *Khurjah* (Bulandshahr) was inhabited by them during the same time together with twelve villages - *Barah Basti*, in the same area. 3. *Bhikampur-Dadon* (Aligarh). The Sarwāni Afghāns established their control around these places. The influx continued during the reign of Aurangzeb and increased after his death. 4. *Shahabad* (Hardoi) emerged during that emperor's time. 5. *Farrukhabad*, Muhammad Khān Bangash founded it after the name of his patron, the emperor Farrukh Siyār. His, sons, Qā'im Khān and Ahmad Khān, laid the foundation of Qā'im Ganj and a few other towns in its neighbourhood. 6. *Aonla* (Bareilly), rose to fame as an important Afghan stronghold after the arrival of Daw'ūd Khan, the humble servant of a merchant selling horses. His adopted son, 'Ali Muhammad Khān, proved more successful adventurer. By organizing predatory raids right and left he seized Muradabad, Bareilly, Bada 'ūn, and the hill area upto Kumaun. The emperor being helpless and failing to punish the defiant rebel

conferred on him the title of Nawwab. The pedigree of 'Ali Muhammad remained a point of doubt among the historians. It so happened that Daw'ud Khan raided a village of the refractory jāts. All inhabitants, male and female, fled away in panic. Daw'ud found a child playing by the side of his dead mother. He took the child under his care, named him 'Ali Muhammad, and reared him as his own son. After Daw'ud's death, the Afghans acknowledged him as their leader. In actual fact, 'Ali Muhammad did not seem to have cared during his life time whether he was a Saiyed, a Rohellah or a Jāt. Some historical scholars held that a Saiyed of Barhah lived in that village and had a jāt woman, as his wife; and 'Ali Muhammad was their offspring. Others discarded that statement. 'Ali Muhammad's own conduct in defeating Saiyed Saif ud-Din 'Ali Khān, the last representative of Barhah Saiyeds with Jānsath (Muzafarnagar) as his seat, and in ruthlessly overthrowing the Saiyeds and insulting their women contradicted the assertion that he had any blood relationship with them. The battle of Jānsath (1150/1737) was fought under his command. Later on, 'Ali Muhammad's descendants transferred their seat to Rampur. 7. *Bareilly Pilibhit*, served as headquarters of Hāfiz Rahmat Khān. He arrived at the invitation of 'Ali Muhammad and was the son of Shāh 'Alam Khān, the patron and master of Daw'ud. 'Ali Muhammad Khān, during his last illness, placed his turban on the head of the Hāfiz. Thus, he was entrusted with the task of leading the Afghan people. Hāfiz Rahmat Khān remained fully active in contemporary affairs till his tragic end. 8. *Najibabad*. Its founder, Najib Khān, rose to important position from a humble beginning. Despite bitter rivalry with Hāfiz Rahmat Khān, he cautiously steered his career towards success and gained highest influence. The Mughal emperor conferred on him the title of Najib ud-Dawlah, 1167/1753, and Ahmad Abdali recognised him the most trustworthy leader by leaving him as his deputy in Delhi, 1171/1757. After the battle of Panipat, 1175/1761 Ahmad Abdali appointed him the guardian of the affairs of Delhi empire. He died in 1184/1770. Originally, the Rohella Afghans were bi-lingual. Inside their homes they conversed in Pashtū. When their child, aged four years, left his grandmother's embraces and faced the Mulla in school, he was made to speak Persian and read Persian. They brought the same tradition to their Indian environment, the Rohelkhand, and the fashion survived even after their political power had

vanished away. Their scholars played a significant role in the development of Indo-Islamic culture.

PROSE WRITERS AND POETS

'Abd ul-Qādir b. Muhammad Ghaus (d. unknown) belonged to Shahjahānpur, a settlement of the Rohellah Afghāns near Bareilly. He was a sufi of the Chishti order. He wrote a *tazkirah* of his spiritual guides of whom some were Saiyeds, and others were Afghāns by race. In between their biographies, the author reported historical events. He was an eyewitness to the war fought between Wazīr ul Mumalik Shujā' ud-Dawlah, ruler of Awadh, and the Afghan leader, Hāfiz Rahmat Khān, 1188/1774. The title of his work was: *Manaqib ul-Murshidin wa Kant ul-Wasilin*.

'Aziz ud-Din Qādiri (d. unknown) belonged to Farrukhabad, North India, and was the disciple of a local sufi, Shāh Ramazān ullah alias Ramazān Shāh. At the instance of his teacher, whom he praised in the introduction, 'Aziz ud-Din wrote a sufistic tract in four sections. Its title was: *Khazinat ul-'Irfan*, completed, according to a chronogram, in 1220/1805.

Mahabbat Khān (d. unknown) was an Afghān of Rohella clan. His ancestor, Diler Khān Daw'ud-Zai, served as general in the army of Aurangzeb. The clan achieved prominence after the Mughal empire declined. He wrote a general history of India casting spotlight over the role played by men of his race. The city of Shahjahānpur, North India, was his place of residence. He gave detailed account of its foundation. An interesting feature of his book was objective assessment of events personally witnessed by the author during the reign of Shāh 'Alam II. The work appeared under the title, *Akhbar-i-Mahabbat*, 1186/1772.

Muhammad Husain Khān, Maulawi (d. unknown) lived in Shahjahānpur, a distinct town in Uttar Pradesh, North India and compiled a *tazkirah* of poets in three parts, each devoted to Arabic, Persian and Urdu poets respectively. It was named as *Riyāz ul-Firdaws*, 1276/1859.

Tamiz, Kālī Rāi b. Debi Prasad (d. unknown) lived in Shahjahanpur North India, although his place of birth was Fathgarh. His father was also a poet and composed under the pen-name 'Aziz. He compiled a collection of letters *Insha-i-Tamiz*, 1278/1861.

Makkhan Lāl (d. unknown) belonged to Shahjahanpur, a district in northern Uttar Pradesh, and lived in Hyderabad, Deccan, where he was employed in British Residency. He wrote a history of the Nizams adding his personal observations of the Deccan. Its title was: *Yadgar-i-Makkhan Lāl*, completed in 1241/1825.

Sadr Yār Jang, Nawwāb Habib ur-Rahmān Khān Sherwānī (d. 1369/1950) served as head of religious endowments in the Nizām's state, Hyderabad, where he was conferred the title mentioned above. His ancestors were landlords of Aligarh and the adjoining areas commanding influence and dignity. Abul Kalam Azād, the Urdu writer and leader of India's Freedom Movement, addressed him letters from Ahmadnagar jail, which were preserved as *Ghubar-Khatir*. Essentially, Sadr Yār Jang was a bibliophile and had large collection of Arabic and persian manuscripts in his possession. He and his son, Khan Bahādur Obaid ur-Rahmān Khān, donated it to the Aligarh Muslim University. A band of noblemen, that is, Sadr Yār Jang, Salār Jang of Hyderabad, Khuda Bakhsh of Patna, Mahmūd Shirānī and Muhammad Shafī' of Lahore, and a few others, rendered great service in preserving the treasures of Indo-Islamic learning, although they were neither princes nor emperors. As poet, Sadr Yār Jang composed verses under the pen-name, Hasrat, and left a *Diwān* entitled *Zanbil-i-Khayāl*. Also, he prepared 'Golden Treasury' of select verses from eminent poets: *Zanbil*.

Bhagwān Dās (d. unknown) belonged to Hisār Firuzah and served as assistant to Munshi Saheb Rāi, chief secretary of Nawwāb Ghazanfar Jang Muhammad Khān Bangash, ruler of Farrukhabād (d. 1156/1743). The secretariat = *Dār ul-Insha*, was under his control. He collected the correspondence exchanged between his master and the contemporary nobles, in five sections. The first section contained petitions and reports despatched by the Bangash leader to the emperor, Muhammad Shāh. Its date of compilation came out from a chronogram, "Repeat five times, 'Aziz-

i-Qulab = (232x5)" 1160/1747. So, was the title: *'Aziz ul-Qulab*.

Daulat Rāi b. Gulab Rāi Kayasth (d. unknown) belonged to Mainpuri, North India, and served the Bangash Nawwābs of Farrukhabād. He wrote: 1. a medical textbook, allegedly, for the benefit of his sons, Shiv Prashād and Kalka Prashād, naming it: *Baidl' ul-Jawahir*, 2. a general history of India, *Chahar Chamant*, 1225/1810, and 3. a treatise of grammar: *Muntakhah ul-Qawā'id*.

Ghulām Hasan Bilgrāmi (d. unknown) wrote poetry under the pen-name, Samin, and served a number of contemporary rulers, namely, Shujā'ud-Dawlah of Awadh (d. 1188/1774), Ahmad Khān Bangash of Farrukhabād (d. 1185/1771), Sa'd ullah Khān, Rohellah of Rampur, and finally, the East India Company, and was posted at Allahabād. He wrote two concise tracts: 1. *Shara'if-i-'Usmāni*, tracing the history of the 'Usmāni Shaikhs of Bilgrām, and 2. *Ba'zī-az-Ahwal-i-Shāh Abdali*, in which he narrated the account of Abdālī's depredatory invasions and assessed the career of that king (d. 1186/1772).

Girdhārī Lāl, Munshi (d. unknown) belonged to the city of Farrukhabād, which acquired prominence as the seat of Bangash Afghans during and after the reign of Muhammad Shāh. He collected unfamiliar words from the text-books comprising the *Madrasah-syllabus* during the author's time and arranged them alphabetically as in a dictionary. Placing precise meaning against each word, he compiled a reference book for the benefit of students. He desired to help those, as he claimed, who were either dullards or not in a position to devote many hours. The work was welcomed, for, it made the learners of Persian less dependent on teachers for their lessons. It was entitled: *Ganj-i-Lughat*, completed in 1176/1762.

Husām ud-Din Gwaliari, Mir (d. unknown) served under the Bangash rulers of Farrukhabād and was famous among his contemporaries as 'Mutlaq 'Ali Shāh' due to his sufi leanings. He wrote a history of the Bangash Nawwābs, Muhammad Khān Ghazanfar Jang, founder of Farrukhabād (d. 1157/1743), and Ahmad Khān (d. 1185/1771), and named it: *Tarikh-i-Muhammad Khāni*, completed ca. 1185/1771.

Muhammad Rahim 'Ali Khān (d. unknown) belonged to Farrukhabād and lived in Agra. He was respected for his skill as a physician. His book, dealing with medical subject, was: *Badi' ut-Tahrir*, completed in 1214/1799.

Muhammad Wali ullah Farrukhabādi (d. 1249/1833) was a Husaini Saiyed born at a small village, Sandhī, in the neighbourhood of Khairabād, Awadh. Initially, he was educated at Qannauj, where his teacher was Shaikh 'Abd ul-Bāsit b. Raushan 'Ali. Then, he proceeded to Mecca and attended lectures of the theologians having their seminaries in the holy city. After voyaging back to India, he was offered patronage by the Bangash rulers of Farrukhabād. He established a college there and spent the rest of his life in the pursuit of learning. He wrote, 1. a commentary on the Qur'an in which he deviated from the formal course of other scholars. He ordered the Qur'anic verses as they were employed by the jurists for the framing of personal and public laws. Simultaneously, his commentary in three voluminous sections served as a guide-book of jurisprudence. Its title was *Nazm ul-Jawāhir wa Nazd ul-Fara'id*; 2. a history of his place of residence from the time of its foundation by Muhammad Khān Bangash who named it after Farrukh Siyār (1126/1714); *Tārīkh-i-Farrukhabād* (1243/1827); and 3. an almanac containing astronomical tables under the title: *Taqwīm*.

Nawal Rāi Ilahabādi (d. unknown) served as secretaty to Nawwab Ahmad Khān Bangash, grandson of Muhammad Khān Bangash, the Rohellah leader of Farrukhabād. Nawal Rāi attempted a versified history of the Bangash Nawwābs with particular reference to his master, naming it: *Tawārīkh-i-Ahmad Khāni*, 1170/1756.

Qāsim 'Ali Khān Afridi (d. 1241/1825) belonged to Farrukhabād, the seat of the Bangash Afghans, and was a professional soldier offering his services as mercenary according to the custom of his days. Among those who employed him were Jaswant Rao Holkar, Nawwab Amir Khān of Tonk, and Mir Ja'far of Bengal. He was interested in the history of his clan, which he wrote after making careful researches. The title of the work was: *Tūzūk-i-Afridi*.

Asghar Husain b. Ghulam Ghaus (d. unknown) served as physician at the court of the Bangash Nawwābs of Farrukhabād and was the author of many books, specially, in the field of medicine. Important among them were: 1. a work on children's diseases: *Ilaj us-Subyān*, and 2. a tract on mathematics: *Risalah dar Hisāb*, ca. 1273/1856.

Sāhib Rāi (d. unknown) served as secretary to Muhammad Khān Bangash, the Afghan ruler and founder of the city of Farrukhabād (d. 1156/1743). The letters officially drafted by him on behalf of his master were collected and edited by his pupil, Bhagwān Dās, under double title: *‘Aziz ul-Qulūb/Khujistah-Kalam*.

‘Ambar Shāh Khān (d. unknown) lived in Rampur and was respected for his pious and unworldly way of life. His collection of private letters and miscellaneous documents had three sections. The two, containing letters to a sufi-friend, Maulāna Qutb ‘Alī, and his school-fellow, Zuhūr ud-Dīn, were entitled: *Siraj-i-Minhaj* and *Jash-i-Hosh* respectively. And, the title of the third and more important section, for it illustrated the drafting technique of a large number of civil documents: sale-deed of agricultural land, house, orchard, concubine, and mortgage etc., was: *Sawad-i-‘Ambar*, ca. 1250/1834.

Ghiyās ud-Dīn Rampuri, Maulawi (d. unknown) taught in the Madrasah of his own hometown and passed most of his life in scholarly pursuits. As he claimed, the fruit of his fourteen years' hard labour was a dictionary, which, ever since its first edition appeared, acquired popularity in India and Iran. Its title was: *Ghiyās ul-Lughat*, completed in 1242/1826.

Hifz ullah, Munshi Muhammad (d. unknown) belonged to the family of the religious scholars of Farangī Mahal, Lucknow, and lived in Rampur, where he earned his living as *munshi* = secretary, in the service of the State. He prepared a collection of official documents: *Hifz ul-Qawānīn/Insha-i-Faiz rasān*, ca. 1235/1819.

‘Imād ud-Dīn Khān, Abu Sa‘id Muhammad (d. unknown) came from Qandhār, modern Afghanistan, and settled in Mustafabad Rampur, North India. He was a scholar of medical science and wrote a dictionary for

the guidance of practising physicians: *Iftikhār ul-Atibba*, ca. 1282/1865.

Muhammad A'zam Khān (d. 1319/1901) lived in Delhi and was known for his excellence in the field of Islamic medicine during the decades preceding Revolt of 1857. He wrote many books for the guidance of practising physicians. Important among them was: *Iksir-i-A'zam*.

Muhammad Fāzil Khān, Hāfiz (d. unknown) belonged to Bareilly, the Rohellah seat in North India, and was in the service of the East Indian Company. The British sent him on a secret mission to Bukhāra, Central Asia, and he prepared a report of his investigations about the power of the king and the general conditions of the people living in his kingdom. As it was meant to be studied by the British officers of the Company in order to shape their economic and military policies, the author maintained simple and easy style to the end of the narrative. Its title was: *Tarikh-i-Manāzil-i-Bukhara*, 1227/1812.

Muhammad Husain b. Muhammad 'Ali Afshār (d. unknown) lived with his father, a Turk of Qara Qulū Afshār tribe, who emigrated from the neighbourhood of Urmīyah, Azarba'ijān, Iran, and was employed in the state of Rampur, North India. As a young boy, Muhammad Husain travelled in company of his father on pilgrimage to the holy cities of Mashhad and Karbala. The impressions of cities visited enroute were recounted by him in the book he wrote in later life. For, he passed via Peshawar, Kabul, Qandhar, Herat to Mashhad. From Mashhad, his father moved to Tehran and was treated with kindness by the Qachar king, at whose court he stayed for some time, enjoying the Shah's hospitality. Some of his father's clansmen lived in Tabriz. So, he went to see them in 1237/1821. The Shah issued *farman* to Prince 'Abbās Mirza, governor of Tabriz, to receive Muhammad 'Ali Khān "Hindi". As his father's purpose was to visit Karbala, advance communication was despatched to the governor of Kirmanshah. Similar letters of the Shah of Iran, addressed to Hasan 'Ali Farmān-Farmayān, governor of Fars, the English governor of Bombay etc, recommending the case of Muhammad Ali Khān "Hindi", were in the latter's possession when he voyaged back to India. His journey ended after seven years in 1240/1824, and he returned to Rampur at last,

via Bombay, Calcutta, and Lucknow. Muhammad Husain passed his career at the court of Nawwāb Yūsuf 'Alī Khān. At the instance of his patron, he wrote a book on contemporary idioms of Persian language. The details of social life and manners were full of interest; and the book confirmed that its author was an intelligent observer. Its title was *'Azh ul-bayān*.

Najam ul-Ghani Khān (d. 1351/1932) lived as a scholar at Rampur and was author of many books. Mention may be made of his grammar of Persian language, *Nahj ul-Adab*.

Ref'at, Ghulām Jilāni (d. 1235/1819) belonged to Rampur, North India and lived there as a poet during the time of 'Alī Muhammad Khān and his successors. He witnessed the war between his patron, Ghulām Muhammad, son of Faiz ullah Khān, and the chief of Awadh, Asaf ud-Dawlah, and versified it as *Jang-Nāmah-i-Ghulām Muhammad*, 1212/1798. Also, he prepared a collection of letters for the beginners, *Ruqqa'at-i-Ghulām Jilāni*. His more important work was the history in verse of Faiz ullah Khān: *Durr-i-Manzūm*.

Sa'adat Khān (d. unknown) was the author of a history of the Rohellah Afghāns settled in North India, and their political and military activities since the days of Jahāngir to Muhammad Shāh. The work appeared as: *Makhzan-i-Akhbar*, in 1205/1790.

Sa'd ullah Bilgrāmi, Mufti (d. 1294/1877) belonged to Bilgrām, the town of scholars in Awadh, and stayed as a student in Muradabad, Rampur and Delhi, where he attended courses in religious sciences. Wājid 'Alī Shāh employed him as *mufti* = jurist, in his government. Later on, he was invited by Nawwāb Yūsuf 'Alī Khān to Rampur. He was the author of a work bearing salient facts about the Qur'an: *Khulasat un-Nawadir*, and a guide-book of jurisprudence, *Hidayat un-Nūr*.

Shauq, Muhammad Qudrat ullah Siddiqi (d. unknown) was born in a village near Sanbhal, in the district of Muradabad, North India. He acquired literary education in early life and made himself a competent critic, although his poetry was hardly above second rate. His life passed in Rampur, where the local rulers of the state offered him patronage. He was

the author of 1. a general history coming down to the reign of Shāh 'Alam II, and containing a lot of contemporary details: *Jam-i-Jahān Numā*; 2. a *tazkirah* of Urdu poets, *Tabaqāt ush-Shu'ara*, ca. 1209/1794; and 3. another *tazkirah* of Persian poets, *Takmilāt ush-Shu'ara*.

Shiv Prashād, Munshi (d. unknown) was a trusted servant of Nawwāb Faiz ullah Khān of Rampur. The latter sent him to negotiate with British on his behalf at Bilgrām, when the Rohellah Chief was defeated by Shujā' ud-Dawlah and the East India Company, 1188/1774. Shiv Prasād wrote a history of the Rohellah Afghāns of Kather, naming it after his patron, *Tarikh-i-Faiz Bakhsh*, 1190/1776.

Hashmat 'Ali, Saiyed (d. unknown) was a physician poet, whose place of birth was Tilhar, a town in district Bareilly, North India. He composed a versified monograph for the guidance of medical practitioners: *Kashful-Imrāz*, ca. 1228/1813.

Mā'azzam Shāh, Muhammad Siddiq (d. unknown) was trained in sufi discipline and lived at the court of Hāfiz Rahmat Khān, the Rohellah chief of Bareilly, North India (d. 1188/1774). At the instance of his patron, he prepared an abridged Persian version of *Tawarikh-i-Afāghinah*, the Pashtu work by Mir Dād. The translation appeared as: *Tarikh-i-Rahmat Khāni*, 1181/1767.

Muhammad Hasan Reza Khān (d. unknown) was the author of a history of the Rohellah Afghāns settled around Kather and Bareilly. The narrative covered from their arrival in North India down to the time of Ghulam Qādir (d. 1203/1788). Its title was: *Akhbar-i-Hasan*.

Mustajab Khān (d. unknown) was one of the fourteen sons of Hāfiz Rahmat Khān, the Rohellah chief of Bareilly (d. 1188/1774). He wrote a biography of his father and named it *Gulistan-i-Rahmat*, 1207/1792. Furthermore, he added into the above-mentioned work the account of Nawwāb Faiz ullah Khān, ruler of the state of Rampur. Its title was: *Zamimah-i-Gulistan-i-Rahmat*.

Nisār 'Ali, Saiyed (d. unknown) lived in Bareilly, North India. His

ancestors emigrated from Bukhara and settled in that city. He prepared a collection of letters in four sections, naming it: *Insha-i-Dilkusha*, ca. 1208/1793.

Niyāz Barelawi, Shāh Niyāz Ahmad (d. 1250/1834) was born in Sirhind and trained in spiritual discipline by Shāh Fakhr ud-Din of Delhi, at whose instance he moved to Bareilly, the centre of Rohellah Afghans, and established his *Khānqah* in that city. He was a bilingual poet, composing in Urdu and Persian, and wrote a number of small tracts for the guidance of his followers. Popular amongst them were, 1. *Shams ul-'Ain* and 2. *Rāz wa Niyāz*.

Qutb 'Ali (d. unknown) lived in Bareilly, North India, and was known as a sufi scholar during the time of Muhammad Shāh. He composed a treatise on Persian grammar, rhetoric and prosody. Its title was: *Takmilat ul-Farsi*, 1175/1761.

Rahmat Khān, Hafiz ul-Mulk (d. 1188/1774) was an emigrant Rohellah leader with Bareilly as his seat of semi-independent government. He took active part in the politics of North India at the time of Ahmad Abdali's invasions, particularly, on the eve of the third battle of Pānīpat. Among the degenerate Mughal nobles dominating the scene during and after the reign of Muhammad Shāh, the rule of exception proved its veracity through Rahmat Khān. For, he possessed a degree of dignity in his character. The rapacious greed of Shujā' ud-Dawlah of Awadh led to his tragic death. A man of scholarly habits devoting his hours of leisure to reading of books, Hāfiz Rahmat Khān prepared a detailed genealogy of the Afghans, with special reference to the tribes who moved to settle in various areas of the sub-continent. Its title was: *Khulasat ul-Ansab*.

Rustam 'Ali Subehdār (d. unknown) belonged to Bijapur, Deccan, and served as a military officer in the Mughal capital during the days of the puppet emperor, Alamgir II (d. 1173/1759). He prepared a record of the rise of Rohellah Afghans from Dāw'ūd Khān, the founder of their power, to the year 1188/1774, when Shujā' ud-Dawlah and Hāfiz Rahmat Khān passed away in Awadh and Bareilly respectively. Najib ud-Dawlah had died two years earlier, 1186/1772. The work appeared as: *Qissah-i-Ahwāl*.

i-Rohellah.

Sa'adat Yār Khān (d. unknown) was the grandson of Hāfiz Rahmat Khān, the Rohellah Nawwāb of Bareilly. He wrote an enlarged version of *Gulistan-i-Rahmat*, his grandfather's biography written by his uncle, Mustajab Khān, and named his work: *Gul-i-Rahmat*. It was completed in 1249/1833. Also, he wrote a treatise discussing the Jewish origin of the Afghāns as indicated by some authorities.

Zauqi, Muhyi ud-Din (d. unknown) was a poet and sufi, deeply attached to the saints of the Qādiri order. He served the Rohella Chief, Nawwāb Najib ud-Dawlah, and composed a *masnawi* in his praise, entitled: *Najib-Namah*, ca. 1184/1770.

3. Patna

Although no centre of patronage on the pattern of a princely state came into existence in Patna during the post-Nādir era, yet the city flourished with writers and poets. It had long tradition as a seat of culture. The author, 'Abd un-Nabī Fakhr uz-Zamāni, who came from Kashān during the reign of Jahangir and resided for sometime in Patna, praised the beauty of the city and remarked that it was thronged by Iranian and other foreign visitors. Since 'Azim ush-Shān, the grandson of Aurangzeb, arrived as provincial governor, the city witnessed an orientation and there began a new phase in its cultural history. It became famous throughout the sub-continent as a place of scholars and men of talents. As the Mughal empire declined, the East India Company established its headquarters in Patna and the city offered ample scope to the inhabitants for their livelihood. Those who migrated from Delhi to Lucknow after the imperial capital was ruined, often moved towards Patna and further onward to Murshidabad. Thus, the city profited by the continuous inflow of talents. Many foreign observers were impressed by the educational standard and polished manners of the people. Fondness for learning, particularly love of poetry, became inseparable qualities of their social character.

WRITERS AND POETS

Abu'l Hayāt Qādiri (d. unknown) belonged to the sufi family of Phulwari, a town near Patna, and collected the biographies of a large number of saints, who lived in Bihar. He named it: *Tazkirat ul-Kiram*, ca. 1198/1783.

'Ashiqi 'Azimabādi, Husain Quli Khān (d. unknown) left an account of his family background from his own pen: "My ancestors emigrated from Jām, Khurasān, and rendered distinguished services as military officers in the Mughal government. My grandfather, Laskhar Khān, witnessed the reign of 'Alamgir II, and being an honest man, preferred to remain aloof from the intriguing nobles, who made the imperial court a hell for themselves and for the emperor. The chief eunuch of 'Alamgir II, Bakhtawar Khān, wielding considerable power and influence, advised the emperor out of jealousy and natural meanness, to confiscate all the movable property of Laskhar Khān. For, in his estimate, it will be sufficient to clear the salary of soldiers which was six months in arrears. The emperor, impoverished and pressed by money demand, readily consented, and the soldiers arrested our domestic eunuch, Sandal, and all other servants, whom they gave severe beating and tortured to disclose the wealth possessed by Laskhar Khān. The ravenous imperial guard looted away thirty thousand gold coins, more than two million rupees of silver, every piece of precious household goods, and whatever they could carry, leaving my grandfather in utter penury. Immediately thereafter, came Ahmad Abdālī on his fifth predatory round of Delhi. The condition of Laskhar Khān may be imagined. He was reciting the holy Qur'an when the Afghans crashed into our house and killed him in cold blood. When prince 'Ali Gohar, later on Shāh 'Alam II, roamed freely from Allahabād to Patna, Nawwāb Wazīr ud-Dawlah, a relative of my grandfather, called our family from Delhi to 'Azimabād, where my father came to age and I was born in 1194/1780. I am indebted to the scholars of the city for my education.

Shaikh Wajih ud-Din 'Ishqi, my mentor in poetry, suggested for me the pen-name, 'Ashiqi. My father served as revenue officer of the East India Company. And, after him, the officers of the Company were kind enough to transfer his job to me. In connection with my service, I visited the cities of Benaras, Etawah, Aligarh, Lucknow, and Delhi, and made friendship with literary men of the above-named places." 'Ashiqi 'Azimabadi left a *tazkirah* of poets: *Nishtar-i-'Ishq*, completed in 1233/1817.

'Asi, Mirza Muhammad Taqi (d. unknown) was the son of Nawwāb Lutf ullah Khān Sādiq, a noble of the reign of Farrukh Siyār. He shifted from Delhi, his birth-place, to Lucknow and finally settled in 'Azimabad. He was a poet and friend of Bhagwān Dās Hindi, the author of *Safinah* (1219/1804). A number of historical works attempted by 'Asi seem to have been lost. His monograph on Shāh 'Alam II to the twentieth year of that emperor's reign must be full of interest, for, it contained eye-witness account. Its title was: *Silk-i-Gauhar*.

Bedār, Basawan Rāi (d. unknown) was the disciple of Mirza Mazhar Jān-i-Jānān (d. 1195/1780) in poetry. He was employed in the revenue department and served under the *Diwan* = revenue chief, of 'Azimabad; but a considerable part of his life passed in Delhi, where he was well-known as a poet among the literary men of the capital.

Bekhwud, Khwajah Muhammad 'Asim (d. 1201/1787) was born in Delhi, his family came from Kashmir and settled in the capital. A physician and poet, he commanded respect in Delhi's cultured society. As the forces of vandalism ruined the city and people fled away to other places for safety, Bekhwud migrated to Patna. He left a *Diwan* of verses.

Beriya, Karam 'Ali (d. unknown) resided in Patna and was well-known as a poet. In early life, he stayed for some time in Delhi and came under the influence of Shaikh Sa'd ullah Gulshan and Khān-i-Arzū, the sufi and scholar respectively. He maintained regular correspondence with both of them and acknowledged the two as his spiritual and literary guides. Beriya collected his verses in a *Diwan*.

Fard, Abu'l Hasan Shāh Muhammad (d. 1265/1848) belonged to

Phulwari Sharif, a sufi centre near Patna, Bihar. Brought up in pious and learned atmosphere. Fard spent all his life in teaching, writing poetry, and initiating polemical discussions with the theologians of his time. Fard composed poetry on the model of 'Iraqi and Hafiz. His concise *Divan* of about one thousand and five hundred verses has survived.

Fughān, Ashraf 'Alī Khān (d. 1186/1772) lived in Delhi and was the foster-brother of Ahmad Shāh. After the latter's deposition and murder (1168/1757), Fughān went to Lucknow and moved further to Patna on the invitation of Rājah Shitāb Rāi. He composed poetry in Urdu as well as Persian.

Ghulām Husain b. Fath Muhammad Karbala'i Jaunpuri (d. 1279/1862) was a scholar of astronomy and mathematics. His patron, Rājah Bahādur Khān, son of Maharājah Miterjit Singh of Sahibganj, district Gaya, Bihar, also possessed knowledge of astronomical sciences and encouraged him to write on the subject of their common interest. Ghulām Husain was the author of many works: 1. a large compendium dealing with geometry, trigonometry, arithmetic and astronomy. It was dedicated to the above-named patron and appeared under the title: *Jamī'-i-Bahadur Khānī*, its year of completion, indicated by a chronogram, being 1249/1833. 2. A chapter originally written for the above-mentioned work and containing astronomical tables, was independently circulated as: *Zij-i-Bahadur Khānī*. 3. In a treatise divided into fourteen chapters and a termination, he explained the technical terms concerning astronomy. It was named: *Istilahāt-i-Taqwīm*. 4. Following the researches of the earlier scholar, Shaikh Bahā ud-Din Amīlī (d. 1031/1622), Ghulām Husain attempted a tract on astrolabe, *Anīs ul-Ahbab fī Bayān-i-Masā'il-i-Usturlāb*. 5. Ghulām Husain possessed command over the works of earlier Muslim scholars. The Greek philosopher and mathematician, Theodosius (first century B.C.) found in Nasir ud-Din Tūsī (d. 672/1273) his genuine disciple, who paraphrased the old master's *Spherica* into Arabic. Nasir ud-Din's version survived under the title: *Kitāb ul-Ukar*. Ghulām Husain translated the above-named book from Arabic into Persian and once again introduced Theodosius to the later Medieval world. He named his translation: *Ra'iz un-Nufūs: Tarjumah-i-Ukar-i-Sauzausiyus*. Also, 6. the title of a tract on astronomy was: *Tanbihāt-i-Munkirīn*.

Ghulām Husain Khān Tabatabā'i (d. unknown): His ancestors, Saiyed by descent, settled in Delhi having arrived from Iran and enjoyed prestige and power during the heydays of the Mughals. He experienced many hardships and personally tasted poverty due to the unsettled conditions of the age; although, he roamed actively in the cities of Rohtas, Benaras, Patna, and Calcutta. All the principal personalities of his time, particularly, Sirāj ud-Dawlah, Mir Ja'far, Mir Qasim, and Lord Clive of the East India Company, were known to him. He was talented enough to create connections with contemporary men of position, and simultaneously, possessed a real historian's awareness of the causes that subscribed to the continued decline of the Mughal empire in India. His expression clearly betrayed the premonition that the British traders would displace the Mughals. In a coherent and convincing style, Ghulām Husain recorded the events of about three quarters of a century, from the death of Aurangzeb (1119/1707) to his own times (1195/1781). The work was entitled: *Siyar ul-Muta'akhhirin*. And, he narrated the account of his ancestors, the Tabatabai Saiyeds, who came to settle in Patna, in a *masnawi* poem; *Bisharat ul-Imamah*.

Ghulām Sharaf ud-Din (d. unknown) belonged to a family of learned men claiming spiritual link with Shaikh Sharaf ud-Din Ahmad b. Yahya, the saint of Maner, Bihar (d. 782/1380). His own teacher was Abul Faiyāz Ghulām Rashid, whose *Khanqah* was situated at Jaunpur, North India. He attended the lectures of his spiritual guide and recorded them together with salient features of the Shaikh's biography. The title of the volume was: *Ganj-i-Faiyazi*, completed in 1147/1734.

Ilāhi Bakhsh 'Azimabādi (d. unknown) wrote a tract on the functioning and utilization of sun-dial naming it: *Maqyas ul-Afkar li Zabt-i-Sa'at un-Nahar*.

Kalyān Singh b. Shitāb Rai, Maharājah (d. unknown) was Na'ib Nāzim, deputy governor, of Bihar with Nawwab Mir Muhammad Qasim Khān, the Nāzim of Bengal. He held the title of Intizām ul-Mulk Mumtāz ud-Dawlah. Being an associate of Mir Qasim (d. 1191/1717), Kalyān Singh witnessed the complicated developments, when his superior colleague was subjected to ignominious pressure by Warren Hastings. The officers

of the British East India Company applied all sorts of mean tricks to grab power and money. Having secured victories at Plassey (1171/1757) and Buxar (1178/1764), the English traders inaugurated an era of organized loot in India. Among others, Maharajah Kalyan Singh was himself robbed of thirty-four lakhs of rupees by the rapacious governor general. The Maharajah was a writer and poet, composing both in Urdu and Persian. Among his works are: 1. an abridged history of the Mughals, *Khulasat ut-Tawarikh*, 2. a collection of personal reminiscences and what he heard from his father, *'Aja'ib ul-Waridat*, and 3. an account of Mir Qasim and the situation faced by him during his brief tenure as puppet governor of Bengal succeeding his perfidious father-in-law Mir Ja'far, *Waridat-i-Qasimi*.

Khakistar, Munshi Sarab-Sukh (d. unknown) belonged to the family of Rajah Ram Narayan Mauzun, deputy governor of 'Azimabad and trusted friend of Nawwab Siraj ud-Dawlah of Bengal, victim of the tragedy of Plassey (d. 1171/1757). He lived in Patna and was well known as a poet. Khwushgu, the author of *Safinah*, enjoyed his kindness and read verses from his *Diwan*.

Khalil, 'Ali Ibrahim Khan (d. 1208/1793) enjoyed the friendship of Mir Qasim, the last independent Nawwab of Bengal, who conferred on him the titles of Amin ud-Dawlah 'Aziz ul-Mulk Nasir Jang. After Mir Qasim's fall, he experienced many hardships. The English officers of the East India Company offered him appointment to serve as chief magistrate of Beneras. Born in a noble family at 'Azimabad Patna, he had received good education in early life. His abiding interest in literary problems exhibited itself through the anthologies of poets which have survived to his credit. These works cast much interesting side light on contemporary events. 1. A voluminous *tazkirah* devoted to brief notices of ancient and modern poets, *Suhaf-i-Ibrahim*, 2. another *tazkirah* concerning 'Rekhtah' poets, *Gulzar-i-Ibrahim*, 3. similar effort confined to *masnawi* writers, *Khulasat ul-kalam*, and 4. a history of the Maratha wars in Hindustan, *Tarikh-i-Maratha*.

Maftun 'Azimabadi, Mirza Ahmad (d. unknown) lived in Patna, where his father had shifted from Delhi. He voyaged to the holy cities of Mecca and Medinah by choosing the lengthy route via Ceylon. On return

journey, he joined the caravan of Persian pilgrims and passed through all the major cities of Iraq and Iran. Also, in India he visited almost every centre of urban culture flourishing in his time. In old age, he wrote an account of his observations: *Zuhdat ul-Akhbar fi Sawānih ul-Asfar*, completed in 1249/1833.

Mauzūn, Rājah Rām Narāyan (d. unknown) lived in 'Azimabād Patna and was a generous patron of literary men. He held the post of deputy governor under Nawwāb Sirāj ud-Dawlah and proved himself a loyal servant till the Nawwāb's treacherous fall and change of political scene in Bengal (d. 1171/1757). In poetry he was the pupil of Shaikh 'Alī Hazin. Among the works of Mauzun are: 1. *Diwān* of verses, and 2. collection of letters, *Dastūr ul-Insha*, completed in 1183/1769.

Muhammad Amin 'Azimabādi (d. unknown) belonged to 'Azimabād Patna and lived during the time of Aurangzeb and his successors. He prepared a collection of letters, *Guldastah-i-Ma'ani*, 1128/1716.

Majid, Ahmad Yār Khān (d. 1158/1745) was the nephew of the famous poet, Imtiyāz Khān Khālīs. He passed his life in Patna and left a *Diwān* of verses.

Nāsir 'Alī b. Haidar 'Alī (d. unknown) lived as physician in 'Azimabād Patna and was the author of a handbook of medicine, *Mufradat-i-Nāsir ul-Ma'alijat*, completed in 1276/1859.

Nūr ul-Haq, Shāh (d. unknown) belonged to Phulwari, a Sufi Centre near Patna, Bihar. He wrote a biography of Amir 'Ata ullah Zainabi, the noble of Sher Shāh Sūri (d. 952/1545), who rose to the position of *Wazir* = minister, in the government of the Afghān king. Having emigrated from Delhi, his birth place, Zainabi settled in the town of Phulwari. Sher Shāh was impressed by his scholarship and trusted his counsels. The work of Shāh Nūr ul-Haq appeared under the title: *Ahwal-i-Amir 'Ata ullah Ja'fari Zainabi*, 1298/1881.

Raghib, Muhammad Ja'far Khān (d. unknown) was the grandson of Nawwāb Lutf ullah Khān Sādiq, a noble of Delhi. After the sack of the

city by Ahmad Shah Abdali (1171/1757) Rāghib sought shelter in Lucknow and soon moved to Patna where he possessed ancestral estates. He was the disciple of Mirza Fakhir Makin. Bhagwān Dās Hindi met him at Patna and read out his *Diwan* containing about five thousand verses.

Rām Narāyan Hājipuri (d. unknown) belonged to Hājipur, North Bihar, and was an official of Mughal government in the reign of Muhammad Shah. His father, Lachhmi Narāyan served as secretary to Bedār Bakht (d. 1119/1707), son of Prince A'zam and grandson of Aurangzeb. Rām Narāyan prepared an abridgment of Ferdowsi's epic, *Shah-Namah*, which gained currency as: *Muntakhab-i-Rām Narāyan*.

Rāsikh 'Azimabādi, Shaikh Ghulām 'Ali (d. 1338/1919) lived in Patna and was known for his literary merits. He was a bi-lingual poet, composing in Urdu and Persian, and author of a tract on prosody. Its title was: *Khulāsat ul-'Arāz*.

Raunaq, Karim-dād Khān (d. unknown): His father, Haq-Dād Khān, an Afghān, was employed by Bhagwān Dās Hindi's grandfather as tutor to his children and accompanied him to Lucknow. Raunaq pursued his father's profession and found employment in the house of Rājah Rām Narāyan Mauzūn, the governor of Patna, where he imparted instruction to the Rājah's son-in-law. His early life passed in Lucknow and he became the disciple of Mirza Fakhir Makin, famous poet of the age (d. 1221/1806). The latter liked his disciple very much and made it a rule for every poetic gathering = *masha'irah*, attended by him, to begin with the recitation of Raunaq.

Sākin, Mir 'Ināyat Beg (d. 1211/1796) was born at Delhi and lived in the city till it was sacked by Ahmad Abdali (1171/1757). In the general exodus, he came to Lucknow and further moved to Benaras where he became the disciple of a Sufi, Shah Nazar 'Ali. His later years were passed in Patna as an unworldly derwish absorbed in the routine of pious practices. Poetry being the intellectual exercise of all the small and great sufis, Sākin also indulged in it and left a *Diwan*.

Shorish, Saiyed Ghulām Husain (d. 1195/1781) belonged to Patna

and was a man of robust appearance. He wrote a *tazkirah* of Urdu poets under double title: *Tazkirah-i-Shorish-Yadgar-i-Dostan*, 1193/1779.

Sāfi Maneri (d. 1318/1900) belonged to the learned family of the town of Bihar Sharif, ancient Nalanda, claiming descent from the famous saint, Shaikh Sharaf ud-Din Ahmad b. Yahya Maneri of Bihar. Sufi was a poet and a disciple of Mirza Asad ullah Khān Ghālib. Like his teacher, he composed both in Urdu and Persian, and left a *Divan* of verses.

Tahqiq, Mir Muhammad 'Azim (d. 1162/1748) was the disciple in poetry of Fīrat, Musawī Khān and lived in Patna, where his patron and friend was Zain ud-Din Khān Haibat Jang, governor of the province in the reign of Aurangzeb. He passed the early years of his life in Delhi and travelled upto Bengal before making 'Azimabad his permanent home. A poet and scholar, his fields of knowledge encompassed music, archery, and poetry. He died at the advanced age of over ninety years leaving behind a *Divan* of verses.

Ulfati, Rājah Pyarey Lāl (d. 1254/1836) borrowed his pen-name from his maternal grandfather, Ujāgar-Chand Ulfat, a nobleman of Patna, who possessed landed property and commanded influence in that city. Literature being the hall-mark of Kayasth community to which Ulfat belonged, there were about fifty thousand books in his personal library. Ulfati's father, Makkhan Lāl, belonged to Sikandra, the suburb of Agra, where Akbar the Great lies buried. Earlier, Ulfati passed many years in Delhi; he developed contacts with Shāh 'Alam II, the Mughal emperor, and the British Resident of the East India Company. Akbar Shah II, at the time of his accession, made Ulfati his chief secretary = *Mir Munshi* conferring on him the title of Rājah. Ulfati's advisory position and the consequent policy pursued by his master, offended the British Resident, who forced the emperor, a puppet and shadow of his dead ancestors' greatness, to remove his chief secretary. Yielding to pressure, Akbar Shah II requested Ulfati to resign from his post. The faithful *Mir Munshi* promptly obliged his master and left the Mughal capital to settle down at Patna 'Azimabad. He remained fruitfully engaged in literary activities and left a large circle of disciples besides his own *Divan* of verses.

Wasili, Mir Nār 'Alī (d. unknown) was the disciple of Mirza Fakhir Makin (d. 1221/1806) and lived in Patna as a companion of Mirza Ja'far Khan Rāghib. He possessed a *Diwān* of verses.

Wazīr, Maulawī Saiyed Muhammad (d. 1313/1895) belonged to a religious family of Lucknow and lived in Patna, where he was respected for his learning and literary taste. Like his father, Mufti Muhammad 'Abbās, he composed poetry and left a number of *masnawīs*. After his death, his followers published his writings 1. a tract, *Rahat-Rasān*, and the *masnawīs*, 2. *Zad-i-'Uqba*, 3. *Bāgh-i-Mū'minin*, 4. *Nān wa Kabāb*, and 5. *Shams uz-Zuha*.

Yahya 'Azimabādi, Shāh Muhammad Yahya (d. 1302/1884) belonged to a family of literary men and lived as poet in Patna. His father and grandfather were all known for their aesthetic sensibilities. In the art of versification, he was the pupil of Muhammad Sa'id Hasrat. The latter possessed special aptitude for composing chronograms. Yahya closely followed the footprints of his teacher and polished his talents in the same field. His collection of chronograms gave out the dates of birth, marriage, and death of a large number of contemporaries. Also, there were allusions to construction of buildings and events of historical importance, chiefly, from 1293/1788 to 1299/1881. He mourned the death of Abū Za'far Bahādur Shāh, the last Mughal emperor (1278/1861), whom the following generations of sub-continental people took up as the symbol of their injured honour and departed greatness. Also, he composed a similar fragment when Mirza Ghālīb passed away (1285/1869). The title of the collection was: *Kanz-i-Tawārikh*.

Khuda Bakhsh (d. 1326/1908) belonged to the old gentry of Bihar known for learning. One of his ancestors, originally a resident of Delhi, was employed by the emperor Aurangzeb in the project of *Fatawa-i-'Alamgiri*. Khuda Bakhsh chose a lawyer's career for himself. Gradually, he rose to fame as a jurist and the Nizām of Hyderabad assigned him the office of chief justice in his state. Among many good things the Muslims brought with them was a taste for collecting books; and their nobles faithfully maintained the same fashion; it lasted till the Revolt, 1857. When Fakhr-i-Mudabbir, an early author, presented his *Shajarat ul-Ansab*

to Qutb ud-Din Aibak, the Sultān felt very much pleased and ordered his secretary to deposit the work in his personal library. During the Mughal age, most of the emigrant scholars found initial appointment as librarians of the nobles. A few of them served on the staff of the royal library. In Patna, Muhammad Bakhsh, a remnant of the above-mentioned class, was an ardent lover of books and had large number of Arabic and Persian manuscripts in his private ownership. On death-bed he counselled his son to multiply the collection and make it a centre of research for scholars of Islamic studies. After returning from Hyderabad, the worthy son spent all his life to turn his father's dream into reality. Manuscript sellers acknowledged him as their liberal patron and a customer of princely habits. Justice Khuda Bakhsh achieved remarkable success in the noble cause. The British rulers also took notice of the library. G.B. Eliot, donor to Bodleian, attempted pilferage of manuscripts; he took away the *Diwan* of Kamāl Ismā'il Isfahāni and the *Majalis-i-Khamsa* bearing Shāh Jahān's autograph, but narrowly missed the chance. The gentleman of his race, who visited the library, was Curzon, the viceroy. Khuda Bakhsh attempted the translation of Bacon's *Essays* into Persian. At present, the Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Library, Patna, is an institution of national importance.

4. Murshidabād (Bengal)

The emigrants of the imperial capital, who arrived in Lucknow, often took road to Benaras, Patna, and Murshidabād. Hope of better prospects or mere wander lust might be the prompting factors. The most prominent governor of Bengal during the last days of the Mughal empire was Murshid Quli Khān. Initially, he was appointed *Diwan* = revenue chief of Bengal by Aurangzeb. The emperor had assigned provincial governorship to his grandson, 'Azim ush-Shān. The prince being symbolical head, Murshid Quli exercised real authority. An acknowledged expert of financial matters, he possessed the virtues of integrity and sense of duty. Thanks to his loyalty, the old emperor regularly received the revenue of Bengal till his eyes closed in the Deccan. As rapid changes took place in Delhi, Murshid Quli Khān rose to the position of full-fledged governor. Bihar and Orissa were also added to his charge, 1130/1717. He founded the city of

Murshidabad and shifted his headquarters to that place. His rule lasted till 1140/1727. The tenure of Shujā'ud-Din Khān and his son, Sarfarāz Khān, covered a period of thirteen years, 1153/1740. Next in line was 'Alī Verdi Khān, as competent as Murshid Quli Khān. 'Alī Verdi checked the incursions of the Marathas. Orissa, Bihar, and Bengal were safe from devastation as long as he lived, 1170/1756. His successor, Sirāj ud-Dawlah, aged twenty years, met with the tragedy of Plassey, 1171/1757. On the day of battle Sirāj ud-Dawla's commander, Mir Ja'far had fifty thousand soldiers under him. All artillery were French. The Company's army under Clive numbered three thousand only. Of them two thousand were sepoys. Mir Ja'far earned eternal condemnation and curse as traitor. The two conspirators complimented each other. Mir Ja'far, the traitor, paid congratulations; and Clive answered: "It was your victory". Plassey was the signal: the English would be "Shopkeepers" no more; they were going to be rulers of India. Henceforth, the cultural centre shifted from Murshidabad to Calcutta. There, the Company established the *Calcutta Madrasah*, 1197/1782.

WRITERS AND POETS

'Abd ul-Karim Khān (d. unknown) was a servant of the East India Company and worked in Fort William College, Calcutta. At the instance of the Company's English officers, perhaps, he wrote a book of history in three volumes, of which the last two provided interesting information: 1. account of Indian rulers from Timūr to the twenty-second year of Muhammad Shāh's reign, 1152/1739; 2. the Mughal governors of Bengal from Murshid Quli Khān (d. 1140/1727) to the time of British occupation, 1196/1780; and 3. from the twenty second year of Muhammad Shāh's reign, 1152/1739, down to twenty-third year of the reign of Shāh 'Alam II, 1195/1780. The title of the book was: *Mulakhkhas ut-Tawārikh*.

'Abd ur-Rahim Safipuri (d. unknown) belonged to the early generation of professors recruited by the officials of the East India Company to teach in the Calcutta Madrasah. He associated himself in

editing a number of Arabic and Persian works, which appeared under the series of *Bibliotheca Indica*. His own contribution as author was mostly in Arabic: 1. an Arabic-Persian dictionary, 2. a tract on Arabic grammar and genders, and 3. a commentary on the *Alfiyah* of Ibn Malik. Only one brief work in Persian, describing the merits and miracles of the Prophet, is ascribed to his pen. Its title was: *Nūr ul-Iman*.

Abu'l Lais, Shāh (d. 1222/1807) was a Sufi of Bengal and the author of many treatises. Noteworthy amongst them was: *Shajarat ul-'Arifin*.

Ahmad 'Ali, Agha (d. 1290/1873) was a resident of Jahangir Nagar, Dhaka, and took his stand as an adversary of Mirza Ghālib in the famous battle of wits that sparked off due to Ghālib's criticism of Muhammad Husain Tabrizi's dictionary, *Burhan-i-Qatī'*. A seemingly endless debate in the form of pamphlets and poems engaged the attention of scores of writers arguing for and against the issue. Ahmad 'Ali was the descendant of an emigrant family from Isfahan and taught in the Calcutta Madrasah, established by the British East India Company. The title of his tract, which made a scathing attack on Ghālib, was *Mu'yid-i-Burhan*, written about 1282/1865. As a more fruitful pursuit, Agha Ahmad 'Ali collaborated in the editing programme of *Bibliotheca Indica* and a number of important works were edited under his guidance. His independent contribution was a *tazkirah* of *masnawi* writers with lengthy extracts from their poems. Its title was: *Haft-Asman*, 1286/1869.

Akhtar, Qāzi Muhammad Sādiq Khān (d. unknown) served under the later Nawwābs of Awadh and came from Lucknow to settle near Calcutta. Akhtar dedicated his *Mahamid-i-Haidariah* to the first independent king of Awadh, Ghāzi ud-Din Haidar (d. 1243/1827). And, he was the author of a *tazkirah* of poets: *Aftab-i-'Alamtab*, completed in 1269/1852; an autobiography casting light on contemporary events: *Subh-i-Sādiq*, ca. 1264/1847; and an account of Ghāzi ud-Din Haidar's meeting with the Company's Governor General, Lord Hastings: *Guldastah-i-Mahabbat*. Also, at the request of Henry Elliot, the scholar, administrator and historian, Akhtar wrote a general history: *Makhzan ul-Jawahir*.

Amir 'Ali, Nawwāb, Khān Bahādur (d. 1297/1879) was the member

of an aristocratic family possessing their estates near 'Azimabad Patna. He was employed by Nasir ud-Din Haidar, the king of Awadh, to represent his interests before the Governor General of the East India Company at Calcutta. In later life, he served Wajid 'Ali Shah, the deposed king of Awadh, living virtually a British prisoner in Calcutta's *Matya-burj*. Amir 'Ali was the author of two books: 1. his memoirs in which he made interesting comments on the rise of the British power in India, *Amir-Namah*; and 2. a history of Awadh narrating events till the deposition of Wajid 'Ali Shah, *Wazir-Namah*, 1292/1875.

Amir Haidar Bilgrami, Husaini Wasiti (d. 1217/1803) was the grandson of Mir Ghulam 'Ali Azad Bilgrami. He served the East India Company in Bengal and, being an expert of Islamic personal law, assisted the Company's judges in deciding legal cases of the Muslims as a *mufti*. He wrote useful tracts on: 1. syntax, *Muntakhab un-Nahw*; 2. declension, *Muntakhab us-Sarf*; 3. usage of terms, *Tahqiq ul-Istilahat*, and 4. a textbook for students, *Basa'ir ul-Muta'allimin*. These works revealed his maturity and merit as a pedant. An English officer of the East India Company requested him to write an account of Akbar, which he completed under the title: *Sawanih-i-Akbari*.

Apurva Krishna, Rajah (d. 1284/1867) belonged to an old noble family of Bengal and lived in Calcutta. His ancestors had obtained titles of honour and land-grant = *jagir* from the Mughal emperors. The Rajah was a man of scholarly taste and composed poetry in Persian. He attempted a versified chronicle: *Shah-Namah-Hind*.

Ashraf ud-Din Ahmad, Nawwab-Zadah (d. unknown) was an active and influential nobleman of Bengal living in Calcutta during the late nineteenth century. Like his father, he held the trusteeship of the *Imambarah* of Hoogli. The latter is a sanctuary in commemoration of the martyrdom of the Prophet's grandson, Husain, and his family. A prestigious endowment is attached to the *Imambarah*. The chief benefactor who donated all his cash and property to create the trust, was a merchant of Hoogli, Haji Muhammad Muhsin (d. 1227/1812). Ashraf ud-Din Ahmad wrote a history of the endowment and named it *Tabaqat-i-Muhsiniyah*. Also, he left an autobiography: *Dur-Danah-i-Khayal*.

Baha ud-Din b. Shaikh Dilāwar (d. unknown) belonged to Mangalkot, Bengal, and served as a revenue officer in the province of Kashmir during the time of Farrukh Siyar. He wrote five essays on model of *maqamat*, a category of imaginative prose primarily in fashion among the Arabs and also practised by the Persians. One discourse was specially added to describe *Basant*, the Hindu festival celebrated at the close of winter season. Four of them dealt with known seasons. The title of the work was: *Insha-i-Bahari*, completed in 1144/1731.

Buhāri, Saiyed Sadr ud-Din Ahmad (d. 1323/1905) was hereditary landlord of Buhār, a place in district Bardwān, Bengal. His ancestors were nobles and commanded influence in the region. Their share of participation in the events that took place during the days of Mir Ja'far, Nawwāb of Murshidabad, was quite important. Subsequently, they transferred their allegiance to Warren Hastings. Sadr ud-din had scholarly habits and preferred the Sufi way of life; he added Hanafi Qādīri with his name indicating his spiritual connections. There was a vast collection of books in his possession, accumulated by generations of aristocrats, which is at present preserved in the Buhār collection of the National Library, Calcutta. He was author of a book asserting his faith in *tafzīl* = superiority of 'Ali and the Prophet's family, perhaps, in reaction to Shāh Wali Ullah Dehlawi's movement current in his days, that disputed the above-mentioned idea, held chiefly by the Chishtī sufis. The title of his work was: *Rawa'ih ul-Mustafa min Azhar ul-Murtaza*.

Faqir Muhammad b. Qāzi Muhammad Reza (d. 1260/1844) lived as a professional lawyer in Calcutta, where the East India Company had introduced the British legal system. He was the author of a history containing authentic information about the fateful events that occurred in Bengal: the battle of Plassey, the role played by Mir Ja'far and his subsequent accession etc. The work was entitled: *Jami' ut-Tawārikh*, completed in 1250/1834.

Fazl-i-Rabbi, Khondkār (d. unknown) belonged to a noble family of Murshidabad and was friend of the last Nawwāb of his city, whom he accompanied on his voyage to England, 1869-1874. The Nawwāb of Murshidabad intended to submit a petition before Queen Victoria and

seek redress against the injustices done to him by the officers of the East India Company. Fazl-i-Rabbi was the author of a book dealing with the origins of the Muslims of Bengal. Its title was: *Haqiqat-i-Musalmanan-i-Bangalah*, ca. 1291/1874.

Ghulām 'Ali Musawi Jahāngirnagari (d. unknown) was a poet and lived in Murshidabād, Bengal. He composed a poem, *masnawi*, narrating in epic metre the story of the Prophet's younger grandson, Husain, and his martyrdom on the scorching plain of Karbala. Its title was: *Hamrah-i-Husaini*, 1270/1853.

Ghulām Husain Zaidpuri (d. 1233/1817) belonged to Barabanki, a town in Awadh, and passed most of his life as postmaster in Maldah, Bengal. He possessed scholarly habits and prepared a record of the history and topography of that province. In a *muqaddimah* = introduction, surveying geographical conditions, and four exhaustive chapters, Ghulām Husain wrote a history of Bengal. The account began from ancient Rājahs and covered notices of the governors sent by the Sultāns of Delhi, independent kings, Mughal administrators and finally, the domination of the British. He named the work: *Riyaz us-Salatin* (chronogram - 1202/1787).

Ghulām Qādir Khān Jā'isi b. Wāsil 'Ali Khān (d. unknown) served under the East India Company and held the post of the chief *qāzi* of Bengal. His place of birth was Jā'is, a small place in Awadh. When the influence of the company extended further towards Benaras and Lucknow, he was transferred to those cities. Also he travelled as Company's agent to Tibet, Afghanistan and Kashmir. Ghulām Qādir was the author of: 1. *Hashmat-i-Kashmir*, a history of the province of Kashmir in four sections and a termination and 2. *Tarikh-i-'Imād ul-Mulk*, giving an estimate of the character and activities of 'Imād ul-mulk Ghāzi ud-Din Khān Firūz-Jang, the Wazir of Ahmad Shāh and 'Alamgir II (1161/1748-1173/1759), and containing authentic report of contemporary events.

Ibrat-i-Arbab-i-Basar (chronogram - 1170): An unknown author attempted a history of Bengal. It dealt at length with the events of twenty years before the death of Sirāj ud-Dawlah, 1170/1757.

Ilahi Bakhsh Angrezabādi, Saiyed (d. 1310/1892) was a resident of New Maldah, then called English Bazar, Bengal, and earned his livelihood by the profession of teaching. He wrote a book, an interesting admixture of history and geography, containing miscellaneous information about prophets, saints and the Indian sufi orders, in twelve chapters. Prior to it, Persian language hardly possessed a source casting light on the discoveries made by European navigators and giving notices of the vast new continents, America and Australia. Nor did the author ignore details of the poets. Of the author's major and other minor treatises the titles were 1. *Khurshid-i-Jahān-Numa*, 2. *Kanz ul-Masādir* and 3. *Iqlim-i-Balāghat*, the last two being popular among young students interested in learning the rules of composition, grammar, and rhetoric.

'Ishqī 'Azimabādi, Shaikh Muhammad Wajih ud-Din (d. unknown) belonged to a learned family of Patna. His father, Ghulam Husain, was also a poet and composed under the pen-name Mujrim. 'Ishqī served as a revenue officer of the East India Company in Bengal and settled in Dhaka after retirement. One of his disciples, who achieved literary fame, was Husain Quli Khān 'Ashiqī. His contribution was a *tazkirah* of Urdu poets. Its title was: *Tazkirah-i-'Ishqī*, completed in 1215/1800.

I'tisām ud-Din, Shaikh (d. unknown) belonged to Tājpūr in district Nadia, Bengal. He served under various masters and witnessed the days of turmoil and transition in his province as Mir Ja'far, Mir Qasim, Lord Clive and other ambitious men struggled for power. Accompanying an officer of the East India Company, he sailed to England and stayed there for over two years as bearer of the letter of Shāh 'Alam II addressed to the king of Britain. Back home from England, he wrote his recollections of the journey; *Shigarf-Namah-i-Wilayat*, or simply, *Wilayat-Namah*, completed in 1199/1785.

Jamāl ud-Din (d. unknown) was in the service of Shujā' ud-Din Muhammad Khān, governor of Orissa under his father, Murshid Quli Khān (d. 1140/1727). He was the author of a tale of wonder and romance belonging to the category of *Thousand and one Nights*. Inadvertently, its authorship was ascribed to Hakim Muhammad 'Alī Ma'sūm, a scholar of Delhi in the reign of Muhammad Shāh. Later on, Mir Amman and Husain

'Ata Tahsin rendered it into independent Urdu versions. Jamāl ud-Dīn presented the book to his master, Shujā' ud-Dīn Muhammad Khān, naming it: *Chahar-Derwish*, ca. 1141/1728.

Jugal Kishore (d. unknown) served as a secretary = *munshi*, in the office of Elijah Impey, the first chief justice of the East India Company in Calcutta, and wrote for the benefit of his British employer a hasty sketch of India's history: *Ahwāl-i-Bādshāhan/Tarikh-i-Jugal Kishore*, ca. 1195/1780.

Kānhji Mal Kayasth 'Azimabādi (d. unknown) was employed as secretary and interpreter = *munshi*, under Francis Hawkins, an officer of the East India Company. He was interested in arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy and wrote a book concerning these subjects. The work, dedicated to his English master, appeared under the title: *Khazīnat ul-'Ilm*, 1229/1814.

Karam 'Ali (d. unknown) lived in Bengal and was a contemporary of Nawwāb Muzaffar Jang, the provincial governor, whose influence lasted to the year 1186/1772. He wrote an eyewitness account of the events from 'Ali Wīrdi Khān (1169/1756) to the downfall of Muzaffar Jang. Its title was: *Muzaffar-Namah*, 1186/1772.

Karāmat 'Ali Jaunpuri, Maulawī (d. 1290/1873) belonged to Jaunpur, North India, which was famous as the city of colleges since the days of the Sharqī Sultāns. He spent most of his life as teacher at various places in Bengal and imparted religious instruction to a large number of students who were devoted to him due to his pious character. His death occurred in Rangpur, Bengal. He was the author of a book dealing with moral discourses and other theological matters: *Nūrān 'ala-Nūr*.

Makhmur, Murahid Quli Khān (d. 1140/1727) was governor of Bengal and Orissa in the reign of Farrukh Siyār and Muhammad Shāh. Like all nobles of the age, he composed poetry and offered patronage to poets.

Mast, Zulfaqar 'Ali Khān (d. unknown) belonged to Calcutta, and then, came to settle in Benaras during the days of Shāh 'Alam II. He

composed a *tazkirah* of poets, whom he personally saw in the two cities of his residence. Its title was: *Riyaz ul-Wifaq*. 1229/1814.

Minnat, Mir Qamar ud-Din (d. 1208/1793) was born in Delhi and received early education under Shah Abd ul-Aziz and Maulana Fakhr ud-din, the two orthodox sunni theologians of the city. Interestingly, their disciple publicly announced his conversion and crossed over to Shi'ah fold. In young age, he made himself master of the art of poetry and set out on a wandering career, visiting Lucknow, Calcutta, Murshidabad and Hyderabad, Deccan, in succession. With pockets full of cash reward for *qasidahs* in praise of ruling Nawwabs, including the Governor General of the East India Company, he came to stay in Lucknow, but, soon proceeded to Calcutta, where his last days were passed. According to his own claim, he wrote "ten *masnawis*, one hundred *qasidahs*, five hundred quatrains and a *Diwan* containing thirty thousand verses." Only stray pieces, cited by *tazkirah* writers, have survived. Also, Minnat was the author of a treatise on rhetoric, its title was: *Tahzib ul-Kalam*.

Muhammad Abd ullah (d. unknown) was a roving merchant of Calcutta, where he had ancestral property. He undertook journeys with caravans to places as far away as Peking and Moscow. Having returned to Calcutta in old age, he wrote an account of his observations of the world and gave interesting details of the cities situated along big trade routes leading upto Russia and China. He seemed to have given no particular name to his Book of Travels, completed ca. 1184/1770.

Muhammad 'Ali Khān Ansāri (d. unknown) lived under the patronage of Nawwāb Muzaffar Jang, deputy governor of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa in the reign of Shah 'Alam II. The Nawwāb offered him lucrative employment; and he controlled the districts of Hajipur and Tirhut under his administrative jurisdiction. He belonged to a learned background and was nephew of the poet, 'Ināyat Khān Rasikh. Another uncle, Shakir Khān, was also an eminent nobleman and scholar. Muhammad 'Ali was the author of, 1. a history of the Indian Timurids, popular as Mughals, named after his benefactor, *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, and 2. a general history planned on elaborate scale and divided into three parts (i) *non-Indian history*, (ii) *non-Mughal Indian dynasties*, (iii) *Mughals*: Babur to

Muhammad Shāh. Further, the author added chapters on Ahmad Shāh and Shāh 'Alam II, proving himself an authentic reporter of contemporary situation. Its title was: *Bahr ul-Mawwaj*, ca. 1220/1805.

Muhammad Aslam Bengālī (d. unknown) lived in Pandwa, North Bengal, and was a scholar of Islamic sciences. His city had served as a centre of Muslim power for many centuries and abounded in fine architecture. He wrote a book on miscellaneous subjects ranging from jurisprudence to astronomy and medicine. Its title was: *Mukhtasar-i-Mufid*, completed in 1201/1787.

Muhammad Fa'iq b. Ghulam Husain (d. 1241/1825) belonged to Lucknow and lived in the service of Mir Qasim of Bengal. He was the collector of letters, *Insha-i-Fa'iq/Dastur ul-Insha*, and author of a brief tract on rhyme, *Risalah dar Qafiyah*.

Muhammad Husain Isfahānī (d. unknown) arrived from his hometown, Isfahan, and settled in Calcutta, which had been emerging as the economic and political nerve-centre of the British East India Company. He voyaged to Europe, visited Spain and France, and then crossed over to England. An early traveller of Asia to witness the limping 'ancien regime' of France before it was eaten up by the Revolution, and furthermore, gather first-hand impressions of Britain building its industrial life, he left a collection of memoirs. The work has notable qualities, for, its author gazed the horizon of the West before any other writer of his class, including Mirza Abū Talib Landani. It appeared as: *Risalah-i-Ahwal-i-Mulk-i-Farang wa Hindustan*, 1188/1774.

Muhammad Khalil b. Dāw'ūd Mirza (d. unknown) lived in Murshidabad, Bengal, and witnessed transfer of power from the Mughal governors to the British East India Company. His father, Dāw'ūd Mirza, was an emigrant from Iran and was employed by 'Alamgir II (d. 1173/1759). Muhammad Khalil attempted a history of Iran, covering about nine decades (1120/1708-1207/1792), from the decline of the Safawid power to the disappearance of Nādir Shāh and the emergence of the Afghan king Ahmad Abdālī. To sum up, it was a period of political confusion, anarchy, and bloodshed, and its repercussions were far-reaching on the history of

Asia. The author collected his material mostly from oral, but well-informed sources, and brought out the work as: *Mujma 'ut-Tawārikh*.

Muhammad Najaf 'Ali Khān (d. unknown) served as a *munshi* = scribe, in the Secretariat of the East India Company and was known to the historian, Henry Elliot. At the latter's instance, he wrote 1. a commentary on Shaikh Abul Fazl's work under the title, *Sharh-i-A'in-i-Akbari*, and 2. a history of the Mughal governors of Bengal: *Tarikh-i-Munshi*.

Muhammad Rāhat (d. unknown) was a scholar in the reign of Shah 'Alam II, and lived in Bengal. He prepared a historical sketch on the pattern of general histories, and gave a detailed account of contemporary developments that occurred in his province. Its title was: *Rahat ul-Arwah*, ca. 1207/1792.

Muhammad Wafa 'Azimabādi (d. unknown) lived as a poet at the court of Mahābat Jang 'Ali Wirdi Khān (d. 1170/1756), the last Mughal governor of Bengal before Sirāj ud-Dawlah (d. 1171/1757). Wafa wrote an eye-witness account of his patron and named it: *Waqā'i-i-Mahabat Jang*, 1161/1748.

Muhammad Wā'iz (d. unknown) was an employee of the British East India Company. At the request of one of his officers, he prepared an account of eighteen fortresses situated in the province of Orissa. The work appeared under the title: *Mir'at ul-Jibal*, ca. 1227/1812.

Musāfir (d. unknown) lived in Bengal and composed a *masnawi*, flattering the British of the East India Company as they extorted the grant of revenue collection in Bengal from Shah 'Alam II. The poem was named: *Fath-Namah-i-Musafir*, completed in 1180/1766.

Nādir, Bhagwān Dās (d. unknown) belonged to Jahangir Nagar, Dhaka, and was the disciple of a sufi, Muhammad Panāh. His teacher in poetry was Saiyed Zain ul-'Abidin, a scholar of Dhaka, who proposed the pen-name mentioned above. At the instance of his spiritual guide, Muhammad Panāh, he translated from Sanskrit a book on the art of government, entitled as *Rajniti*. Having divided into eight brief chapters, he named it: *Tilismat-i-Nadiri*, completed in 1202/1787.

Na'im ud-Din Bardwāni (d. unknown) belonged to Bardwan, Bengal, and was the disciple of Shah 'Abd ul-'Aziz of Delhi, who had boarding arrangement for his students in a building attached to his house. Na'im ud-Din preserved the notes of classroom discussion, particularly, the answers Shah 'Abd ul-'Aziz gave to enquiries of his students concerning the issues of jurisprudence, ethics, and sufi practices. These notes survived under the title: *Faiz-i-'Am*, ca. 1229/1813.

Nāmi, Turāb 'Ali (d. 1243/1827) belonged to Khairabād, a town in Awadh, and completed his studies of Islamic sciences in Lucknow. In poetry, he was the pupil of Mirza Qatil. The search for career took him to Calcutta and he was employed as a teacher to the English Factors of the East India Company. At the invitation of one of them, he voyaged to Iran and 'Iraq, in his company, and visited the cities of Shirāz, Isfahān, Karbala, and Baghdād. After returning to Calcutta, he was called on teaching assignment to Madras and passed the rest of his life in that city. Nami was the author of 1. an account of his journey, *Masir-i-Nāmi*, 1234/1818, 2. a tract on Arabic grammar, *Wasit-un-Nahv*, and 3. a versified composition on logic, *al-Durr ul-Manzūm*.

Nassākh, 'Abd ul-Ghafūr (d. unknown) lived in Calcutta and passed his career in the service of the East India Company. He was the author of two anthologies of poets, copies of which became extremely rare. Their titles were 1. *Sukhan-i-Shā'ara* and 2. *Qand-i-Parsi*, completed ca. 1292/1875.

Nusrat Jang, Nawwāb Saiyed 'Ali Hasan Qazwini (d. 1237/1822) was the governor of Dacca and lived in that city for a number of years. He wrote a history of Bengal which acquired popularity as: *Tarikh-i-Nusrat Jangi*.

Qāsim 'Ali Kalanauri (d. unknown) belonged to Kalanaur, a town north of Delhi, where his father, Shaikh 'Abd ur-Rasūl, held the position of *qazi*. He roamed in the cities of Punjab as a young man before finally moving to Bengal. The later Mughal governors of the province offered him service as secretary. His collection of letters survived under double title: *Insha-i-Qasimi/Insha-i-Murassa'Kar*, ca. 1234/1818.

Qāsim 'Alī Khān, Mir Qāsim (d. unknown) was the governor of Bengal representing the Mughal emperor, Shah 'Alam II, although power in the province had completely passed over to the East India Company after the battle of Plassey, 1171/1757. He addressed a large number of letters, as the complicated situation demanded, to the officers of the East India Company, the contemporary Indian nobles, including the Mughal emperor and the king of England. The collection, revealing interesting facts, has survived under the title: *Makātib-i-Qāsim 'Alī Khān*, 1162/1748-1187/1773.

Qudrat, Shāh Qudrat ullah Dehlawi (d. 1205/1790) was born in Delhi and gained reputation as a sufi poet. As the Mughal capital was ruined by forces of vandalism: Marathās, Jāts, Rohellās, Nādir, and Abdālī, Qudrat fled away to 'Ainshidabād. The Nawwāb of Bengal treated him with respect. He left a *Dihvan* of verses.

Qurbān 'Alī Khān (d. unknown) lived under the patronage of 'Alī Wirdī Khān, governor of Bengal (d. 117/1756) and wrote a tract on hawk, the royal hunting bird. It was dedicated to his patron and named as: *Tariqah-i-Tayyārī-i-Bahri/Baz Namah*.

Rām Dyāl Gulshan (d. unknown) held position in judicial department under Nawwāb Haibat Jang, nephew of 'Alī Wirdī Khān, governor of Bengal (d. 1170/1756). In a treatise, he recorded the rules of the operation of justice, giving concrete instances, particularly, when the two communities, Hindus and Musalmāns, with their separate laws, were involved in civil disputes. Its title was: *Gulzar-i-Bahar*.

Raushan 'Alī Ansāri Jaunpuri (d. 1225/1810) was employed in teaching at Fort William College, Calcutta, and prepared a translation into Persian of Shaikh Baha ud-Din Amili's work (d. 1031/1622) bearing the same title, *Tarjumah-i-Khulasat ul-Hisab*. Also, he wrote tracts on geomancy: *Zubdat ur-Ramal/Ziya ur-Ramal* and a grammar of Persian: *Qawa'id-i-Farsi*.

Sada Sukh Mirzapuri (d. unknown) lived in Calcutta and was trained in literature with particular ability to write Persian prose according to the

fashion of his day. An English mercantile house of Calcutta employed him as editor of a newspaper, one of the earliest exercises in the field of Persian journalism, ventured by the English from their new metropolis in the sub-continent. The policy of the British government was that, unlike the embarrassing experience of Europe, the Press in India should not be allowed to turn itself into an engine of mischief against established authority and power. They tried to initiate the institution under their own tutelage. The title of the paper was: *Jam-i-Jahān-Numa* (issue 28 April, 1882).

Saif ullah 'Azimabādi, Saiyed (d. unknown) left his home town Patna, to seek employment as teacher in a *madrāsah* at Silhat, Bengal, where he imparted instruction to students in Persian language. In view of the need faced by the beginners, he compiled a dictionary for their benefit and aptly named it: *Zarār ul-Mubtadi*, completed in 1211/1796.

Saiyed 'Ali Khān Bilgrāmi (d. unknown) enjoyed the patronage of Nawwāb Mansūr 'Ali of Murshidabād. He wrote a history of Bengal, naming it after his patron: *Tarikh-i-Mansūri*, completed ca. 1270/1854.

Salim ullah (d. unknown) was initially in the service of Mir Ja'far, the traitor, whom the British made puppet after the fall of Sirāj ud-Dawlah. His services as *munshi* = secretary, were taken over by the East India Company. He wrote a history of the last five Mughal governors of Bengal, from the rebellion of Sobha Singh in the last days of Aurangzeb (1107/1695) to the end of the tenure of 'Ali Wirdi Khān (d. 1169/1756). It was entitled: *Tawarikh-i-Bangalah*, ca. 1178/1764.

Tamanna, Mirza Muhammad 'Ali (d. unknown) was the son of Khwajah 'Abd ullah Ta'yid 'Azimabadi. He lived at the court of Farrukh Siyār, who commanded him to write a history of his reign. The project remained incomplete due to the emperor's sudden death (1133/1718). The poet moved to Bengal and passed the rest of his life under the patronage of 'Ali Wirdi Khān, governor of the province, who himself composed verses under the pen-name, Makhmūr. Khwushgu, the author of *Safinah*, knew him personally and was an admirer of his verses. Two collections of letters are ascribed to his pen 1. *Riyāz ul-Munsha'at*, and 2. *Mansūrat*.

Wajid 'Ali Khān, Hakim (d. unknown) was born at Hoogli, Calcutta, where his father served under an officer of the East India Company. Earlier, as he said, his ancestors were men of position in Mughal government. Having studied common educational syllabus under the guidance of his own father, Wajid 'Ali left home at the age of sixteen and took to free wandering. He was thirty-six years of age when the idea of writing a book of knowledge crossed his mind. In his view, the traditional syllabus had ceased to be relevant and a fresh course of education was required to raise the mental level of young students. He executed the plan of his work in two major portions: 1. *'Ulām* = sciences, comprising thirty-seven chapters, and 2. *Funūn* = arts or jobs of skilled artisans. The four sub-divisions of the latter portion contained altogether seventy-six sections or chapters, so to say. Beginning from alphabet, the book encompassed all academic subjects as well as crafts and professions. Its title was: *Matla' ul-'Ulām wa Majma' ul-Funūn*, completed in 1262/1845. Also, there were a few medical treatises among the minor works of Wajid 'Ali Khān.

Walih Harawi, Derwish Husain (d. unknown) came from Herat, his home-town, toward the end of Shāh Jahān's reign. In poetry, he was the pupil of Mirza Fasihi, famous as poet laureate of Khurasān, patronized, and once punished, by Shāh 'Abbās the Great. Among his Indian contemporaries, who acknowledged his literary merits, were Mirza Afzal Sarkhwush, the author of *tazkirah*, and Mirza Bedil. Walih lived for some time in Benaras, and then, moved to Bengal at the invitation of the provincial governor, where he passed longer duration of his life. He left a *Dihvān* of verses.

Yār Muhammad Qalandar (d. unknown) enjoyed the patronage of Nawwāb Ghulām Husain Khān, the nobleman of Bengal, at whose instance he collected letters of the last two Mughal governors of the province, 'Ali Wīrdi Khān and Sirāj ud-Dawlah, naming them: *Dastūr ul-Insha*, ca. 1170/1756.

Yūsuf 'Ali Khān (d. unknown) lived under the patronage of the later Mughal governors of Bengal and witnessed the days of 'Ali Wīrdi Khān Mahābat Jang (d. 1169/1756) and Sirāj ud-Dawlah (d. 1170/1757). He wrote

a history of these Nawwabs; although his account of Sirāj ud-Dawlah ceased to be impartial and was coloured with prejudice against that nobleman. Obviously, the historian's motive was to please the English masters of the East India Company. Its title was: *Tarikh-i-Mahabat Jang*. In later life, he left Murshidabad and moved to settle in Allahabad. His more elaborate work was a general history which came down to Muhammad Shāh; its name was: *Hadiqat us-Safa*, completed in 1184/1770. In the latter's termination = *khatimah*, there was an account of poets, independently entitled as: *Tazkirah-i-Yūsuf 'Ali Khan*.

Zia ur-Rahmān (d. unknown) lived in Bardwān, Bengal, and was the disciple and descendant of a sufi, Shāh Zakir 'Ali, who traced his lineage from Shaikh 'Abdul Qādir Baghdādī and came from Baghdad to settle in the above-named town. He wrote a *tazkirah* of his Shaikh naming it: *Muzakarah-i-Qutb ul-'Alamin*, 1309/1892.

Zain ul-'Abidin b. Saiyed 'Ali Tabatabā'i (d. unknown) came from Mashhad, North Iran, and was received under his care by Muhammad Reza Khān Muzaffar Jang, the governor of Orissa and Bengal. He was known as master of the secret of alchemy and wrote a book on that subject. According to his claim, it was a translation directly made by him from the work of an ancient Greek master. Its title was: *Kimiya-i-Basaliqa*.

5. Punjab

Punjab was the area where Persian language made its entry a century and a half earlier than Sultān Muhammad b. Sām Ghori. The Ghaznawid princes maintained civil administration over the province from the death of their ancestor onwards, 422/1030. They employed Persian as language of government. Time passed and the same educational syllabus remained in vogue till the days of the last Mughal governors, 'Abd us-Samad Khān, d. 1150/1737, and his son, Zakariya Khān, d. 1158/1745. Moreover, Persian uninterruptedly enjoyed its age-old position in the oncoming centuries. As the Sikhs rose to power, 1179/1765, they showed no disinclination against Persian. Study of Persian classics had become an intellectual fashion and the Sikh ruling classes adhered to the same practice. They

entertained great regards for the works of Muslim Sufis. The last Sikh Gurū had a taste for poetry and left his name as a poet in the annals of Indo-Persian literature. He composed a *masnawi* poem, which reflected his real feelings as a revolutionary. The roots of the language were deep in the land of five rivers and the number of its users had been quite large. Happily, Persian poetry has survived there as a living tradition. Among contemporary men of genius, Professor Saiyed Muhammad Akram occupies foremost position for command over all fields of verse. Saiyed Nasir ud-Din Jilāni has earned distinction by mastering the technique of quatrain. And, Miʿān Muhammad Bashir Husain of Lahore shall be remembered for blazing the path of serious research. His catalogue of the library of Professor Muhammad Shafiʿ was actually a tribute Bashir Husain paid on behalf of his generation to that noble servant of Persian studies in the sub-continent.

PROSE WRITERS

ʿAbd ul-Karim ʿAlawi (d. unknown) was the author of a history of Punjab during the first half of nineteenth century, when the East India Company directed its expansionist policy against the Sikhs and overthrew them in two successive wars. Its title was: *Tārīkh-i-Punjab Tuhfat an-lil Ahbab*. Also, he narrated an account of the British adventures in Afghanistan, naming it: *Maharbah-i-Kabul wa Qandhar*.

ʿAbd ul-Karim Faridi, Muhammad (d. unknown) served as a revenue officer in the district of Pattan, Punjab, during the time of Shāh ʿAlam II. He prepared a collection of letters in four sections: *Dasʿār ul-Insha*, ca. 1190/1776.

Ahmad Shāh (d. unknown) belonged to Punjab and wrote a regional history tracing the origins of the Sikh sect from Gurū Nānak down to Gurū Gobind Singh, the last great organiser of the community. It supplemented details to Sohan Lal's earlier work on the same subject. Its title was: *Zikr-i-Gurūan wa Ibtida-i-Singhan*, ca. 1246/1830.

Ahmad Yār, Maulawi (d. unknown) lived in Lahore and witnessed the reign of Maharajah Ranjit Singh (d. 1255/1839). He narrated the achievements of the Sikh Maharajah, in his work: *Ranjit-Namah*. Also, he collected the sayings of his spiritual guide, Khwajah Sulaiman Taunsi (d. 1267/1850) under the title: *Manaqib-i-Sulaimaniyah*.

Ajodhya Prashād (d. unknown) belonged to Lahore and served as a revenue officer during the days of the Sikh ruler, Maharajah Ranjit Singh. He wrote a book on the reign of his master, mentioning in it the details of agricultural conditions and crop yields obtaining in Punjab. Its double title was: *Punjab-Namah/Tuhfah-i-Punjab*.

Akbari, Diwān Amar Nāth (d. 1284/1867) lived in Lahore and wrote impressive prose and poetry from very early age. As a lad of sixteen he compiled *Fath-Namah*, describing the capture of Peshawar by Maharajah Ranjit Singh. His chief work was a history of the Sikh Maharajah's military achievements, entitled: *Zafar-Namah-i-Ranjit Singh*.

‘Ali Ahmad Qādiri (d. unknown) belonged to Peshawar and served at the court of the Sikh rulers of Punjab. He did not precisely mention his patron by name: the lengthy list of honorifics just terminated on "Maharajah Bahadur Khalsah Jiv". Possibly, his benefactor might be Maharajah Ranjit Singh (d. 1255/1839). At the latter's instance, ‘Ali Ahmad wrote a mathematical treatise. He stated in the introduction that due to personal worries he had forgotten the theories of astronomy and mathematics and there were no books of concerned subjects in his possession. But, he had deeply studied Ghulam Husain Jaunpur's *Jami'-i-Bahadur Khani*. By gradual application he refreshed his memory. Thus, the work proceeded and ‘Ali Ahmad discussed methods of calculating the radius of earth and other celestial bodies including their distance. For his work, ‘Ali Ahmad Qādiri borrowed the title from the earlier astronomer, ‘Abd ul-‘Ali Birjandi (d. 934/1527): *Ab‘ad wa Ajram-i-Falakiyah*.

‘Ali Ha‘iri, Maulawi Saiyed (d. 1360/1941) lived in Lahore and held prestigious position among the Shi‘ah theologians, mainly for his gift of oratory. His father emigrated from Qum. As a student, he passed many years at the centres of learning in Iraq and Iran. In writing, his pen displayed

all the more clarity and force that characterized his speeches; and the articles, pamphlets, and detailed volumes he wrote till the end of his busy life, must comprise a small library. Noteworthy among 'Ali Ha'iri's contributions may be: 1. a book on the basic tenets of religion from Shi'ah standpoint, *Ghayat ul-Maqṣūd*; 2. a commentary on the Qur'an, *Lawami' ut-Tanzil*; and 3. a collection of legal judgments, *Fatawa-i-Ha'iri*.

'Ali ud-Din, Mufti (d. unknown) wrote a history of Punjab giving an account of the downfall of the Sikhs and transfer of power to the British in that province. It was named by the author: *'Ibrat-Namah wa 'Umdat ut-Tawarikh*, completed in 1266/1849.

'Alim, Saiyed 'Alim ullah (d. 1202/1787) belonged to Jalandhar, Punjab, where his ancestors had settled as emigrants from Balkh, modern Afghanistan. He was the *Khulifah* of Shāh Mirān Bhik, the sufi of Lahore, whose *Malfūzat* = utterances, he collected under the title: 1. *Nuzhat us-Salikin*; 2. *Anhar ul-Asrar*, a versified commentary on Shaikh Sa'di's *Bustān*; 3. *Shajarah-i-Piran-i-Chisht*; and 4. *Zubdat ur-Riwayat*.

Amin ud-Din Dehlawi (d. unknown) taught in a *madrasah* at Patiala, Punjab, and made himself active when the poet, Mirza Ghālib, raised literary controversy against Muhammad Husian Tabrizi's dictionary, *Burhān-i-Qāti*. The erudite circles held the above-named dictionary and its author in great esteem, and therefore, Mirza Ghālib's audacious criticism created so many enemies against him. None of them possessed the ability to stand his superior intelligence and sharp wit. Their treatises written in his reply were mere polemics with little sustained argumentation. Amin ud-Din crossed all limits of decency and wrote a vulgar tract full of unprintable phrases. Ghālib and his supporters brought a suit against him in the court of law. The title of Amin ud-Din's exercise in obscenity was: *Qātī' ul-Qāti*, 1281/1864.

Amir Bakhsh b. Qādir Bakhsh alias Saiyed Nāthu Shāh (d. unknown) was a sufi and scholar of Islamic medicine living in Punjab. He wrote two books for the guidance of professional physicians: 1. *Tabsirat ul-Atibba*, and 2. *Mir'at ush-Shifa*, 1184/1770.

'Ashiq, Shiv Rām (d. unknown) lived in Lahore and was a friend of Nūr-ul-'Ain Waqif, who mourned 'Ashiq's death in his verses. A secretary by profession 'Ashiq left a collection of letters: *Ruqqa'at-i-Shiv Rām*, completed ca. 1197/1766.

Asrār-i-Samādī was anonymous work dealing with the biography of 'Abd us-Samad Khān (d. 1150/1737), the governor of Punjab, who administered the province with efficiency and tried to check the widespread disorder caused by the decline of the Mughal empire. 'Abd us-Samad's ancestor was Khwajah 'Ubaid ullah Ahrār, the sufi of Naqshbandi order (d. 895/1490). Among the decadent Mughal nobility of his times, he showed the rare example of maintaining sufficient moral integrity in his character. Of the contemporary situation obtaining in Punjab, there are interesting side-lights in the *Asrār-i-Samādī*.

'Ata ullah (d. unknown) lived in Lahore and was known for his knowledge of geomancy. He wrote tracts on the subject: 1. *Misdaq ur-Ramal*, 2. *Maghẓ ul-'Ilm*, and 3. *Tajrihat ur-Ramal*, 1087/1676.

Bahādur 'Ali (d. unknown) lived in the neighbourhood of Siyalkot, Punjab, and passed his career as teacher in a *madrasah*. He prepared a collection of letters for the instruction of his son, Hasan Muhammad, which survived under the title: *Insha-i-Bahādur 'Ali*, ca. 1293/1876.

Bakht Mal (d. unknown) belonged to a Khattri family of Lahore; but received his early education in Delhi as his parents had settled there. The British officers of the East India Company employed him on their mission to Ranjit Singh, the Sikh ruler of Punjab (d. 1255/1839). He prepared detailed notes on the circumstances and origins of the Sikh movement for the benefit of the British administrator, John Malcolm. The latter translated them into English and published them in his own name as: *A Short History of the Sikhs*. Bakht Mal produced an independent work on the subject and named it: *Khalsah-Namah*, ca. 1225/1810.

Bhagwān Dās (d. unknown) served as revenue officer in Miyanwali and other towns of Punjab and was expert in secretarial art. He collected for the benefit of young students, as he said, official papers and

documents: *Insha-i-Bhagwan Dās*, ca. 1273/1856.

Bātey Shāh (d. unknown) belonged to Ludhiana, Punjab and served the British East India Company. Originally, his name was Ghulām Muhyi ud-Din. At the instance of his English employers, he wrote a history of the Sikhs and dealt at length with the account of their domination over Punjab until its annexation by the East India Company. The work was entitled: *Tarikh-i-Punjab*, completed in 1258/1842.

Faqir ‘Aziz ud-din (d. 1260/1844) was a nobleman of Lahore serving at the court of Maharajah Ranjit Singh, the Sikh ruler of Punjab, who elevated him to the rank of *wazīr* in his government. Faqir was a physician and poet with Azād as pen-name. He left a *Diwan* of verses.

Fath ullah, Shāh (d. 1199/1785) was a Husaini Saiyed and lived as an unworldly derwish in Jalandhar, Punjab. Being a Chishti, he supported the validity of *Samā‘* = sufi music. His tracts on the subject of spiritual education were: 1. *Fath ul-Asrar*, 2. *Fath ul-Akhyar*, and 3. *Fath ul-Azkar*.

Firāz ud-Din, Maulawi (d. unknown) lived in Lahore and was the author of a Persian-Urdu dictionary: *Firāz ul-Lughat*. Its printed edition appeared in 1372/1952.

Ganesh Dās (d. unknown) served as *Qanungo* = revenue officer, in the neighbourhood of Lahore during the days of Maharajah Gulāb Singh, and witnessed the establishment of British power in his province. He wrote a history of Punjab giving details of contemporary events and named it: *Chiragh-i-Punjab* (chronogram = 1262). Further, he continued the work and added the developments of the following three years. The title of the enlarged version was *‘Char-Bagh-i-Punjab* (chronogram = 1265/1848). Also, he attempted a history of Jammu: *Rajdarshani*, and prepared a large collection of official documents: *Majma‘ ul-Qawānin/Munsha‘at-i-Munshi/Mir‘at ul-Qawānin*.

Ghulām Ahmad, Mirza (d. 1326/1908) belonged to Qadyān, a small town in Punjab, now situated on the Indian side of the sub-continent. He was a theological genius and history later on justified the reputation gained by him during his life-time. His legacy may be summed up: 1. a question-

mark as to his own position, and 2. an organized sect of adherents, the Qadyanis or Ahmadiyah, known for their discipline, patience and creative abilities. Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, prolific writer, mostly in Urdu, could compose excellent verses in Persian. The collection appeared under the title: *Durr-i-Samin*. His chief work was: *Barahin-i-Ahmadi*.

Ghulam Farid, Khwajah (d. 1319/1901) belonged to Punjab, where he was acknowledged as *Khalifah* = spiritual successor, of Maulana Fakhr ud-Din, the Chishti Sufi of Delhi. Like many Sufis, Khwajah Ghulam Farid adopted the medium of local language spoken by common people in his area, for propagating moral and religious ideas. His poetry in Punjabi language directly touched the chord of human sentiments and acquired much popularity. One of his disciples, Rukn ud-Din, collected his *malfūzāt* = discourses, under the title: *Isharat-i-Faridi*.

Ghulam Ghaus b. Muhammad Jamil (d. unknown) belonged to Hushyārpur, Punjab, and served as secretary in the government of the Dogra rulers of Jammu. He collected official documents of his patrons: *Insha-i-Marghūb*, ca. 1263/1846.

Ghulam Husain, 'Abu Muhammad (d. unknown) belonged to Hushyārpur, Punjab and was known for his piety and religious scholarship. He had association with Mazhari-Naqshbandi sub-order of the Sufis. As author, he attempted: 1. a juristic work, *Tahqiqāt-i-Zarūriyah*, and 2. a monograph on sufism, *Rafiq us-Salikin*, completed ca. 1292/1875.

Ghulam Muhammad Khān, Hakim (d. unknown) was the grandson of Delhi's great physician and philanthropist, Muhammad Sharif Khān. Having emigrated from the Mughal capital, he settled at Lahore, where his professional skill in medicine made him a social figure of the city. He was the author of a medical textbook: *Jami'ul-Khulasah*, completed in 1236/1821.

Ghulam Rasūl (d. unknown) belonged to a family of scholars living in Qasūr, Punjab, and passed his life in the pursuit of religious studies. He and his brother, Ghulam Husain jointly prepared a lengthy genealogy of Prophet and his companions. Furthermore, they added into the work the

lives of the great apostles known to the Muslims. Its title was: *Shajarat ul-Ansab*, completed in 1190/1776.

Ghulām Sarwar, Mufti (d. 1307/1890) was the son of Mufti Ghulām Muhammad, a religious scholar of Lahore. He was *Mufti* = Jurist. Curiously, the honour had assumed hereditary character. Further, the *Mufti* exercised independent authority in religious matters; and the state was bound to enforce his *fatwa* = legal decree. In case of slackness on the part of State, it became the social obligation of *Ummah* = community, at large. Sufi discipline in the family of Ghulām Muhammad came down since long time. He was the descendant of Shaikh Baha ud-Din Zakariya (d. 661/1262), saint of Multān and founder of Suhrawardi order in the Indian sub-continent. Ghulām Sarwar's father witnessed the days of Ranjit Singh (d. 1255/1839). None the less, the Sikh Maharajah treated him with consideration together with some other distinguished Muslim families of Lahore enjoying their peace under him. Ghulām Sarwar received formal education under the guidance of Shaikh Ghulām Ullah, a profound scholar of Islamic sciences, who cultivated in his disciple the habit of hard work and regular study. Later, the father himself taught him essential principles of sufism, chiefly, spiritual purification and avoidance of worldly lust. Simultaneously, the security of daily existence was not ignored and Ghulām Sarwar was trained as a physician possessing excellent knowledge of Islamic medicine. On the whole, he spent all his life in scholarly pursuits and gained reputation as a prolific writer. His contribution: 1. anthologies of saints, learned men and poets: *Khazinat-ul-Asfiya*, *Hadiqat ul-Auliya*, *Madinat ul-Auliya*. 2. History: *Baharistan-i-Tarikh*, in three sections, *Makhzan-i-Punjab*, detailed information regarding his own province. 3. A handbook of chronograms, *Ganjinah-i-Sarwari*, and *Chaman-i-Be Nazir*. 4. Manuals of ethical codes and moral counsels: *Gulshan-i-Sarwari*, *Tuhfah-i-Sarwari*, *Akhlaq-i-Sarwari*. 5. *Insha*: Art of drafting official bulletins and letters etc. mastered by future bureaucrats. 6. Lexicons: *Lughat-i-Sarwari*, *Jāmi' ul-Lughat*. 7. *Diwans*, collections of verses: *Na'at-i-Sarwari*, *Diwān-i-Sarwari* (Muhammad Tufail (ed.) Funūn Lahore. (Lahore Number).

Ghulām Muhyi ud-Din, Saiyed (d. 1241/1825) lived in Lahore where

his ancestors had emigrated from Bukhara, Trans-Oxiana. He acquired sufi discipline and was a member of Naushahi sub-order, popular in Punjab. Medical profession being his source of livelihood, Ghulām Muhyi ud-Din left a diary containing prescriptions for a variety of diseases: *Bayaz*, and was the author of a sufistic treatise: *Tashrif ul-Fuqara*.

Ghulām Mustafa b. Muhammad Akbar, Hāfiz (d. unknown) belonged to Thanesar, Punjab, and was the translator of Shaikh Ibn ‘Arabi’s *Fusūs ul-Hikam*. In his translation, he employed a very clear method by placing, first, the original Arabic sentence, and then, its Persian version adding explanatory comments where necessary. As pointed out by him in the preface, no preceding scholar had attempted the translation of *Fusūs ul-Hikam* in that fashion. Its title was: *Shukhūs ul-Himam*, ca. 1200/1785.

Gur Dās (d. unknown) lived in Namaksār, a place in Punjab, and held a minor post in revenue department during the days of Muhammad Shāh. Having heard the love tale of Hir and Rānjha, composed by Damodar Roda in Hindi, he was inspired to render it into Persian. As revealed by him, Damodar Roda was the fellow-townsmen of Hir, the heroine of the romance. Her grave, situated in Jhang, Sayāl, was the venue of annual fair held in her memory on the first day of *Magh*, the spring month of Hindu calendar. Gur Dās completed his version of *Hir Ranjha* in simple prose, 1141/1728.

Haqiqat-i-Binawa ‘Uruj-i-Firqah-i-Sikhān: Anonymous work tracing the rise and progress of the Sikh sect in Punjab. The author seemed to be connected with the Mughal court and completed the book around 1199/1784.

‘Imād ud-Din Husaini, Khwajah Abu’l Hasan (d. unknown) served at the court of the Afghan ruler, Zamān Shāh, and wrote a history of the Durrāni Afghans. The work covered the account of Ahmad Shah Abdālī (d. 1186/1772), his son, Timūr Shāh (d. 1207/1792), and his grandson, Zamān Shāh (d. 1215/1800). The author paid special attention to the history and topography of Punjab and added information about the routes leading down from Peshawar to the plain of the five rivers. Its title was: *Tarikh-i-Husaini/Tarikh-i-Nasab Namah-i-Ahmad Shahi*.

Imām Bakhsh (d. unknown) belonged to Thanesar, Punjab, and earned his living by teaching. Reading of books was his leisure as well as professional necessity. He collected his private letters addressed to friends and appended with them a bunch of model papers in vogue as civil documents. The collection appeared as: *Bagh-i-Bahari* (chronogram = 1221/1806).

Imām Bakhsh Chishti, Khwajah (d. 1300/1882) belonged to Mahār, a spiritual centre in Punjab, and came to live in Delhi, where he attended the assemblies of the last Mughal emperor, Bahādur Shāh Zafar. His contemporaries acknowledged him as a pious Sufi and poet. Khwajah Imām Bakhsh compiled a *tazkirah* of Chishti sufis, naming it: *Makhzan-i-Chisht*, 1277/1860.

Imām ud-Din (d. unknown) was a disciple of Khwajah Muhammad Sulaimān, the sufi of Tonsa, Punjab. He collected the *malfūzat* = utterances, of his Shaikh under the title: *Nafa'is us-Salikin*, completed in 1267/1852.

Imām ud-Din, Shaikh 'Abd ullah (d. unknown) lived in Pak Pattan, Punjab, and was interested in experimenting with alchemy. He collected information concerning the subject, particularly, the formula of elixir, in a book: *Makhzan-i-Iksir*, completed in 1274/1858.

Inderjit Dabir (d. unknown) was employed as a secretary by Muhammad 'Alam Khān, a nobleman of Punjab during the the time of Farrukh Siyār (d. 1131/1718). His home-town was Nakodar, Punjab, and he spent a few years in Lahore after the death of his benefactor, the above-mentioned nobleman. He composed poetry, as he said, but could not compile his *Dīwān*. In order to preserve his verses and the prose pieces, chiefly *Insha*, he arranged the entire material in two distinct sections. An essay in the collection described the charms of the city of Lahore. Inderjit expressed feelings of devotion toward the emperor, Farrukh Siyār and prime minister, Qutb ul-Mulk Saiyed 'Abdullah, in lengthy introduction. He chose interesting title for the work: *Insha-i-Bahar Ma'na*, 1128/1715.

Inderjit, Munshi (d. unknown) served as secretary to 'Abd us-Samad

Khan (d. 1150/1737), governor of Punjab in the reign of Farrukh Siyār and early years of Muhammad Shāh. Inderjit, composing under the pen-name mentioned above, made a versified translation of Sasi-Pannu, a tale of romance popular in Punjab, and named it: *Namah-i- 'Ishq*, completed ca. 1140/1727.

Jān Muhammad, Maulawī (d. 1268/1851) belonged to Siyalkot and lived in Lahore. He was a religious scholar and Sufi of the Suhrawardi allegiance. He wrote: 1. a tract condemning tobacco-smoking and declaring it as a prohibited item under Islamic Law: *al-Bayān fi Qabahat ud-Dukhan*, and 2. a guide-book for pulpit orators to make their speech appealing and impressive. Its salient points were anecdotes of the prophets as they occurred in the Qur'an, mention of the *Sūras* = chapters and *Ayat* = verses, of the holy Book informing about Divine punishment and reward, propitious nature or otherwise of certain days and months of the Islamic Year, and memorable dates of Islamic history. The author named his work: *Tazkirat ul-Muzakkirin*.

Karim ud-Din, Maulawī (d. unknown) served as an education officer in Punjab and compiled a short Persian-Urdu dictionary, which gained much popularity as a handbook to the beginners. Its title was: *Karim ul-Lughat*, completed in 1277/1760.

Khādim, Nizām ud-Din (d. unknown) belonged to Kot Bhawani Das, a town in Punjab, and was known for his poetry. Of his many works there survived a collection of letters: *Insha-i-Khādim*, 1226/1811.

Khwushwaqt Rāi (d. unknown) was an employee of the East India Company posted at Lohare in capacity of news writer = *Waqa' 'i' Navis*, when the Sikhs held their sway over Punjab. He wrote an account of the rise of Sikh sect and their activities down to his own times; its title was: *Ahwal-i-Sikhan*, completed in 1226/1811. Also, he seemed to be interested in astrology and was the author of a treatise on that subject: *Khass un-Nujūm*.

Lāl Singh b. Ganda Singh, Sardār (d. unknown) was the author of a history of Sikhs and their rise to power in and around Punjab. The work

contained details of the conquest of Kashmir, Multān, and Lahore, made by the author's co-religionists. Its title was: *Waqa'ī-i-Sikhhan*.

Mahtab Singh (d. unknown) belonged to a village in Kanpur and was Kayasth by caste. He went to Lahore and joined service under the descendants of Maharajah Ranjit Singh, who sent him as revenue officer to Hazarah region when the Sikh domination was established over it. He developed interest in the topography and human environment which pleased his observation and impelled him to write a book, *Tawārikh-i-Mulk-i-Hazarah*, completed in 1266/1849.

Mehr, Saiyed Mehr 'Ali Shāh (d. 1350/1931) lived as a Sufi in Golra, near Rawalpindi, and was a bi-lingual poet, composing verses in Persian and Punjabi, his mother tongue. He wrote a sufistic treatise: *Tahqiq ul-Haq fi Kalimat ul-Haq*, completed in 1315/1897.

Miskin, Tahmasp Khān (d. unknown) served as an officer under Mu'in ul-Mulk, governor of Punjab in the reign of Ahmad Shāh. His memoirs cast light on the Sikh rising, the invasions of Ahmad Abdali and the pathetic situation of the people living in Punjab during his times. The work appeared under the title: *Tazkirah-i-Miskin*.

Mohan, Lāla (d. unknown) was in the service of Maharajah Ranjit Singh, ruler of Punjab (d. 1255/1839). He wrote an account of his master's reign: *Rūz-Namchah-i-Ranjit Singh*, covering the years down to 1245/1829.

Muhammad Afzal (d. 1210/1795) lived as a poet under the patronage of Mūsa Khān, a semi-independent feudal lord of Gujranwalah, Punjab, who defied the expanding power of the Sikhs in his province. His son, Jān Muhammad, fought against the Sikhs and lost his life. Afzal wrote an account of the tragic event, *Tārikh-i-Jan Muhammad*, 1204/1790.

Muhammad Amin (d. 1318/1901) belonged to Mastali, a place near Rawalpindi, and was acknowledged for his disciplined character. In the introduction to his book, Muhammad Amin remarked; "I noticed that illiterate people treated the Sufis with ridicule and contempt. I was, there-

fore, prompted to describe the significance of sufism as a way of life in its proper perspective. Particularly, my attention focused itself around Naqshbandi beliefs." The work appeared as: *Gulqand dar Masa'il-i-Naqshband*, 1298/1881.

Muhammad Hafiz (d. unknown) belonged to Jalandhar, which he left when the emergence of Sikh power in Punjab and their overt policy of persecution against the Muslims made it difficult to live in that city. At the instance of his Sufi mentor, he wrote a biographical account of Akbar, *Nafi' ut-Talibin*, completed in 1203/1815.

Muhammad Hasan (d. unknown) lived in Amritsar and claimed descent from Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi, the Naqshbandi Sufi, calling himself *Mujaddid-i-Alf-i-Sani*. He wrote an account of his Sufi father, Pir Abd ur-Rahman, and named it: *Anis ul-Muridin*, 1316/1899.

Muhammad Husain b. Muhammad Reza (d. unknown) was a Sufi of the Naqshbandi order having his circle of influence in Lahore and Amritsar. He wrote an anthology of Naqshbandi saints prefixed by a biography of the Prophet. Its title was: *Rauzat u-Auliya fi Ahwal ul-Asfiya* (ed. Amritsar 1333/1914).

Muhammad Malāhat, Abu'l Faiz (d. unknown) lived in Gujranwala, Punjab, and earned his living by the profession of teaching. He wrote commentaries on a number of textbooks for the benefit of his students, particularly, on the letters of Shaikh Abul Fazl and Faizi's *Nal-Daman*. Also, he left a mathematical treatise: *Mir'at ul-hisab*, completed in 1256/1840.

Muhammad Naqi Peshawari (d. unknown) lived in Lahore and wrote an account of the events which occurred in the province of Punjab after the death of Ranjit Singh (1255/1839). The book was named after his successor: *Sher Singh-Namah*.

Muhammad Sulaiman Tonsawi, Khwajah (d. 1267/1850) lived as a Sufi in Tonsa, near Dera Ghazi Khan, Punjab, and was a representative of the Chishti order. One of his disciples, Imam ud-Din, collected his sayings = *malfuzat*, under the title: *Nafa'is us-Salikin*.

Murtaza b. Muhammad Khān, Hāfiz Abd ullah (d. unknown) belonged to Qasur, Punjab, and was an Afghan of Khweshgi tribe. He possessed scholarship in many fields, and had gained reputation as a successful physician, although his chief interest was in sufism. As author, his major work was a textbook of medicine: *Tibb-i-Murtazawi*. Poetry being an essential merit of almost all Muslim sufis, Murtaza compiled his *Divān* of verses and wrote a *masnawi*, *Gulriz*. Among other tracts of Murtaza, there were: *Irshād ul-Mubtadi*, *Mihakk ut-Talibin*, etc.

Nizām ud-Din Ahmad Bada'uni (d. unknown) was a disciple of the Sufi of Punjab, Khwajah Muhammad Sulaimān Tonsawi. He wrote a book on the life and teachings of his Shaikh, naming it: *Rahat ul-'Ashiqin*, ca. 1268/1851.

Nūr ullah Naushāhi, Saiyed (d. 1229/1814) was a Sufi scholar of the Qādiri-Naushāhi sub-order, popular in Punjab. His letters bearing spiritual contents were collected by one of his descendants under the title: *Inshā-i-Nar ullah*.

Rahim 'Ali Khān (d. unknown) belonged to the Gakhar tribe of Punjab, whose racial origins he traced from Kai Gauhar, a Persian prince of legendary history. He lived near Rohtas and wrote the history of that fortress, casting light on the fortunes of his own tribe, under whose occupation the fortress of Rohtas remained for centuries. It was entitled: *Rahim Namah*, completed in 1256/1840.

Ratan Chand (d. unknown) lived in Punjab and was the author of a history of the Sikhs: *Khālsah-Namah*, completed ca. 1317/1899.

Sewak Rām, Munshi (d. unknown) was employed by a nobleman of Punjab, Miyan Muhammad Sarfarāz 'Abbāsi. The latter was a poet and desired to narrate in verse the romantic legend, *Hir wa Ranjha*, which he could not complete due to his sudden death. His faithful secretary took up the unfinished task and brought out the version in simple prose, naming it: *Hir Namah*, ca. 1241/1825.

Shāh Muhammad Khartali (d. unknown) was a Sufi of the Qādiri order living in the neighbourhood of Siyalkot, Punjab. His scholarly inter-

est covered the fields of astronomy and *ramāl* = geomancy, concerning which he wrote a versified tract, *Lata'if ul-Ahkam*. Also, he left a collection of letters and miscellaneous essays; *Sawad-i-Bahari*, ca. 1201/1786.

Shah Muhammad Zāhidi (d. unknown) was the son of Masih uz-Zamān Hansawi, a Sufi scholar of Punjab, living during the days of Shah 'Alam II. Like his father, a collector of letters, he was also interested in the same field. His work appeared as: *Mufid-Namah*, ca. 1216/1801.

Shākir, Muhyi ud-Din (d. unknown) served as teacher in various cities of Punjab and possessed mastery over the syllabus of *madrasah* education. Maulawi Akram Shāh, a Sufi of Punjab, was his spiritual guide. He collected letters for the benefit of his students, naming the work: *Gul-i-Bahar*, ca. 1245/1829.

Sher Muhammad Khān Gandahpur (d. 1302/1885) belonged to a town, Derah Ismail Khān, in Punjab. He travelled extensively through Afghanistan for collecting information concerning various tribes of the Afghan race, their genealogies, history and customs. These notices were brought out by him under the title: *Khwurshid-i-Jahān*.

Sohan Lāl Sūri, Lāla (d. 1259/1852) witnessed the reign of Ranjit Singh and his two successors; he lived at their court in Lahore. Ranjit Singh acknowledged his merits and twice rewarded him for his scholarly performance. He was the author of a detailed history of the Sikhs, entitled *'Umdat ut-Tawārikh*. His other work was a versified account, in *masnawi* metre, of events occurring during the time from Sher Singh to Dalip Singh, its title was: *'Ibrat Namah*.

POETS

'Ajiz, Ghulām Dastgir Hāshimi (d. 1315/1897) belonged to a family of learned men living at Qasūr, Punjab. Trained in spiritual discipline, Ajiz composed fluent verses and left a sufistic treatise: *Tuhfah-i-Dastgiriyaḥ*.

Daya Rām (d. unknown) was a poet and lived in Lahore during the reign of Ranjit Singh (d. 1255/1839). He wrote a versified account of the Sikh Maharajah and named it: *Shir wa Shakar*. Also he left a *Diwān* of verses.

Duni-Chand Bali (d. unknown) was a poet of Punjab, who composed an epic poem narrating the legendary origins of the Ghakars, a martial tribe engaged in agriculture and cattle breeding and spread over from north Punjab to Jammu hills. He asserted that the tribe descended from a Persian prince of ancient times, Kai Gauhar, whom the superior lord of his house, the Sasanid king of kings, allotted the territory of Punjab to settle there. The versified account came down to the author's own days and contained a lot of information about regional history. Its title was: *Kai-Gauhar-Namah*, completed in 1139/1726.

Hairat, Sultāni Mal Multāni (d. unknown) belonged to Multān and served as a revenue officer in Punjab during the time of Shāh 'Alam II. He composed poetry under the pen-name mentioned above. In later life, he embraced Islam. His collection of letters and official documents survived under the title: *Ruqqa'at-Ma'āni nigār* (chronogram = 1213).

Ghulam Muhyi ud-Din Qasāri (d. 1270/1853) lived as a religious scholar and poet in Lahore and was the author of about 17 theological and sufistic treatises. Important and popular among them was a *masnawī* in praise of the Prophet: *Tuhfah-i-Rasūliyah*.

Huzāri, Gurbakhsh (d. unknown) belonged to Punjab and was a friend of Khān-i-Arzū (d. 1169/1756, whom he submitted his *Diwān* of verses for correction and improvement. Huzāri was a Hindu Kanbo by caste. His model for the exercise of lyrical composition was Mulla Tāhir Ghānī of Kashmir. He attempted a versified version, in *masnawī* form, of the love tale: *Kāmrup wa Kamlata*.

Kanhaiya Lāl (d. unknown) lived in Lahore and wrote poetry under the pen-name, Hindi. Numerous collections of Urdu and Persian were left by him; but his chief contribution was a *masnawī*, praising the achievements of Ranjit Singh, the Sikh ruler of Punjab (d. 1255/1839). It bore double title:

Ranjit-Namah/Zafar-Namah-i-Ranjit Singh, completed in 1291/1874.

Kirpa Rām Khattri (d. unknown) belonged to Lahore and possessed knowledge of astrology. He was the author of a book in twenty-nine chapters which described the method of determining horoscope. Its title was: *Za'ichah-Namah*, completed in 1265/1848.

Sābir, Mulla Khuda Bakhsh (d. unknown) belonged to Sanghar, Punjab, and earned his living by teaching in a *madrasah*. He dedicated his *Rauzat us-Sabirin*, a versified account of the tragedy of Karbala, to Safdar Jang, prime minister of the rapidly falling Mughal empire during the reign of Ahmad Shāh. Of Sābir's works there were, a tract utilized by students to learn grammar and other rules of literature, *Qawā'id-i-Nazm*, and a collection of letters: *Insha-i-Bahr dar Kūzah*, ca. 1198/1783.

Sāqib, Ahsan ullah Khān (d. unknown) was a poet of Punjab. He wrote a versified account of the British conquest of that province, and named it: *Atish-i-Be-Dūd*, ca. 1266/1849.

Yak-Dil, Munshi Ahmad Bakhsh (d. unknown) belonged to a learned family of Lahore and earned his living by the modest profession of teaching in *madrasah* of the city. The insults and repression suffered by his co-religionists at the hands of the Sikhs made him a keen and sensitive observer of the drama of events in Punjab. He witnessed the long reign of Ranjit Singh, who managed to retain his hold till forty years; and the final eclipse of Sikh power in his province. Yak-Dil's brief visit to Delhi, only once in life, enabled him to earn the respect of literary men in the capital. The emperor, Bahādur Shāh Zafar, conferred on him the title of '*Fakhr ush-Shū'ara*. Deeply distressed by the tragedy of 1857, he condemned the English in bitter tones. It was not as much in poetry as in the field of memoir writing that Yak-Dil displayed his real genius. Having consciousness that the transition was far reaching in its impact, he prepared a revealing record of the events. The collection of his notes survived under the simple title: *Bayāz-i-Yak-Dil*.

6. Kashmir

In Kashmir, there was no official patronage; yet Persian language and literature remained in vogue throughout the century after Aurangzeb. The reason was that the people of the area had developed strong links with Iranian culture ever since Mir Saiyed 'Ali Hamadani entered their land. The manners and taste of the Iranians accorded with the temperament of the Kashmiris. In other parts of the sub-continent, Islam pointedly directed its appeal to the down-trodden; in Kashmir the equation was reversed. There it was largely embraced by men of upper castes, especially, by the intellectually most advanced community, the Brahmans. Under the Mughals Iranian influences permeated so deeply in the living of the Kashmiris that the land became famous as: *Iran-i-Saghir* = Little Iran.

The decline of Mughal empire brought hardships and sufferings in general to all inhabitants of the sub-continent; but the Kashmiris suffered exceptionally. The history of their misfortunes passed through the following phases: 1. The disensions of the nobles at the imperial court rose to such a high pitch that no dignitary felt secure about his posting in the administrative set-up. A safety device was adopted by the nominees to the governorship of Kashmir. Having obtained exemption from going personally, they sent their *Wakils* = deputies, and themselves stayed in Delhi to watch the ever changing situation. These deputies were men of low character and did not strive to maintain just and fair government; cultivators were ruined and prosperity disappeared. That arrangement of proxy continued till the coming of Ahmad Abdali on the scene 1176/1762. Of course, he came on express invitation of the people. 2. Subsequently, Kashmir passed under direct control of Abdali's Afghans. They committed all imaginable crimes in the name of administration. Extracting sufficient money from the already squeezed and poverty-stricken peasants was not possible; hence large scale pillaging of the whole populations was the only recourse open to them. Ahmad Shāh Abdali, Timūr Shāh, and Zaman Shāh retained Kashmir through their governors for sixty seven years. Every governor added to the list of cruelties by way of exactions, tortures, and killings. Trade and agriculture suffered heavy loss and abject poverty led to recurrent famines. In utter despair some influential Kashmiris headed by Birbal Dhar secretly induced Ranjit Singh

to invade Kashmir and deliver them from the tyranny of the Afghans, 1235/1819. Seemingly, inviting outsiders to rule over them was a chronic habit of the Kashmiris. 3. *Sikhs*: Ranjit Singh had been granted the district and city of Lahore, together with the title of Rājah, by the Afghan king, Zaman Shāh, 1799. Further, the English made a treaty with him having double objectives: to stall the Franco-Russian invasion through Central Asia. Secondly, to prevent the depredatory raid of the Sikhs into their newly acquired areas north of Delhi, 1224/1809. And finally, the incorporation of Kashmir in his dominion made him a very important ruler of North India 1235/1819. His ambition for conquest and unending military expeditions placed him under pressing need for extra resources. That urgency impelled his officers to pursue the policy of harsh and cruel exactions. Needless to say, the Kashmiris suffered in larger proportion. More pernicious and inhuman was the practice of *begar* = forced labour, which the Sikhs rigorously imposed on Kashmiri villagers. They were acquired for the transportation of military baggage and other heavy articles. Ranjit Singh's officers were "born and brought up with a hatred for the Muslims". (Bamzai Kaul, p. 610). That feeling guided their whole attitude. The congregation Mosque of Srinagar was closed, public prayers were banned; even *Azān* = prayer call, was forbidden. Famine and persecution of the Sikh soldiers reduced the population of the valley from eight to two lakhs. In short, during the twenty seven years of Sikh rule human life in Kashmir was a tale of humiliation and misery. 4. *Dogras*: Ranjit Singh granted Jammu and the title of Rājah to his Dogra general, Gulab Singh, in 1236/1820. He played active role in the affairs of Lahore government during the life-time of the Sikh Maharajah and even after his death, 1255/1839. After the Anglo-Sikh war and the defeat of the Sikhs, 1263/1846, the British realizing the potential value of Gulab Singh and in order to win his allegiance gave away the valley of Kashmir to the Dogra ruler. It was virtually a sell-out at surprisingly cheap price. The Dogra rule lasted till Independence. Notwithstanding these vicissitudes the genius of the people and their creative spirit remained unsuppressed.

WRITERS AND POETS

Ahmad Kashmiri, Shaikh (d. 1278/1861) was the disciple and spiritual successor of a Sufi of Kashmir, Baba Muhammad Ashraf. He witnessed the tragic days of the Sikh occupation of his native-land. His devotion to God made him a source of consolation to the people who turned to his *khanqah* as seekers of Divine mercy in their distress. The Sikhs burned the library of the city of Srinagar containing many thousand precious manuscripts and banned prayer call. The Muslims were not allowed to perform Friday-prayer in the Congregation Mosque of Srinagar from 1235/1819 to 1257/1841. The Mosque built by Sultān Zain ul-Abidin's father, Sultān Sikandar, remained intact in its foundation, although its superstructure was twice re-built during the days of Jahangir and Aurangzeb respectively. Shaikh Ahmad wrote a book of spiritual teachings based on whatever he heard from his Shaikh, Baba Ashraf. Its title was: *Afzal ut-Tariq*. Later on, one of his disciples, Abu Muhammad Hasan Shiri, collected his letters: *Maktūbat-i-Shaikh Ahmad Kashmiri*.

‘Ajiz, Narāyan Kaul (d. unknown) served as *munshi* = secretary under ‘Arif Khān, deputy governor of Kashmir in the reign of Shāh ‘Alam Bahādur Shāh I, and composed poetry under the pen-name mentioned above. At the instance of his master, who advised that history should be narrated in plain and readable style, ‘Ajiz devoted his energies to survey the past of his native-land. Having re-examined the original Sanskrit and other earlier works, Ajiz prepared a book, naming it: *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, completed in 1122/1710.

Akhūn, Pandit Tika Rām (d. 1263/1946) lived at Srinagar, and was a teacher in the *madrasah* of the city. He inspired many young students by his learning and literary abilities. His *Diwān* of verses acquired popularity among his contemporaries.

Aslah, Mirza Muhammad (d. unknown) was son of the well known poet Salīm Kashmiri. His teacher in poetry was Mulla ‘Abd ul-Hakim Sāti’. Aslah compiled a *tazkirah* of the poets of Kashmir, mainly, those who

lived during the period of half a century, from Aurangzeb to Muhammad Shah. Its title was: *Tazkirah-i-Shu'arā-i-Kashmir*, ca. 1161/1748.

Azād, Mirza Muhammad Sādiq (d. 1159/1746) was an emigrant from Tehrān and passed his life in Kashmir. He composed a *masnawī*, praising the military adventures of Mukhtār (d. 68/687), who planned vengeance for the blood of Husain, the Prophet's grandson, and rebelled against Yazid, son of Mu'āwiyah, the second Umayyid caliph. Mukhtār killed many guilty men of Karbala including the governor, Ibn Ziyād, and established independent rule over the city of Kūfa for some time. Azād's poem appeared under double title: *Dil Kusha Namah/Mukhtār-Namah*. Another literary exercise of Muhammad Sādiq Azād was the continuation in verse of Bāzil's *Hamlah-i-Haidari*.

Azād Kashmiri, Mirza Muhammad 'Ali (d. unknown) passed his early life as a free wanderer in the cities of Iran, frequenting the company of sufis, learned men, and poets. Walih Dāghistāni, the author of *Riyāz ush-Shu'arā*, saw him in Shirāz and was impressed by his talents. Prince Mahmūd Mirza, son of Fath 'Ali Shāh Qachār (d. 1250/1834), who held the governorship of Nihawand during his father's reign, entertained the poet at his court and treated him with kindness. Having returned to his native-land, Azād earned his living as a physician but his main field of interest was poetry.

Badr ud-Din (d. unknown) belonged to Lahore and served under Nawwāb 'Ata Muhammad Khān, the Afghan governor of Kashmir. He addressed versified letters to his friends, which were collected under the title: *Insha-i-Manzūmah*, 1247/1831.

Baha, Mulla Baha ud-Din Mattu (d. 1248/1832) was a Sufi poet of Kashmir and seemed to have close relations with the Rishi order, confined to his land of birth. Drawing inspiration from Nizāmī of Ganjah, Baha attempted five *masnawī* poems: 1. *Rishi-Namah*, concerning the order named above, 2. *Ghausiyah*, praising the virtues of Shaikh 'Abd ul-Qādir Jilani and his followers, 3. *Chishtiyah*, 4. *Naqshbandiyah*, and 5. *Sultani-Namah*.

Betab, Pandit Tabah Ram Turki (d. 1266/1848) lived in Ranawari, Srinagar, and commanded respect among the poets of Kashmir. Mulla Tawfiq Kashmiri had friendly relations with Betab. He witnessed the invasion of the Sikh army of Ranjit Singh over his native-land and the defeat of the Afghan governor, Muhammad 'Azim Khan, which he versified under the title: *Jang-Namah*. His patron was Muhammad Akbar Khan, the wazir of Afghanistan, whom he praised in a poem: *Akbar-Namah*. After the change of rulers, he composed one more *masnawi*, containing historical details like the above two: *Ranjit-Namah*.

Birbal Kachar (d. unknown) lived during the time of Maharajah Ranjit Singh, and was the author of a history of Kashmir. He incorporated the works of all his predecessors from Kalhan to Haidar Malik Chadorah and Khwajah Muhammad A'zam. The book appeared as: *Majma' ut-Tawarikh*, 1251/1835.

Bulbul, Mulla Muhammad Ashraf (d. 1169/1755) was born in a village, Dayr, in Kashmir, where he lived all his life in scholarly contentment. He attempted a versified version of the tragedy of Karbala and the martyrdom of Husain the grandson of the Prophet. Also, he composed five poems on the pattern of Shaikh Nizami's *Khamsah*. Of them, only one has survived, its title: *being Reza-Namah*.

Fida, Mirza Muhtasham Khan (d. 1197/1782) was a poet of Kashmir, where he witnessed the changing scene of Afghan occupation. Attracted by the cultural activities, he passed a few years in that city. Karimdad Khan, the Afghan governor of his homeland, offered him service and showed kind treatment in view of his literary merits.

Ghulam 'Ali, Hakim (d. unknown) served as physician at the court of Maharajah Ranbir Singh, ruler of Kashmir (d. 1303/1885). He prepared an exhaustive guide-book of trees, herbal plants, fruits, and animals found in his native land, giving particular reference to their medicinal use. Its title was: *Azhar ul-Adwiyah*, completed in 1286/1879.

Hamid Kashmiri, Mulla Hamid ud-Din. (d. 1264/1847) attained distinction for composing a lengthy and lucid *masnawi* in praise of tea.

following the pattern of Zuhūrī's masterpiece addressed to the cup-bearer, *Saqi-Namah*. Mulla Hamid brought out his poem under the simple title: *Chai-Namah*. Essentially, tea originated as a beverage from China; and the earliest Muslim scholar who mentioned its use among the Chinese people was Abū Raihān al-Birūnī (d. 440/1048). Notable among other works of Mulla Hamid was a versified chronicle of the events which occurred during the Afghan occupation of Kashmir. It was addressed to the nobleman and prince of Afghanistan, Muhammad Akbar Khān, son of Dost Muhammad Khān, and named as: *Akbar-Namah*, 1260/1844.

Hashmat, Muhammad 'Ali (d. unknown) belonged to Tibet and passed early life in Kashmir. Qabūl Kashmiri trained him in poetry. Like his teacher, Hashmat arrived in Delhi to seek job and career. Kishan Chand Ikhlās and Bindrabān Khwushgu, two important writers of the capital praised him as a young man of merits and included his verses in their *tazkirahs*.

Hujjat, Mirza Mahdi (d. unknown) belonged to Kashmir and was nephew of Mirza Dārāb Beg Jūya, a well-known poet of Muhammad Shāh's reign. Hujjat resided in Delhi and enjoyed the friendship of *Khān-i-Arzū* (d. 1169/1757).

Huzūrī, Pandit Hara Kaul (d. unknown) lived in Kashmir and was popular in the literary circles of that area. His father, Pandit Gopal Kaul, was also a poet and composed under the pen-name Ghuyūrī. Huzūrī left a *Diwan* of verses.

'Ishrat, Jai Kishan (d. unknown) was born in a Brahman family of Kashmir. He started his career under Amīr Khān Anjām, the premier noble of Muhammad Shāh. On the latter's recommendation 'Ishrat was appointed to the post of chief revenue officer = *Diwan*, of his native province. Khān-i-Arzū, the great critic and his teacher in poetry, estimated that the poem composed by 'Ishrat under the title *Ram-Sita*, was better in artistic merit than Masiha Panipati's *Ram-Sita*.

Jāmi, Khwajah Maqsūd (d. unknown) belonged to Kashmir and was a disciple of Qabūl Kashmiri (d. 1136/1726). A poet of good taste, he

devoted himself to serious scholarship as well and was respected for his knowledge of Islamic sciences. He left a *Diwan* of verses.

Kirpa Rām (d. 1192/1778) was minister = *Diwan*, at the court of Maharajah Gulāb Singh, the Dogra ruler of Kashmir. He proved himself an enlightened administrator and possessed literary talents. His works are 1. a biography of his patron, *Gulab-Namah*, 2. a history of his native land, *Gulzar-i-Kashmir*, and 3. collection of letters: *Ruqqa'at-i-Kirpa Rām*.

Miskīn, Haji Muhammad Muhyi ud-Din (d. unknown) lived as a poet and Sufi in Srinagar. His spiritual guide was Muhammad Yahya Naqshbandi in whose company he went on pilgrimage to Mecca. He wrote a *tazkirah* of saints and celebrated men of his native land. Its name was: *Taha'iful-Abrar*, 1321/1904.

Muhammad A'zam Didamari, Khwajah (d. 1185/1771) belonged to Kashmir and was known for his sufistic way of living. His father was an official in the government of Aurangzeb whom the emperor honoured with the title Khair uz-Zamān Khān. Khwajah Muhammad A'zam was the author of many tracts demonstrating his range of mind. Among his more important works are, 1. a brief history of Kashmir entitled *Lubb ut-Tawarikh*, and 2. a detailed historical survey covering the literary and cultural activities of that land and revealing interesting information about the scholars, poets and pious men. There were three sections in the book together with an introduction. Its title was: *Waqi'at-i-Kashmir*, completed in 1160/1747.

Muhammad Reza Beg (d. unknown) belonged to Hunza, a state in the Qara Qoram mountains north of Kashmir. He wrote a history of his native land: *Tārīkh-i-Hunza*, 1339/1920.

Qādiri, Qutb un-Din Husaini Hanafi Madani (d. unknown) was a free-wandering Sufi and claimed to have seen many important cities of the Islamic world. In later life, he settled in Islamabad, Kashmir, during the reign of Farrukh Siyār. He was the author of a biography of the Prophet. The title proposed by him was quite lengthy: *Tabsirh-i-Anwār wa Tazkirah-i-Asrar-i-Saiyed ul-Abrar*, completed in 1127/1715.

Rafi', Muhammad Mas'ud (d. unknown) came from Kashmir and enjoyed the patronage of Khan-i-Dawran, the premier noble of Muhammad Shah, who died fighting with Nadir Shah in the battle of Karnal (1151/1739). Rafi' lived in the capital for some time, and returned after obtaining land-grant in his home-town. He left a *Diwan* of verses.

Sada-Sukh Kaul, Pandit (d. unknown) wrote a treatise on astrology and named it: *Kashif ud-Daqa'iq*.

Saif ud-Din, Mirza (d. 1278/1862) wrote a history of Kashmir at the request of a British officer of the East India Company serving as the Company's agent in Kashmir. It was entitled: *Khulasat ul-Tawarikh-i-Kashmir*. Additions were made into it after the author's death by his brother, Mirza Muhyi ud-Din.

Sukhanwar, Pandit Bir Bal Kaul (d. 1286/1869) was a poet of Kashmir, where he earned his livelihood as a teacher. He attempted a versified version of the *Mahabharat*. Equally interesting was his *masnawi* narrating the popular legend of Rajah Bikaramajit.

Sana ullah Kharabati (d. 1297/1880) belonged to Kashmir and passed much of his life as a free-wandering Sufi. Bulbul Shah, the early saint of Kashmir, was among his ancestors. In old age he halted at Jalalpur, a town in district Gujrat, Punjab, and decided to make it his abode of eternal rest. Possessing exuberant energy as a poet and writer, Kharabati left about forty works, mostly *masnawi* poems, including a commentary on the Qur'an. Noteworthy among his books were 1. *Tazkirat-ul-Kamilin*, 2. *Dalil us-Sadiqin* and 3. *Diwan-i-Kharabati*.

Saqib, Mir Najm ud-Din (d. 1162/1748) lived as a poet and religious scholar in Baltistan, the region between Tibet and Kashmir. His ancestor was Mir Shams ud-Din 'Iraqi, the earliest missionary of Shi'ah faith in the valley. He was respected as a man possessing pious character and literary merits, and people of Baltistan made it their custom to recite Saqib's poems on religious occasions. Apart from the *Diwan* of verses, he wrote a versified history of Baltistan under the title: *Zad ul-Jinan*.

Shams ud-Din Muhammad b. Qawam ud-Din (d. unknown)

was employed by a nobleman, Khwajah Muhammad Husain, who lived in Muzaffarabad. At the instance of his patron, Shams ud-Din Muhammad translated from Sanskrit a concise tract on astronomy and named it: *Khulasat-un-Nūfām*, ca. 1285/1868.

Sukh Jiwan Lāl (d. 1175/1761) was an administrator and man of vision possessing extraordinary intelligence. He ruled Kashmir as its semi-independent governor during the days of political turmoil caused by Ahmad Shāh Abdālī's devastating invasions. For eight years, till he could manage his position, Kashmir enjoyed peace under him. A poet himself, he was deeply interested in the promotion of literature. He launched a grand project, which remained incomplete due to his tragic death, of compiling a versified history of Kashmir on the metrical pattern of Ferdowsi's *Shah-Namah*. Taufiq and Matin were among the five poets, whom Sukh Jiwan assigned the above-mentioned *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*.

Tahsin, 'Abd ul 'Ali (d. 1190/1776) belonged to Kashmir and was the grandson of Mirza Darāb Beg Jūya. Khwushgu, the author of *Safinah* (1148/1735), mentioned him as one of his friends. Burhān ul-Mulk, the noble of Muhammad Shāh, holding the governorship of Awadh, was the patron of Tahsin. Earlier, he had spent a few years in the reign of Baltistān. His *Diwan* of verses, copied by Mir 'Abd ullah Irāqi, the calligraphist of Baltistān (1171/1757), has survived.

Taufiq, Mulla Muhammad Taufiq Kashmiri (d. 1188/1774) was a popular poet of Srinagar. The young literary men of the city acknowledged him as their guide and teacher. His house near the Jāmi' Masjid was their meeting place. He left a *Diwan* of verses and composed a lengthy *masnawi*, narrating the decline of Chak dynasty and the establishment of Mughal power in his province. The poem was entitled: *Ahwal-i-Kashmir*.

Wafa Kashmiri, Pandit Daya Nāth (d. unknown) was a Brahman of Kashmir and had embraced Sufi discipline. It was not unusual among Muslim saints, Chishtis in particular, to accept Hindu disciples. He travelled across North India as pilgrim, visiting the shrines of a large number of Muslim holy men from Saiyed Salār Mas'ūd Ghāzi of Bahra'ich to Khwajah Mu'in-ud din Chishti of Ajmer. In between, he did not ignore the sacred

places of the Hindus, namely, Benaras, Mathura and Bindraban, the abode of Krishna. Wafa wrote an interesting account of his observations in a book. Its three sections dealt with contemporary men, events, and poets respectively. He had chosen *Waqā'i-i-Rāzgar* as its title; although its year of completion came out from the chronogram, *Maqbūl-i-khirad* = 1225/1810.

7. Sind:

Khuda Yār Khān, originally Mian Nūr Muhammad Kalhora 'Abbāsī, was the last governor of Sind regularly appointed by order of Muhammad Shāh before the sub-continent relapsed into anarchy. In view of his pious background and Hashimite descent, the emperor conferred on him the title mentioned above. The Mian was a contemporary of the Saint, Shāh 'Abd ul-Latif Bhitai (d. 1165/1752) and enrolled himself among his disciples. Many sufis employed local language in order to communicate their teachings to the common people; Shāh Bhitai belonged to the same class. On the eve of Nādir's invasion, Khuda Yār Khān purchased his security by paying him a gratification of one crore (ten million) rupees, 1153/1740. Mian 'Abd un-Nabi was the last descendant of Kalhora dynasty. His supremacy was challenged by rival claimants for share in power: the nobles of Tālpur, who had formerly served the Kalhoras with consistent loyalty. Both parties requested the Afghan King, Timūr Shāh, son of Ahmad Shāh Abdālī, to mediate in the dispute. Timūr Shāh set aside Mian 'Abd un-Nabi and confirmed Mir Fath 'Ali Khān as ruler of Sind, 1196/1782. The members of Tālpur house were addressed as *Amir* or simply *Mir*. Curiously, Fath 'Ali Khān divided the whole province into four parts. He was satisfied by keeping one part for himself. The remaining parts were given by him to his three brothers: Mir Ghulam 'Ali, Mir Karam 'Ali, and Mir Murād 'Ali. In turn, these brothers bequeathed portions of their territories to their children. Thus, the members of the family spread to various cities and each one of them established his own centre of authority. Apart from Thatta, the old seat of the governor, the centres of the *Amirs* were, chiefly, Hyderabad, Tālpur, Khairpur, Bahawalpur, and Mirpur. That arrangement lasted till the East India Company launched its policy of conquest and annexation. The *Amirs* were subdued and sent as prisoners to Calcutta

and Hazaribagh, 1259/1843. After some time they ceased to be a menace and were allowed to return. The states of a few of them were restored, 1276/1859.

Due to geographical proximity with Iran and Afghanistan, Sind remained under constant influence of Persian language and culture. Particularly, in the area of Balochistan Persian poetry is still in vogue as a living tradition. Similar supposition must be true about contiguous Punjab.

WRITERS AND POETS

Abri Siwistāni, Ibrāhīm b. Nasr ullah (d. unknown) belonged to Siwistān, Sind, and served in the revenue department, where he gained experience in civil administration. Abri was a poet, who also collected letters for the instruction of future civil servants; his work is entitled: *Insha-i-Abri*, 1204/1789.

'Ajiz, Mehta Chanderbhan (d. unknown) was a poet of Sind and his birth-place was Sehwan. Qāni' Thattawi, Mir 'Ali Sher, a contemporary, perhaps, noted his literary merits in his *Maqalat ush-Shu'ara*, ca. 1180/1766.

'Ata Muhammad Shikarpuri, Mirza (d. unknown) was the author of a history of Sind, in which he described contemporary events and tried to highlight the social life of the region; its title was: *Tawārikh-i-tazah nazwa'i*, 1271/1854.

'Azim ud-Din Thattawi, Husaini Shirāzi (d. 1234/1818) wrote a versified chronicle of the Talpur family of Sind. The work was taken up at the request of his patron, Mir Fath 'Ali Khān Talpur, and was, therefore, named: *Fath-Namah*, 1199/1785. Also, he left *masnawi* = epic poems, a *Diwan* of verses, and collection of letters: *Insha-i-'Azim*.

Faqir ullah Hashimi, Shāh (d. 1195/1781) lived as a Sufi in Shikarpur, Sind, although his ancestral home was Jalalabād, modern Afghanistan.

During the course of free wanderings, he met a large number of holy men at almost all the important places situated on the map of Islamic world and obtained *Ijazah* = consent, from no less than thirty-three saints representing various orders, who allowed Shah Faqir ullah to preach on their behalf. He wrote books: 1. on divination of the unseen, *Futahat-i-Ghaiybiyah*, 2. on necromancy, *Kitab dar 'Ilm-i-Jafar*, and 3. on the improvement of human character, particularly, the training of children, *Tariq ul-Irshad Takmil ul-Mau'minin wal Aulad*.

Daulat Rai, Lala (d. 1246/1830) belonged to Bahawalpur, Sind, and lived for some time in the cities of Multan and Hyderabad. He wrote a history of his birthplace and the rulers of Bahawalpur family, casting side light on contemporary events that occurred in Sind, Afghanistan and Jodhpur. As the Sikhs were ascendant in his region during those days, he supplied information about them as well. The work was entitled: *Mir'at-i-Daulat-i-Abbasi*. Also, he left a collection of letters: *Insha-i-Daulat Rai*.

Da'wud Khan b. Khuda Yar Khan (d. unknown) belonged to a noble family, the Kalhoras of Sind, whose ancestors had been independent rulers of the province. His father had served as governor of Sind under Farrukh Siyar and lived till 1131/1719. He was the author of a book on the science of medicine: *Tibb-i-Da'wudi*, ca. 1127/1715. Another work of Da'wud Khan dealt with the rules of hunting and contained a list of birds and animals, whose flesh was lawful and unlawful according to Muslim religious law, *Jawarih-Namah/Qawanin us-Said*.

Ghulam Hasan Shahid (d. 1265/1848) belonged to Multan, Punjab and was known for his scholarship of religions sciences. His career passed under the service of the rulers of Bahawalpur, Sind. He left two books on sufism: 1. *Khulasat us-Sulak*, and 2. *Rafiq ul-Fuqara*, 3. Also, he prepared a collection of royal *farmans* and official documents: *Gulzar-i-Fitrat*, 1273/1856.

Giyān Chand (d. unknown) served as secretary to the rulers of Talpur, Sind, and was the collector of letters: *Insha-i-Giyān Chand*, completed ca. 1250/1834.

Gul Muhammad Ma'rūfī Adampurī (d. 1243/1827) belonged to a small place, Adampur, near Bahawalpur, Sind, and lived the pious life of a Sufi tracing the link of his order from an early saint, Ma'rūf-i-Karkhi (d. 200/815). His spiritual guide was Khwajah Muhammad 'Aqil, a saint of Derah Ghāzi Khān, Punjab. He wrote a *tazkirah* of sufis, mainly of the Chishti branch, from Shaikh Nasir ud-Din Mahmūd Chiragh-i-Delhi onwards, naming it: *Zikr ul-Asfiya*.

Hāmid, Makhdūm, Fazl-i-'Alī Gilānī (d. 1197/1782) was a religious scholar and Sufi of Uch, Sind, and lived in Bahawalpur, where the members of the ruling family treated him with respect. Makhdūm Hāmid imparted instruction to his disciples in Islamic sciences and other literary fields. A collection of his letters has survived under the title: *Ruqqa' āt-i-Hāmidīyah*.

Ja'fari, Mir Muhammad Nasir Khān Tālpur (d. unknown) was the last ruler of the state of Tālpur, Sind. The English confiscated his principality and sent him as prisoner to Catcutta in 1259/1843. He was a poet composing under the pen-name mentioned above, and left a collection of letters: *Maktūbat-i-Ja'fari*.

Jān Muhammad Khān Ma'rufānī (d. unknown) was the author of a history of Bahawal Khān II, ruler of Bahawalpur, Sind. Its title was: *Tarikh-i-Bahawal Khān*, ca. 1225/1810.

Khair Muhammad, Miyan (d. unknown) belonged to Uch, Sind, and was employed in the state of Bahawalpur. He wrote biography of a Sufi of Uch, Shāh Gul-Imām, living around 1168/1754. Its title was: *Ahwal-i-Shah Gul Imam*, ca. 1209/1794.

Khuda Bakhsh, Khwajah Mulla (d. 1253/1838) belonged to Multan, where a local Sufi, Hāfiz Muhammad Jamāl, initiated him into spiritual discipline. Later on, he went to Delhi and attended lectures of Shāh Wali ullah. Having returned from the Mughal capital, Khuda Bakhsh permanently settled at Khairpur, Sind. His book on religious and sufistic themes appeared under the title: *Taufiqiyah*.

Khuda-Dād Khān, Khān Bahadur (d. unknown) emigrated from

Afghanistan and found service under the British East India Company in Sind. After retirement, he settled in the town of Sakkar and wrote many books; 1. a history of the province, *Lubh-ut-Tawarikh-i-Sind*, 2. a survey of Gulf area, *Khalij-Namah*, 3. similar manuals concerning *Makran*, *Makran-Namah*, and 4. the desert city of Jaisalmer, *Waqi'i-i-Jaisalmer*, ca. 1318/1900.

Ma'il, Mir Ghulam 'Ali (d. 1251/1835) was son of the more celebrated author, Mir 'Ali Sher Qani' of Thatta, Sind. As an appendix to his father's *tazkirah* of the poets of Sind, Ma'il brought out a work, *Majma' ul-Balagha*, ca. 1218/1803, which supposedly ceased to survive.

Mazhar b. Nu'man Jalalabadi (d. unknown) was a disciple of Shah Faqir ullah, the Sufi of Shikarpur, Sind (d. 1195/1781). He wrote a book explaining the beliefs and practices of the four major orders, the Chishti, Suhrawardi, Qadiri, and Naqshbandi, more popular in the sub-continent. The work appeared as: *Hidayat us-Salikin*, ca. 1194/1780.

Mir Husain Husaini (d. unknown) belonged to Shiraz, Iran, and came to stay at the court of Mir Murad 'Ali Khan of Talpur, a Prince of Sind. He wrote a *tazkirah* of poets and presented it as a token of gratitude to his above-named patron. Its title was: *Zuhdat ul-Ma'asirin*, completed in 1240/1824.

Muhammad Akmal b. Muhammad Kamil (d. unknown) belonged to Bahawalpur, Sind, and lived in Multan. His family members were known for their learning and most of them served as jurists. Impressed by Shah Wali ullah of Delhi, Muhammad Akmal translated into Persian the Shah's Arabic work, *al-Qaul ul-Jamil*, and left a collection of letters, *Dil-Pasand*, 1249/1833.

Muhammad A'zam Asadi Hashimi (d. unknown) was employed in the service of Nawwab Sadiq Khan, ruler of the state of Bahawalpur, Sind. He was the author of, 1. an account of the period of his patron, *Iqbal-Namah-i-Sa'adat-Ayat*, and 2. a comprehensive history of the ruling family of Bahawalpur, entitled *Jawahir-i-Abbasiyah*. Also ascribed to him are 3. *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, and 4. *Tazkirat ul-Khawatin*.

Muhammad A'zam Thattawi (d. unknown) was a scholar living in the town of Thatta, Sind. In a *tazkirah*, he traced the history of his native land and recorded biographical details of the saints, who belonged to that place. The title of the work was: *Tuhfat ut-Tahirin*, completed in 1194/1780.

Muhammad b. Ghulām Muhammad (d. unknown) was teacher in *Madrasah* and enjoyed the patronage of Amir Bahāwal 'Abbāsi, founder of the city of Bahāwalpur, Sind (d. 1160/1748). He wrote commentaries on a number of textbooks for the benefit of his students. These included the works of Nizāmī, Attār, and Sa'di etc. Also, he had undergone spiritual training under the guidance of a pious man, Shāh Narūwala, and collected his *Malfūzat* = discourses (see Nūr Muhammad II).

Muhammad Hāshim b. Abd ul-Ghafūr (d. 1174/1761) lived in Thatta, Sind, during the reign of Muhammad Shāh and was acknowledged for his scholarship in many fields. About one hundred and fourteen books have been ascribed to his authorship. A work on mathematics acquired much popularity. Its title was: *Faiz ul-Ghani*,

Muhammad Ja'far (d. unknown) was a scholar of Sind and earned his livelihood by the practice of medicine. His ancestors had been physicians of fame. He prepared a dictionary of medical terms giving their meanings in Sindhi, the language of the region, for the benefit of people belonging to his profession. Its title was: *Farhang-i-Ja'fari*, ca. 1279/1862.

Muhammad Kāmil b. Allah Yār Quraishi (d. unknown) belonged to Kot Kamaliyah, a place in the neighbourhood of Multān. A teacher by profession, he was treated with kindness by Zakariya Khān (d. 1158/1745), governor of Punjab during the reign of Muhammad Shāh, who introduced him to the emperor. Impressed by his skill in teaching, Muhammad Shāh requested him to write a commentary on Shaikh Sa'di's universally popular handbook, *Karima*, which formed the inaugural course of every little boy and girl studying Persian. And, Muhammad Kāmil brought out *Sharh-i-Karima*.

Muhammad Mu'in (d. unknown) was a friend of Shāh 'Abd ul-Latif

Bhitāi, the Sufi poet of Thatta, Sind (d. 1165/1751). Shāh 'Abd ul-Latif Bhitāi framed a list of questions concerning the nature of sufistic discipline and esoteric knowledge, to which Muhammad Mu'in replied in a pamphlet: *Risalah-i-'Irfan*.

Muhammad Qamar ud-Din (d. 1266/1850) belonged to Multān, Punjab, where he was respected for his pious character. He was the author of a treatise on moral teachings. Its title was: *Subh-i-Wisal*.

Muhammad Salih Shāmlu (d. unknown) served for some time in early life at the court of Fath 'Ali Shāh Qachār, king of Iran (d. 1250/1834). Then, he came to settle in Haidarabad, Sind, where he wrote a *tazkirah* of poets: *Mihakk-i-Shū'ara*, completed in 1252/1836.

Muhammad Taqi (d. unknown) lived as a physician at the court of the rulers of Talpur, Sind where he was respected for his skill and efficiency. His home-town was Thatta and he enjoyed the friendship of Muhammad Muhsin Thattawi, a scholar of that city. Muhammad Taqi wrote a medical textbook: *Shifa-i-Saqim*, ca. 1174/1760.

Pir 'Ali (d. unknown) was spiritual disciple of Shāh Allah Bakhsh, the Sufi of Bhakkar, Sind. He left a concise tract named: *Haqiqat ul-'Ishq*.

Prān Nāth Multāni (d. unknown) belonged to Multān and served as secretary to Mehta Punjab Rāi, a revenue officer of the area during the time of Muhammad Shāh. He prepared a collection of contemporary documents and letters in four sections named: *Chahar Gulshan/Insha-i-Dil kusha*.

Qāni' Thattawi, Mir 'Ali Sher (d. 1203/1788) lived in the town of Thatta, Sind, and was famous as a poet and scholar. In later life he turned to sufism, dividing his hours of day and night between observance of religious duties and the routine of reading and writing. His works were: 1. a *Diwān* of verses, 2. the love tale in *masnawi* form, *Kamrūp wa kamlata*, 3. another *masnawi*, *Qaza wa Qadr*, 4. a *tazkirah* of the poets of Sind, *Maqalat ush-Shū'ara*, 5. a general history in three parts, *Tuhfat ul-kiram*, the last part dealt exclusively with Sind, 6. *Mi'yar-i-Salikin-i-Tariqat*.

explained the teachings of sufism, 7. *Tārīkh-i-Abbasiyāh*, narrated the history of the Kalhorah dynasty of Sind whose ancestors were the Abbasids of Baghdad, 8. *Nisāh ul-Bulaghā*, a book of general knowledge completed in 1168/1754, and 9. account of saints buried in Makli hill outside the city of Thatta, *Makli-Namah*.

Reza, Shaikh Muhammad Reza (d. 1143/1730) was disciple of the famous scholar, Saiyed, 'Abd ul-Jalil Bilgrāmi and lived at Bhakkar, Sind. He was trained in serious scholarship, and also, composed verses on the pattern of classics, which his contemporaries had discarded in preference to less natural and more artificial style. Reza left a *Diwan*.

Saiyed Muhammad Bilgrāmi, Mir (d. 1185/1772) belonged to the family of the Saiyeds of Bilgrām. His father, Mir 'Abd ul Jalil Bilgrāmi, was also a famous scholar. He started his career in the reign of Farrukh Siyār and was an officer in Sind when Nādir Shāh sacked Delhi, 1152/1739. His memoirs, bearing interesting comments on men and events observed by the author during the days of Farrukh Siyār and Muhammad Shāh, survived as: *Tabsirat un-Nazirīn*, completed in 1182/1768.

Shāh Wali Thattawi, Mir (d. 1150/1737) was a scholar of Thatta, Sind, and author of a book of general knowledge dealing with miscellaneous topics. The education of a gentleman in Mughal society encompassed elements of grammar, rhetoric, prosody, innovations made by poets, model letters, official decrees, revenue manuals, computation of calendars both Indian and Persian, astronomy and astrology. Mir Shāh Wali's book appeared as: *Tuhfat ul-Majalis*, completed in 1148/1735.

Shāh Yūsūf (d. unknown) belonged to the city of Multān, Punjab, and was acknowledged as a Sufi and scholar. He prepared a monograph dealing with the history of his native city, *Halat-i-Multān*, completed in 1278/1861.

Sher Muhammad, Qāzi (d. unknown) lived in Bahawalpur, Sind, and held the post of Qāzi. He collected letters and petitions from the state archives of the rulers of Sind. The work survived under the title: *Ruqqa'at-i-Sher Muhammad*, 1252/1836.

Subedar Khān, Mir (d. unknown) belonged to the Talpur family of Sind, which ruled that province in the later decade of nineteenth century. His father was Mir Fath 'Ali Khān (d. 1216/1801). He composed a *masnawi*, explaining the popular principles of sufism, and named it *Juda'i Namah*. Also, ascribed to his pen is a versified history of his family, *Fath Namah*.

Yār Muhammad Khān (d. unknown) belonged to the noble family of Talpur and was arrested, like all Amirs of Sind, when the British East India Company usurped that province. Much of his life passed as political prisoner. He wrote a history of Sind, and to please the commissioner of his area, perhaps, named it after the Englishman, *Frir-Namah*.

8. Tonk (Rajasthan)

Amir ud-Dawlah, Nawwāb Muhammad Amir Khān (d. 1250/1834), was an Afghan soldier of fortune and first ruler of the state of Tonk, Rajasthan. His birth-place was a village between Peshawar and Sawāt. Ja'far 'Ali Naqawi, the author of *Tarikh-i-Ahmadi* and follower of Saiyed Ahmad, leader of *Jehād* movement against the Sikhs, has reported: "We noticed the village of Amir ud-Dawlah situated at the top of a hill when the army of *Mujahidin* = holy warriors, was passing on our way to Balakot". The battle of Balakot was fought in 1247/1831. Muhammad Amir Khān was born in a poor family and soon left home in search of employment. Many young adventurers joined him for the same purpose. Having arrived in India around 1203/1788, he roamed with his party at different places: Khapri, Nagaur, Jodhpur in Rajasthan, Palampur, Surat, Barodah in Gujarat, and down to Nasik. His services as fearless fighter, accompanied by followers varying from twenty to two hundred, were very much appreciated by his employers. They were petty princes of different denominations: Rajput, Maratha, Muslim. The provinces of Rajasthan and Malwah were in the grip of lawlessness and terror due to predatory bands of savages called Pindaris. Amir Khān showed rare organizing skill by reducing them to obedience and making them acknowledge his leadership. Soon, he rose to fame as a leader of consequence with private army ready at short notice to fight, plunder and create havoc. At that juncture dissensions surfaced between Maratha clans and they began to quarrel with each other, Jaswant

Rao Holkar made highest bid to pay Amir Khan and his troops. So, he put his weight in Holkar's balance. His sympathies with militant reformer, Saiyed Ahmad of Rai Bareilly, aroused strong suspicions of the English against him. Moreover, his Pindaries, whose nuisance could hardly be controlled, posed real threat to public peace. The governor general of East India Company exerted pressure and forced Amir Khan to bow down before the yoke of subsidiary alliance, 1233/1817. In return, the English allowed him to take a territory of modest revenue in Rajasthan with Tonk as its centre.

Amir ud-Dawlah was not a properly literate person, but treated the scholars with great respect. On the other hand, his son, Wazir ud-Dawlah Nawwāb Muhammad Wazir Khan (d. 1281/1864), had regular training of scholarship. He left his name as an enthusiastic patron of learned men. Under the later Nawwābs, Tonk became a haven for literary men, especially, the poets of Urdu.

WRITERS AND POETS

Abu Sa'id Muajaddidi, Shāh (d. 1250/1834) claimed his descent from Shaikh Ahmad Mujaddid Sirhindi and had gained respect as a Sufi-scholar. His life passed in the cities of Rampur, Tonk, and Delhi. He was the author of a handbook for seekers of spiritual knowledge in eight chapters; its title being: *Hidayat ut-Talibin*, ca. 1225/1810.

‘Azmat ullah Niyāzi (d. unknown) lived in Tonk, and served under Nawwāb Muhammad Wazir Khan (d. 1281/1864), son of Amir ud-Dawlah Nawwāb Muhammad Amir Khan. ‘Azmat ullah named his collection of letters after his patron's father: *Amir ul-Insha*, ca. 1281/1864.

Basāwan Lāl (d. unknown) composed poetry under the pen-name Shādān and served as a *munshi* = secretary, in the state of Nawwāb Amir ud-Dawlah Muhammad Amir Khan. Basāwan Lāl wrote an account of the life of Nawwāb Amir ud-Dawlah in his book entitled: *Amir-Namah*, 1240/1824.

Ghazanfar 'Ali (d. unknown) lived in the court of Nawwāb Wazīr Khān (d. 1281/1864), ruler of Tonk. He prepared a dictionary of pure Persian words and dedicated it to his patron; its title being *Farhang-i-Wazīr Khānī*.

Ghulām Haidar Ilahabādi (d. unknown) lived at the court of Nawwāb Muhammad Wazīr, Khān, ruler of the state of Tonk, (d. 1281/1864). At the instance of his patron, Ghulām Haidar prepared a book of anecdotes: *Nafa'is ul-Asmar*, completed in 1259/1843.

Muhammad 'Ali (d. 1289/1872) was born in the suburb of Malihabād, Lucknow and lived under the patronage of Nawwāb Wazīr ud-Dawlah, Wazīr Muhammad Khān of Tonk. In young age, he was influenced by Saiyed Ahmad of Rāi Bareilly, leader of the reform movement and an orthodox scholar (d. 1246/1831), whom he acknowledged as his teacher and spiritual guide. As a mark of gratitude, he described the life of Saiyed Ahmad and dedicated the work to Nawwāb Wazīr ud-Dawlah. Its name was: *Makhzan-i-Ahmadi*, completed in 1261/1845.

Rāj Nemdhāri, Pandit (d. unknown) lived at the court of Nawwāb Amir Khān, ruler of Tonk, (d. 1250/1834), and composed an astronomical treatise: *Dil-Pasand*.

Goya, Faqir Muhammad Khān, belonged to Malihabād, an early settlement of the Rohellah Afghans in Awadh near Lucknow. They founded that town during the reign of Shāh Jahan. Goya enjoyed the patronage of Nawwāb Muhammad Wazīr Khān Wazīr ud-Dawlah, and passed a considerable period of his life in Tonk. He was a bilingual poet and composed both in Persian and Urdu. One of his descendants, Josh Malihabādi, Shabbir Hasan Khān, attained greater prominence as poet and left a permanent mark on Urdu literature.

9. Bhopal

Dost Muhammad Khān was an early emigrant among his flock, the Rohellah Afghans, who turned towards North India as the Mughal empire declined. He seemed to have arrived a year before or after the death of Aurangzeb. Initially, he served as a mercenary soldier under the local

Princes of Malwah, Central India, and succeeded, in course of time, to carve out a principality for himself around the area where the city of Bhopal is now situated. Although Dost Muhammad did not care during his own life to be addressed as *Nawwāb*, his son, Yār Muhammad Khān, assumed that title, concluded treaty with the English and secured a stable principedom for his future generations. A peculiar aspect of the state of Bhopal was that it was ruled in regular succession by three female *nawwābs*: 1. Sikandar Begum d. 1285/1868, ruled twenty three years. 2. Shahjahan Begum d. 1319/1901. After the death of her husband, Bāqī Muhammad Khān, a member of her own princely family, she re-married, with an ordinary officer of the state, Saiyed Siddiq Hasan. None the less, he was a scholar of religious sciences. The period of her rule lasted thirty two years. 3. Sultan Jahan Begum d. 1349/1930, left her name for introducing administrative reforms, particularly, the spread of education. In 1345/1926, she abdicated in favour of her son, Hamid ullah Khān. The latter served as Chancellor of the Chamber of Indian Princes on the eve of Independence. They were all talented ladies and invited learned men of every field to Bhopal. Some scholars, as a token of gratitude transferred the authorship of their works to their patrons. Others were hired on the tacit understanding that they would attribute their labours to those who paid. However, that pious fraud affirmed the sincere interest taken by the Begums of Bhopal and their nobles in things of the mind.

WRITERS

Ghulām Ahmad Furoghi (d. unknown) taught in a Madrasah at Bhopal during the days of Nawwāb Shāh Jahan Begum. He was the author of a versified syllabus, mere gymnastic of words, for the benefit of young learners of Persian. Its title was: *Nisāb-i-Benazir*, completed ca. 1308/1890.

Muhammad Ahsan Bilgrāmi (d. unknown) served as a physician in Bhopal during the days of Nawwāb Shāh Jahan Begum. He compiled a Persian Urdu dictionary and named it, *Lughāt-i-Shah Jahani*, 1295/1878.

Ref'at Sherwani, Muhammad 'Abbās (d. 1315/1897) was the descendant of a nobleman serving in the government of Nādir Shāh. His father, Shaikh Ahmad Yamini Sherwani, initially began his career as a teacher in the Calcutta Madrasah founded by Warren Hastings. Thereafter, he came to Lucknow and stayed at the court of Ghazi ud-Din Haidar, King of Awadh. At the invitation of the Rajah of Kashi, he moved to Benaras, where Ref'at was born. Like his father, Ref'at attained high degree of knowledge in Arabic and Persian. In young age, he visited Delhi and developed association with Mirza Ghālib. The great poet admitted Ref'at in the circle of his disciples, always treating him with special consideration for the scholarship Ref'at possessed. Most of his active life passed in the State of Bhopal, where he enjoyed the confidence of the State's rulers, Sikandar Begum and her successor, Shāh Jahān Begum. In spite of his daily engagements as a civil dignitary, Maulana Ref'at spared time for creative work and was a vigorous writer, said to have left about sixty-two books on a variety of subjects. Among them may be mentioned: 1. *Siraj ul-Iqbal Tarikh-i-Bhopal*, 2. *Tarikh-i-Afaghinah*, 3. *Tarikh-i-Deccan/Bagh-i-Chahar Chaman*, 4. *Nūr-i-Didah* and 5. a history of the (Ismā'ili) Bohra community: *Qalā'id ul-Jawahir fi Ahwāl ul-Bawahir* etc. ca. 1269/1852.

Muhtasham, Abu'l Qāsim (d. unknown) lived in Bhopal and enjoyed the patronage of Nawwāb Shāh Jahān Begum. Like his father, Muhammad 'Abbās Ref'at Sherwani, he was respected for his scholarship. His contribution was a *tazkirah* of female versifiers; its title was: *Akhtar-i-Taban*, written in 1298/1881.

Nūr ul-Hasan Khān (d. 1342/1923) used Nūr and Taiyib as his pen-names, and was the son of Nawwāb Siddiq Hasan Khān of Bhopal. His date of birth was 1278/1861. Like his father, he was also respected for his scholarship. It would not be easy to believe that he wrote, when he was a boy of fourteen, the *tazkirah* of poets, as an independent supplement to his father's earlier work. As regards the authorship of many books ascribed to his pen, it will always remain a question mark. Supposedly, he made additions to his father's *tazkirah* of poets, *Sham'-i-Anjuman*, and brought out his enlarged version under the title: *Nigaristan-i-Sukhan*, 1292/1875.

Raf'at, Shāh Ra'ūf Ahmad (d. 1253/1838) was a Sufi of the Naqshbandi-Mujaddidi sub-order living in Delhi, who later on shifted to Bhopal. A spiritual disciple of Shāh Ghulam 'Alī of Delhi (d. 1240/1824), he collected his teacher's 1. *Malfūzat* = utterances, *Durr ul-Ma'orif* and 2. letters, *Makātib-i-Sharifah*, ca. 1250/1835.

Rustam 'Alī Shahabādī (d. unknown) passed his early career as a soldier in the service of the Maratha Chief, Baji Rāo, and later on shifted to Bhopal, where Nawwāb Yār Muhammad Khān treated him with kindness. His book, *Tarikh-i-Hindi*, carrying the account to 1153/1740, is a valuable work, for it contains many original facts not mentioned by other historians. The notices of contemporary scholars and poets as also of the Mughal emperor, Muhammad Shāh, are of much interest in *Tarikh-i-Hindi*.

Saba, Muzaffar Husain (d. unknown) served in the state of Bhopal and enjoyed the patronage of Nawwāb Siddiq Hasan Khān and his sons. In continuation to the *tazkirah* of poets attempted in succession by the above-named princes, Saba brought out his own work naming it: *Ruz-i-Raushan*, 1297/1880.

Shah Jahān Begum (d. 1319/1901) succeeded her mother, Nawwāb Sikandar Begum, as ruler of the state of Bhopal. In turn her successor was Sultān Jahān Begum. Under their patronage the state developed reputation for scholarly activities. They invited men of learning from different parts of India. But, the unavoidable custom of sycophancy, which dominated the etiquette of all princely courts in British India, took a more subtle shape in Bhopal. The courtiers either laboured themselves or hired needy scholars to write books on a variety of subjects; and their authorship was ascribed to the Begums and their husbands. Of such description were the two books supposed to be written by Nawwāb Shāh Jahān Begum: 1. a history of the state entitled *Taj ul Iqbal Tarikh-i-Bhopal* and 2. a multi-lingual dictionary, containing words of four languages: Persian, Urdu, English and Sanskrit. Its name was *Khazinat ul-Lughat*, published in 1304/1886.

Yūsuf 'Alī, Maulawī (d. unknown) belonged to a learned family of Faruqī Shaikhs, whose ancestral home was Gopamao, a small town in

Awadh. He served under Nawwāb Siddiq Hasan Khān (d. 1307/1889), the husband of Shāh Jahān Begum, ruler of Bhopal. According to modern researches, Maulawī Yūsuf 'Alī was the real author of the three *tazkirahs* of poets, obsequiously ascribed to Siddiq Hasan and his two sons, Nūr ul-Hasan and 'Alī Hasan. The titles of the three works were *Sham'-i-Anjuman*, *Nigaristan-i-Sukhan*, and *Subh-i-Gulshan* respectively.

10. Hyderabad

Mir Qamar ud-Din, Nizām ul-Mulk Asaf Jāh I, was the most cautious and shrewd of all the nobles who mismanaged the affairs of the empire after the death of the last Great Mughal. His chief merits were two: boldness and wisdom in discerning the correct opportunity. In ambition for power he was second to none. He and his cousin Muhammad Amin Khān, played major role in the intrigue of removing the the Saiyeds of Barhah (1133/1720). Again, the evil genius of two nobles, Nizām ul-Mulk and Burhan ul-Mulk, had equal share in causing the sack of Delhi. They quarrelled over the title of *Amir ul-Umara*. Nizām ul-Mulk succeeded in extorting it from the emperor. The other rival satisfied his frustration by inciting Nādir to March forward from Karnāl to Delhi. And, according to the proverb of our ancestors: *it happened what happend*. Having a premonition of the shape of things in the coming future, Nizām ul-Mulk had already decided to opt out of the hopeless Delhi politics by seeking a better alternative. He coerced the emperor to grant him the governorship of six provinces of the Deccan. His friend, Mirza Bedil congratulated him in a chronogram: *Mulk-i-Khas-i-Deccan Mubarak bad* = 1125/1713. After Nādir's debacle, (1152/1739), he crossed the river Nerbada and did not return to the North. Henceforth, he ruled the vast state of the Deccan in quite independent position. His descendants never dared to put their foot on the wrong side and managed their survival by careful dealings with the English. Mir Osman 'Alī Khān was the seventh and last descendant. The state of Hyderabad lasted till Independence, 1367/1947. Under the Nizāms the city of Hyderabad became a centre of gravity attracting sholars and learned men from all over the sub-continent. The activities in various intellectual fields continued unabated for six generations. Poetry received greater attention. Every poet, let us say, enjoyed the privilege of a free man. His livelihood

was guaranteed, almost certainly, by the treasury of the Nizams. Their respect for knowledge culminated in the establishment of the Osmania University.

WRITERS AND POETS

'Abd ul-Hakim, Khwajah (d. unknown) belonged to Farrukhabad, Uttar Pradesh, and went in search of employment to Hyderabad. A noble of the Nizām, Mir Akbar 'Ali Khān Sikandar Jāh (d. 1244/1829), provided him with the meagre job of a *munshi* = scribe, in his office. He wrote a history of the tumultuous events from Ahmad Shāh to Shāh 'Alam, covering in the narrative the emergence of Nizām ul-Mulk and the rise of the Sikhs in Punjab. As a token of gratitude to his master Mir Akbar 'Ali, he named it *Tuhfah-i-Akhari*, completed in 1219/1804. His major contribution was translation from Punjabi of *Janam Sakhi*, the life of Guru Nānak, including *Tarjumah-i-Mulaqāt-i-Nanak*.

'Abd ul-Karim b. Shaikh Ghulām Husain (d. unknown) lived in Mau'minabād, a town in the neighbourhood of Aurangabād, Deccan, and was known as a physician. Many nobles of the Nizām, Mir Farkhundah 'Ali Khān, acknowledged his scholarship and offered him patronage. He wrote a textbook of medicine and dedicated it to his friend, the police chief of his town, Muhammad Husām ud-Din, naming the work: *Fawa'id-i-Husamiyah*, ca. 1262/1846.

'Abd ul-Latif Shāstari (d. 1220/1806) left his birth place, Shāstar, in early age, studied at Shirāz, and visited many cities of Iran and Iraq before finally crossing over to India. Having wandered freely for some time from Bengal to Lucknow, he settled in Hyderabad, where Mir 'Alam, the minister of the Nizām, provided him permanent protection and patronage. He wrote a memoir containing his observations of contemporary men and events, and dedicated the work, as an expression of gratitude, to his patron, Mir 'Alam. Its title was: *Tuhfat ul-'Alam*, 1219/1805.

'Abd ur-Rahmān b. 'Abd ur-Rahim (d. unknown) was a disciple

of Shaikh Nizām ud-Din Aurangabadi (d. 1142/1730) and lived close to his house in the city of Aurangabād, Deccan. He wrote a tract for the seekers of spiritual discipline: *Murid wa Muridi*.

Afzal Beg Qaqshal, Mirza (d. unknown) belonged to the city of Aurangabād and found opportunity in Hyderabad, where Asaf Jāh Nizām ul-Mulk I invited him to stay as his literary companion. He wrote a *tazkirah* of contemporary poets, mostly of the Deccan, whom he had seen personally. It was entitled: *Tuhfat ush-Shū'ara*, completed in 1165/1751.

‘Ali Akbar (d. unknown) was an emigrant scholar from Iran and settled in Hyderabad, Deccan. He served as news-reporter during the time of Mir Nizām ‘Ali Khān Asaf Jāh II (d. 1218/1803), and was the author of a book of general knowledge, supposedly, for the instruction of his son, Mir Kāzīm ‘Ali alias Ujala-Bakhsh. The book was full of interesting information about events that occurred in Iran and India within the author's own life-time or heard by him from the mouth of old people. But, there was absolutely no coherence in the arrangement of material. From the description of post-Aurangzeb Deccan, there was an abrupt shift to the *Mahabharat* and the account of Kauravs and Pandavs. And, having introduced Napoleon and the arrival of the French ambassador at the court of Iran, he jumped back to ancient philosophers and physicians of Greece as known to early Muslims, and so on. Nonetheless, ‘Ali Akbar was a faultless reporter of many contemporary developments. The title of his amusing book of knowledge for teenagers was: *Jahān-Numa*.

Amān ul-Haq (d. unknown) belonged to Rewari, a town west of Delhi, where his father, Shaikh Nūr ul-Haq, served as *qazi* in the reign of Muhammad Shāh. He was invited to the Deccan by Nizām ul-Mulk Asaf Jāh I, and lived for some time with that nobleman. In later life, he developed interest in sufism and became the spiritual successor = *khalifah* of a Sufi, Shāh Muhammad Mustaqim, whose moral and ritualistic discourses Amān ul-Haq collected in a book: *Irshad-i-Mustaqim*, ca. 1210/1795.

Amir, Munshi (d. unknown) lived in Hyderabad, where he had settled in 1196/1782, after initially serving under the English officers of the East

India Company. During the course of his active career, he gathered detailed information about Haidar 'Ali Khan, soldier of fortune possessed with innate qualities of organization and leadership, who founded the independent state of Mysore (d. 1197/1782). Munshi Amir's monograph survived under the title: *Qissah-i-Haidar 'Ali Khan*.

Amjad Husain, Saiyed (d. unknown) was a scholar and religious leader living at Ellichpur, old capital of Berār, South India. He wrote a history of the Deccan, which appeared under the title: *Tārīkh-i-Amjadiyah*, 1286/1867.

Aqdas, Saiyed Razi Shūstari (d. 1194/1780) came from Shūstar, South Iran, to live in Hyderabad. His son, Mir 'Alam, became prime minister of Mir Nizām 'Ali Khan, Asaf Jāh II of the Deccan. Aqdas was a poet and possessed literary accomplishment as a writer of prose. In his official capacity, he addressed letters on behalf of Asaf Jāh II. The collection survived under the title: *Ruqqa'at-i-Aqdas*.

Arastū Jāh, Safdar 'Ali Khān (d. unknown) lived at Hyderabad, Deccan, where the ruler, Mir Nizām 'Ali Khān, Asaf Jāh II, acknowledged his scholarship by conferring on him the title mentioned above. A physicaian by profession, he developed mastery over an esoteric science, *Ramal* = geomancy, and wrote a book dealing with that subject: *Asrār-i-Arastū Jahi*, 1210/1798.

Azād Bilgrāmi, Mir Ghulām 'Ali Husaini Wasiti (d. 1200/1785) was born in Bilgrām, a small town of scholars in Awadh, and gained reputaion for possessing command over all topics of literature and learning. He was a widely travelled man; in youth he left Bilgram and stayed for two years in Delhi. His maternal uncle, Mir Saiyed Muhammad, was news-reporter and paymaster of Sind in the reign of Farrukh Siyār, who called Azād to live with him. During the journey he visited Lahore and Multan, making acquaintance with the scholars of those cities, and passed about five years in the province of Sind. Then, he travelled to the holy cities of Mecca and Medinah, where he devoted himself to the study of religious subjects, particularly, specializing in the *Sihah-i-Sittah* = Six books of Traditions, of which the collectors were Muhammad b. Isma'il Bukhari (d.

256/869), Muslim Nishapuri (d. 261/874), Ibn Majah (d. 273/886), Abu Dawud (d. 275/888), Abu 'Isa Tirmizi (d. 279/892) and Abu Abdur-Rahman Nisai (d. 303/915). Having voyaged back to India, he lived in the city of Aurangabad, Deccan, till his death. Nasir Jang and other nobles of the Nizam's state were his devotees but he avoided worldly favours and preferred the life of piety and poverty. Azad compiled his two *Diwans* of poetry, in Arabic and Persian. But among the works of lasting value were the dictionaries of poets: 1. *Yad-i-Baiza*, biographies of 532 poets; 2. *Ma'asir ul-Kiram Tarikh-i-Bilgram*, dealt with 80 sufis and 70 learned men of the author's home-town; 3. *Sarw-i-Azad*, gave sketches of 143 poets born in India; 4. *Khizanah-i-A'mirah*, notices of 153 poets famous for obtaining rich rewards from their patrons. It is prefaced by an account of contemporary events of which Azad was an eye-witness. 5. *Rauzat ul-Auliya*, lives of saints buried in Khuldabad. Also, three rulers: 1. Burhan Nizam Shah, 2. Aurangzeb and 3. Nizam ul-Mulk Asaf Jah I, found their graves in the same environment; 6. *Ghizlan ul-Hind*, a book on Indian womanhood as reflected in Persian literature; and 7. *Anis ul-Muhaqqiqin*, on Indian saints.

'Aziz Jang, Nawwab, Ahmad 'Abd ul-'Aziz (d. 1342/1923) belonged to Nellore, Madras, and served under the two Nizams of Hyderabad, Mir Mahbub 'Ali Khan and his successor, Mir 'Usman 'Ali Khan. Initially, he wrote books on miscellaneous subjects ranging from accountancy to agriculture. Noticeable among them was a history dealing with the time of his patron, Mir Mahbub 'Ali Khan, entitled: *Mahbub us-Siyar*. At last, 'Aziz Jang discovered his field and spent his entire efforts to the compilation of a Persian-Urdu dictionary. The work was taken up on an unusually large scale. When it reached the sixth letter of Persian alphabet, it had swelled into seventeen volumes, covering ten thousand and three hundred full-size pages. For *ab* = water and *atish* = fire, the author gave nine-hundred fourteen and five-hundred twenty-six meanings respectively. Death overtook him and the grand project of *Asaf ul-Lughat* remained incomplete.

Baqi, Rajah Girdhari Prashad (d. unknown) belonged to Hyderabad, Deccan, and served as a civil dignitary under the Nizam, Mir

Mahbûb 'Ali Khân. His interest in the field of Islamic and Ayurvedic medical systems revealed itself in a versified volume, dealing with the properties of fruits and vegetables and their relationship with human health. Its title was: *Bagh-i-Razzaq*, completed in 1311/1893.

Bashir ud-Din Ahmad Dehlawi (d. unknown) was the son of Dr. Nazir Ahmad, LL.D., celebrated Urdu writer and co-worker of Syed Ahmad Khân in the cause of Muslim uplift, the Aligarh Movement, so to say. Bashir ud-Din Ahmad served in the Nizâm's government as a civil servant and later on settled in Hyderabad. He was the editor of a collection of *farmans* from Akbar the Great to the worthless Akbar Shah II. Also the work included a few *farmans* of the 'Adil Shahi kings of Bijapur, early decrees issued by the British government, and other important documents. Its title was: *Faramin-i-Salatin*, ca. 1240/1826.

Budh Singh, Râi (d. unknown) belonged to Rohtak, a town situated north of Delhi, and found employment at the court of Mir Nizâm 'Ali Khân, ruler of Hyderabad, Deccan (d. 1218/1802), who conferred on him the title of 'Râi'. Budh Singh was the author of a book in which he explained the civil and administrative rules observed by the Mughal government. The work contained interesting, often complicated details of miscellaneous nature regarding revenue assessment, land measurement, taxation and levies realized on different items of merchandise etc. Its title was: *Qarib ul-Fahm*, completed in 1221/1806.

Da'i ul-Islâm, Saiyed Muhammad 'Ali (d. 1371/1951) was born in Larijân, a small town in Iran, and emigrated to India in young age. Having passed a few years in Bombay, where he edited a journal, *D'awat-i-Islâm*, he permanently moved to Hyderabad on the invitation of the Nizâm's government. He received appointment there as Professor of Persian in the Osmâniya University. Mir Usmân 'Ali Khân, the last ruler of the state and founder of the University being his patron, he dedicated his voluminous dictionary to him, naming it: *Farhang-i-Nizâm*.

Faiz Bakhsh Aurangabâdi (d. unknown) was *qazi* of the city of Aurangabâd and enjoyed the confidence of Nawwâb Nizâm 'Ali Khân, the ruler of the state of Hyderabad, who enlisted Faiz Bakhsh among his

boon companions. He witnessed his master's campaigns against the Marathas and prepared an authentic report of the events. The work carried its author's name: *Tarikh-i-Faiz-Bakhsh*.

Fidā'i, Mirza Nasr ullah Khān (d. 1314/1897) came from Isfahān and imparted instruction to Mir Mahbūb 'Alī Khān, who succeeded as the sixth Nizām of Hyderabad. Fidā'i was the author of a general history of India giving a sketchy account from the invasion of Muhammad b. Qāsim (92/710) to the death of the last Mughal emperor, Bahādur Shāh Zafar (d. 1297/1862). Its title was: *Dastān-i-Turktāzan-i-Hind*. Also, he left a *Dihān* of verses.

Futūwat, Khwajah 'Ināyat ullah (d. unknown) was the author of a *tazkirah* of 'Rekhtah' poets. Urdu language during the early stages of its development was identified as Rekhtah; and its cradle was the Deccan. The poets were invariably bi-lingual, composing in Persian too; but the writers of anthologies initiated their works solely in Persian. Futūwat lived in Hyderabad, Deccan. For completing his project, he consulted the library of Saiyed 'Abd ul-Walī 'Uzlat, and evidently, borrowed material from Gardezi's earlier work of similar category. The title of his *tazkirah* was: *Riyāz-i-Hasanī*, completed in 1173/1759.

Gadā'i, Muhammad Rafī' (d. unknown) lived in Hyderabad, and was the pupil of Mir 'Abd ul-Jalīl Bilgrāmi in poetry and other fields of knowledge. He wrote a book on astronomy: *Zubdat un-Nujūm*, completed in 1190/1772.

Ghulām Husain Khān, Khwajah (d. unknown) was court physician of Sikandar Jāh, the Nizām of Hyderabad. With *Tibb-i-Yūnani* = Islamic medicine, which was hereditary in his family, he combined the scholarship of other disciplines. His fame has lasted due to the historical work, surveying detailed and authentic account of the Deccan. Its name was *Gulzār-i-Asafiyah*, completed in 1258/1842.

Ghulām Naqī Bilgrāmi (d. unknown) claimed connections with the Chishtī Sabiri sub-order of the sufis and lived in Hyderabad. He was the author of a manual containing the dates of death and brief biographical

accounts of a large number of saints as well as some nobles. It was named as: *Manba'at fil 'Ilm ul-Amwat*, completed in 1298/1881.

Hamid Aurangabādi, Khwajah Khān (d. unknown) was the author of a *tazkirah* of Urdu poets containing 32 entries. As Deccan was supposed to be the cradle of Urdu language, all the versifiers described by him belonged to that region. The work was entitled *Gulshan-i-Guftar*, 1165/1751.

Itifāt Husain Khān (d. unknown) was employed as chief scribe = *Mir Munshi*, in the British Residency at Hyderabad. He wrote a history of the Nizāms and named it: *Nigaristan-i-Asafī*, completed in 1231/1816.

Imān, Sher Muhammād Khān (d. unknown) lived in Hyderabad and enjoyed the patronage of Nizām ul-Mulk Asaf Jah I. He was the author of a tract on the game of chess: *Sardar-Namah*, completed in 1212/1797.

Jauhar, Ghulām Husain Khān (d. unknown) lived in Hyderabad, and was well known as a scholar and poet. His patron was Nawwāb A'zam ul-Umara, the chief minister of Hyderabad in the days of Mir Nizām 'Ali Khān (d. 1218/1803). Thereafter, he served under Rājah Chandu Lāl Shadān, who succeeded A'zam ul-Umara as *Diwan-i-Riyasat*. Among his benefactors was the talented lady, Mahliqa Ba'i, known to her contemporaries as Chanda Bibi. At the latter's request, Jauhar attempted a detailed and valuable history of the Deccan, naming it: *Tarikh-i-Dil-Afruz*, 1218/1803.

Kamāl ud-Din Husain, Shāh (d. unknown) lived in Hyderabad, and was the author of a *tazkirah* of Urdu poets *Majmū'ah-i-Intikhab*, completed in 1219/1804.

Karim Bakhsh (d. unknown) lived in Hyderabad, and enjoyed the patronage of Arastū Jah, a nobleman of the city. He was the author of an arithmetical treatise *Umdat ul-Hisab*. Further, he prepared an abridgement of the above: *Intikhab-i-'Umdah*, in 1204/1789.

Kishan Dayāl Khattri (d. unknown) belonged to Delhi and lived in

Hyderabad, under the patronage of Rajah Chandulal Shadan (d. 1261/1845), minister of the Nizām. He was the author of a book of history. Its earlier chapters contained summaries of ancient works left on the subject by Hindu scholars. The account came down to the period of Akbar Shah II (d. 1253/1837). An interesting feature of the book was comparison of revenue statistics obtaining in Iran and India. He dedicated it to his master naming it: *Ashraf-ut-Tawarikh*.

Ma'ani, Abu'l Faiz (d. unknown) belonged to Delhi and was a pupil of Mirza Bedil in poetry. Nizām ul-Mulk Asaf Jah employed him in service. Ma'ani composed an account of his master's achievements in the Deccan. The work, incorrectly ascribed to Muhammad Ahsan Ijad, appeared under double title: *Shah-Namah-i-Deccan/Futuhāt-i-Asafi*.

Mahdi Khān Safawī, Mirza, Nizām ud-Din Muhammad Hādī (d. unknown) came from Isfahān and settled in Hyderabad. He witnessed the last phase of the Deccan kingdoms before they were wiped out of existence by Aurangzeb. A scholar with experience of practical affairs, Mirza Mahdi Khān Safawī left many valuable works: 1. a commentary on the Qur'ān paying attention to the talismanic virtues contained in the *Sūras* of the Divine book, *Ziya ul-'Uyān*; 2. a concise history of the Indian Timūrids and their relations with the Deccan kingdoms, *Majmū'ah-i-Mirza Mahdi Khani*, 1142/1729; 3. a regional history covering mainly the Deccan, *Qazaya-i-Salatin-i-Deccan*, 1156/1743; and 4. a technical manual dealing with the land-revenue system of the Deccan: *Ahwal-i-Subajat-i-Deccan*.

Mahmūd Aurangabādi, Shāh (d. 1175/1716) lived in Aurangabād, during the time of the first Nizām, Asaf Jah I, and his successors, Nāsir Jang and Salābat Jang. He was the disciple of a sufi, Baba Shah Musāfir Ghujdawāni, who originally emigrated from Ghujdawan, a village near Bukhara, and, after long wanderings, turned to settle in Aurangabād (d. 1126/1714). Shah Mahmūd wrote a biography dealing with miraculous virtues of his Shaikh. Its title was: *Jamī' ul-haqā'iq*.

Mahmūd Jang, Muhammad Khair ud-Din Khān (d. unknown) belonged to the princely family of Karnāṭac and lived in Hyderabad. He

prepared a historical account of his ancestors. Its title was *Asas-i-Riyasat-i-Karnatac*.

Makhan Lal (d. unknown) belonged to Shahjahanpur, a district in northern Uttar Pradesh, and lived in Hyderabad, where he was employed in British Residency. He wrote a history of the Nizams adding his personal observations of the Deccan. Its title was: *Yadgar-i-Makhan Lal*, completed in 1241/1825.

Mansa Ram, Munshi (d. unknown) served under Muhammad Khwushhal Khan Qaqshal, an officer of Hazara, North Punjab. His son, Lachhmi Narayan Shafiq, attained greater fame. He was the author of a versified version of the romantic tale famous in Punjab as *Qissah-i-Hir wa Ranjha*, completed in 1157/1744. Later on, Mansa Ram was employed by Nizam ul-Mulk Asaf Jah I, at whose instance he prepared a manual of regulations for his government, *Zawabit-i-Mansa Ram*, 1175/1761.

Mir 'Alam, Saiyed Abul Qasim Musawi Shustari (d. 1223/1808) passed most of his life in the service of Mir Nizam 'Ali Khan and his successor, Sikandar Jah of Hyderabad. Many important duties were assigned to Mir 'Alam and he showed remarkable efficiency in performing them. He negotiated with Lord Cornwallis of the East India Company at Calcutta on behalf of his master. A second time, he concluded peace with Tipu Sultan of Mysore. The authorship of a detailed history of the Deccan is ascribed to him; although the claim has been disputed by another scholar, Mir Abu Turab. The book has a value for containing authentic information. Its earlier chapters covered the account of Qutb Shahs, passing in ordered arrangement to (i) Nizam ul-Mulk, (ii) Salabat Jang, (iii) Mir Nizam 'Ali, and (iv) Sikandar Jah. Few books, perhaps, will surpass the *Hadiyat ul 'Alam* in providing guidance to the student of Deccan history. It revealed the details up to the year of its completion, 1213/1799. Also, he left a collection of letters, containing valuable information, *Munsh'at-i-Mir 'Alam*.

Mir Nawwab, Asad ullah (d. unknown) was a nobleman of Hyderabad, and author of a history of the Bahmani kingdom (748/1347-945/1538). It was named *Mukhtar ul-Akhbar Tuhfat ul-Akhyar*.

Muhammad Amān (d. unknown) served as an officer under Nizām ul-Mulk Asaf Jah I, and was influenced by Sufi discipline. He collected the biographies of early sufis down to Saiyed Hasan Rasūl-Numa, the saint of Delhi (d. 1103/1691). The handbook was named *Safinat ul-Arifin*, ca. 1150/1737.

Muhammad Amin 'Irfān (d. unknown) lived in the service of Nizām ul-Mulk Asaf Jah I, and composed poetry under the pen-name mentioned above. He accompanied his master when the rebel noble finally broke away with the central Mughal authority and marched to the Deccan. 'Irfān made a collection of rare and interesting letters, particularly, the correspondence of Nizām ul-Mulk with his contemporaries. He named it: *Majma' ul-Insāh*, 1138/1725.

Muhammad Faiz ullah (d. unknown) lived in Hyderabad and introduced himself as Faiz-i-Haq Siddiqi Qādiri Chishti. He witnessed the period of Sikandar Jah, Mir Akbar 'Alī Khān, and his successor. Many nobles of the state, like Nawwāb Mumtāz ul-Umara and Rajah Shām Rāj Bahādur, offered him patronage and acknowledged his scholarship. Author of a number of minor works, his chief contribution sustaining his fame was a history of the Nizāms. Its title was *Waqa'i-i-Deccan*, 1233/1817. Also, he dedicated to a nobleman, Nawwāb Ghulām Rasūl Khān, his general history of the Qutb Shāhs and the Nizāms, *Khizānah-i-Rasūl Khāni*, 1251/1835.

Muhammad Hasan b. Amir Khān (d. unknown) served Nizām ul-Mulk Asaf Jah I, and held assignments in the Deccan and Malwah. His father was one of the premier nobles of Muhammad Shāh. He possessed knowledge about many interesting matters concerning the lives of the Mughal emperors, which escaped the notice of professional historians. These recollections were preserved by him in anecdotal form entitled: *Guldastah*, ca. 1145/1732.

Muhammad Qādir Khān, Munshi (d. unknown) was a resident of Bidar alias Muhammadabad, Deccan, the old city of the Bahmani rulers, and lived in Hyderabad, where his patron was a nobleman, Sharaf ud-Din Rustam Jang. He applied his attention to the study of religions, avowedly,

the two major faiths, Hinduism and Islam, followed in the Indian sub-continent, and pursued his investigations from Sunni standpoint, of which he professed to be an adherent. In a book containing two sections, each further sub-divided into two chapters, the author assigned first chapter, avoiding details, to the majority Muslims: *Ahl-i-Sunnat wa'l Jama'at*, with their four juristic schools, their founders being: Abu Hanifa (d. 150/767), Malik (d. 179/795), Shāfi'i (d. 205/820) and Ahmad ibn Hanbal (d. 241/855). Perhaps, having in mind the unauthentic rather spurious tradition attributed to the Prophet, that, as a result of inter-religious feuds, Islam will be rent asunder into seventy two sects or schisms and, save one, all sects will push their followers towards hell. Muhammad Qādir showed his exquisite knowledge of the subject in chapter two, where he enumerated the branches, more or less seventy-one, of the Shi'ahs. Besides the Sadiyah, Mukhtariyah, Nusairiyah, Shaitaniyah, Zaidiyah, Ismailiyah-i-Mahdaviyah (old) etc., the most prominent in his reckoning were: 1. *Shi'ah-i-Isna Ashariyah* and 2. *Mahdaviyah-i-Jadid* (new). Concerning the one, he gave a brief history of the establishment of their power in Iran, where the *Khutba* = Sermon of Friday Prayers, was first read in the congregation mosques, precisely, in the year 908/1502, as the Safawid monarch, Isma'il, ascended the throne (d. 930/1523). Then, the names of the three orthodox caliphs were dropped and those of the twelve *Imams* were introduced. Two years thereafter, the same *Khutba* was repeated in the realm of Bijapur (910/1504) by the order of Yūsuf 'Adil Shāh, founder of the dynasty. His noble, Nasib Khān, a descendant of the Saiyeds of Medinah, implemented the royal order. Muhammad Qādir gathered still more revealing details about the Mahdaviyah (new), in whose history he seemed to be specially interested. As regards the "old", it alluded to the followers of the Fatimid caliph of Maghrib, 'Ubaid ullah, originally from Syria, who inaugurated his reign as Mahdi in Qairwan, North Africa, 298/910. A Shi'ah of Isma'ili branch, 'Ubaid ullah al-Mahdi left a line of descendants who continued as rival caliphs challenging the legitimacy of the Abbasid caliphs of Baghdad. Quite a large number of people in the region of Africa embraced the tenets of 'Ubaid ullah, the Mahdi. His successors founded the city of Cairo, 359/969. Muhammad Qādir distinguished them from the followers of Saiyed Muhammad Jaunpuri (d. 910/1504) living in Gujrat and the Deccan. For them, he used the appellation, "*Mahdaviyah-i-Jadid*". A lot of space was allotted in the

book to discuss the career of Saiyed Muhammad Jaunpuri and the growth of his sect. Impression could be fairly gained that either Muhammad Qādir or his patron, Sharaf ud-din, entertained sympathies for the Mahdavis. He cited about six instances when the votaries of Mahdavi beliefs suffered cruelties since the time of Sultan Salim Shāh, son of Sher Shāh Suri (957/1550) to his own days. In section two, the author seemed to have deliberately refrained from elaborating the first chapter. With Hinduism no treatment was given to Jainism or Buddhism. But, the second chapter, devoted to Sikhism, contained interesting and useful information derived from *Janam Sakhi* and other sources. In recognition to the kindness of his patron, Sharaf ud-Din Khān, the author named the book: *Sharaf ul-Mazahib*, completed in 1149/1736. Also, Muhammad Qādir was the author of a number of historical works: 1. *Tarikh-i-Asaf Jahi*, from Asaf Jah I to Sikandar Jah, 1218/1803, 2. *Tawārikh-i-Farkhundah*, history of the city of Hyderabad, 3. *Sair-i-Hind wa Gulshan-i-Dakan*, a travel book, 1247/1831, and 4. *Tarikh-i-Qutb Shahi*, devoted to the earlier kings of Hyderabad and Golconda.

Muhammad Qamar ud-Din (d. unknown) lived as physician in Hyderabad, during the days of Mir Farkhundah 'Ali Khān, the Nizām (d. 1274/1857). His father, Muhammad Na'im ud-Din, was also a scholar of medicine and practised the same profession. Muhammad Qamar ud-Din dedicated his guide book of medicine to his noble patron, Rafi' ud-Din Khān Nawwāb Jang, naming the work: *Muntakhab ul-Adwiyah*, completed in 1252/1837.

Muhammad Qāsim Aurangabadi (d. unknown) served as paymaster = *Bakhshi*, in the army of Nizām ul-Mulk Asaf Jah I. He wrote a history of his times from the death of Aurangzeb to the establishment of his master's power in the Deccan. One of the important facts revealed by the author was that with the sinking of North India, the Mughal emperor not excepting, into misery and poverty, the class of bankers and money-lenders were correspondingly multiplying their wealth. The work appeared as: *Ahwāl-ul-Khwāqin*, completed in 1152/1739.

Muhammad 'Ubaid ullah (d. unknown) was a religious scholar known for his pious life. His patron was Nizām ul-Mulk Asaf Jah, I, to whose

spiritual and worldly benefit he wrote a tract explaining the blessings contained in certain verses of the Qur'an. He exhorted the nobleman to be punctual in obligatory prayers of the day and recite the verses, mentioned therein, as regular routine after prayers. The title of the work was *Fawa'id-i-Nizamiyah*.

Muhammad Zamān Khān (d. 1292/1876) was the teacher of Mir Mahbūb 'Alī Khān, Nizām of Hyderabad, (d. 1329/1911). Originally, he belonged to Shahjahanpur, North India. A dedicated scholar of Islamic sciences, he remained associated with the *Madrasah* in the Nizām's city throughout his life. Reacting against his involvement in polemical controversy against their beliefs, the Mahdawi followers precipitated his murder. Muhammad Zamān Khān undertook a journey to Egypt, Syria, Iraq, and traversed many cities of West Asia situated under the Ottoman empire. He wrote an account of his observations with special attention to geographical details. The title of the work was: *Dastan-i-Jahān*, ca. 1283/1866.

Munna Lāl, Rāi (d. unknown) was the author of a history of the Deccan, which appeared under the title: *Tarikh-i-Deccan*, completed in 1303/1885.

Mun'im Khān b. 'Abd ul-Mughni (d. unknown). His grandfather came from Hamadān, Iran, and settled in Aurangabād. He served Mir Nizām 'Alī Khān Asaf Jah II (1175/1761-1218/1803) as a military officer and was encouraged by him to write a detailed history of the Deccan. He narrated the account of his master's family, the nobles of his court, his rivals and enemies in the region, the social manners of the times, and finally, an account of his own ancestors. The work appeared as: *Sawanih-i-Deccan*, 1197/1783.

Nāsir Jang (d. 1163/1749) was the son and successor of Nizām ul-Mulk Asaf Jah I of Hyderabad. He composed poetry under the pen-name, Nāsir, as well as Aftāb. Having lost his life in young age as a victim of treacherous circumstances, he left a *Divān* of verses.

Nasir ud-Din Hyderabadādi (d. unknown) wrote a mathematical

manual: *Bisat-i-Gharib*, which was published in 1291/1874.

Nizām ud-Din Aurangabādi (d. 1142/1729) claimed descent from Shaikh Shihāb ud-Din Suhrawardī of Baghdad and was a spiritual successor = *Khalifah*, of the Chishti Sufi, Shāh Kalim ullah Jahanabādi. Nizām ul-Mulk Asaf Jāh I, the Mughal nobleman, offered him patronage. Nizām ud-Din was a master of breath control and advised its exercise to his disciples. Like Indian Yogis, invariably all Muslim sufis, with little exception, favoured that practice in their daily routine. But, in their belief its initiator was an early Sufi, Khwajah 'Abd ul-Khāliq Ghujdawāni (d. 575/1179) whom the secret was imparted by the immortal prophet, Khizr. Khwajah Kamgar, a disciple of Nizām ud-Din, collected his *malfūzat* = sayings, under the title: *Ahsan ush-Shamā'il*. Nizām ud-Din was the author of *Nizām ul-Qulūb*.

Nūr ud-Din Muhammad Siddiqi (d. unknown) lived as a Sufi in Hyderabad, and was respected for his pious character. He made an abridgment to Mulla Husain Wā'iz-i-Kāshifi's amusing book, *Anwar-i-Suhaili*, naming his work: *Nūr ul-Anwar*, completed in 1220/1805.

Qamar ud-Din Aurangabādi (d. 1193/1779) was a friend of Mir Ghulam 'Ali Azād Bilgrāmi and enjoyed the patronage of Nizām, Mir Sikandar Jāh. He wrote a commentary on some verses of the Qur'an, naming the work: *Nūr ul-Karamatain*.

Rafi' ud-Din Khān (d. 1294/1877) was a noble of the Nizām's state and lived in Hyderabad. His father, Shams ul-Umara Bahadur Fakhr ud-Din Khān, served under the Nawwābs of Karnatak. He held the title of 'Umdat ul-Mulk and was the author of tracts on geometry and optics, *Rafi' ul-Basar* and on astrolabe, *Rafi' us-San'at*.

Rafi' ud-Din Qandhāri (d. 1241/1825) belonged to Qandhār, modern Afghanistan, and came to live in Hyderabad. He was the author of a *tazkirah* of poets, entitled: *Naubahar*, 1216/1801.

Rām Singh (d. unknown) served as secretary to Nizām ul-Mulk Asaf Jāh I. He preserved the letters of his master, addressed to contemporary nobles of the fast declining Mughal empire, and also, some of them to the

emperors, Farrukh Siyār and Muhammad Shāh. These letters were preserved in the collection: *Gulshan-i-ʿAjaʿib*.

Ranjit Rāi (d. unknown) served as *Munshi* = scribe, under Nizām ul-Mulk Asaf Jāh and various other nobles during the reign of Muhammad Shāh. He was the author of a fairy tale in colourful and charming style: *Dastan-i-Kunjishk wa Lal Pari*, completed in 1141/1731.

Raqimah-i-Niyaz: Anonymous collection of letters compiled by a secretary of Hafiz ullah Khān, governor of Bijapur under Nizām ul-Mulk Aāsaf Jāh I. It contained correspondence exchanged between contemporary nobles and revealed information about the Deccan.

Ras-Baras Khān (d. unknown) lived in Hyderabad, and was the son of Khwushhāl Khān Kalāwant, the master-musician at the court of Muhammad Shāh. Like his father, he was acknowledged as an expert in the field of musical science. Mīr Sikandar Jāh, the Nizām (d. 1245/1829) employed him in his court. Ras-Baras Khān wrote a book on Indian classical music. For its preparation he utilized many important Sanskrit sources. It was named after a noble of the Nizām and appeared under the title: *Shams ul-Aswat*.

Reza ʿAli Khān (d. unknown) lived in Hyderabad, and was physician by profession. He enjoyed the patronage of the Nizām, Mīr Sikandar Jāh (d. 1224/1809), and collected medical and other miscellaneous notes of his father, Hakīm Mahmūd Khān, under the title: *Tazkirat ul-Hind*, ca. 1235/1819.

Sabzwāri (d. unknown) was a scholar of Aurangabād, Deccan, and a contemporary of Mīr Ghulam ʿAli Azād Bilgrāmi (d. 1200/1786). His full name, except the above-mentioned *nisbat* = relationship, reflecting his ancestral origin from Sabzwār, Iran, could not be preserved in the beginning or colophon of his existing work. He wrote a biographical account of the saints and learned men buried or still living in Aurangabād and its vicinity. The title of the book, in thirty one sections, was: *Sawānih*, ca. 1188/1774.

Safdar Khān lived in Hyderabad, and was the descendant of an emigrant

family from Shirāz, Iran. His patron was the Nizām's chief noble, Mir 'Alam (d. 1223/1808), to whom Safdar Khān dedicated his tract on astronomy: *Zij-i-Mir 'Alami*.

Safdar Husain Khān, Muhammad (d. unknown) was the author of a dictionary which he dedicated to a nobleman, Nawwāb Ghulām Muhammad Ghaus Khān of Hyderabad. Its title was: *Fawā'id us Subhyan*, 1270/1853.

Sa'id (d. unknown) held a minor post under Mir Qamar ud-Din Khān when the latter still lived in Delhi, and had not emerged on historical scene as Nizām ul-Mulk Asaf Jah, the first rebel nobleman against the central authority of the Mughal empire. Sa'id prepared an abridgement of Imām Ghazali's famous book, *Kimiya-i-Sa'adat*, and dedicated the work to his patron, naming it: *Iksir-i-Sa'adat*, 1143/1730.

Saiyed Qāsim b. Mir Nūr ullah (d. unknown) was a religious scholar and poet living in Hyderabad. He wrote a metrical commentary on the Qur'ān, and named it: *Matla'ush-Shams*, 1045/1635.

Salār Jang, Nawwāb Dargah Quli Khān (d. 1180/1766) was the trusted servant and boon companion of Nizām ul-Mulk Asaf Jah I. His ancestors came to India during the days of Shāh Jahān and the family rose to high position in the Mughal government. Similarly, his descendants continued to enjoy prestige and honours for their extra-ordinary talents under the succeeding Nizāms of Hyderabad. Dargah Quli Khān, who visited Delhi once in the company of Nizām ul-Mulk, left a charming, although concise, pen portrait of the imperial capital of his times, famous as: *Risalah-i-Salar Jang*. It gained wider popularity in its Urdu translation, entitled: *Muraqqa'-i-Dehli*.

Salār Jang III, Mir La'iq 'Ali Khān (d. 1307/1889) was the son of Mir Turāb 'Ali Khān, prime minister of Hyderabad. He was educated with Mir Mahbūb 'Ali Khān, who, after succeeding as Nizām, Asaf Jah VI, transferred to him the position and title of his father. After some time, differences developed between Mir Mahbūb 'Ali and Mir La'iq 'Ali, and the latter resigned from prime minister's post. An account of his visit to

England and Europe survived under the title: *Waqū'ī-i-Musafīrat-i-Salār Jang*.

Salik, Ghulam Husain (d. 1177/1763) claimed descent from the great Sufi, Shaikh 'Abd ul-Qadir Jilani. His great-grandfather emigrated from Baghdad and settled in the Deccan. He passed most of his life in Aurangabad where people treated him with respect for his pious character. He excelled in the art of poetry and acquired fame. Azad Bilgrami mourned his death in a chronogram.

Sarmast, Ratan Lal (d. unknown) was a poet and author of an interesting memoir on the social life and past history of the Deccan, appearing as: *Tuhfah-i-Deccan*, 1279/1862.

Sayyāh Bilgrāmi, Muhammad Ahmad (d. unknown) was a Saiyed of Bilgrām and lived as Sufi in Hyderabad. He was the follower of Tariqah-Muhammadiyah, of which the founder was Khwajah Nāsir 'Andalib, father of Khwajah Mir Dard, Sufi poet of Delhi. Sayyāh was a pious man devoted to religious practices and wrote many treatises. Noteworthy among them were. 1. *Ta'lim-Namah-i-Muhammadiyah*, 2. *A'arās-i-Shuyākh-i-Muhammadiyah*, 3. *Talāmiz-i-Muhammadiyah*, and 4. *Tahqiq us-Siyar*, etc. ca. 1294/1871.

Shafiq Aurangabadi, Lachhmi Narayan (d. 1224/1808) was the pupil of Azad Bilgrāmi and composed verses both in Urdu and Persian. His grandfather, Bhawāni Dās, belonged to Lahore and held civil employment under Aurangzeb. He settled in Daulatabad, where Shafiq was born. Asaf Jah Nizām ul-Mulk I, and his successor, the second Nizām, assigned Shafiq with high positions. He was a prolific writer, chiefly famous for his anthologies of poets: 1. *Chaministān-i-Shu'ara*: Urdu poets, 2. *Gul-i-Ra'na*: Indian poets, and 3. *Shām-i-Ghariban* (1182/1768), poets of Iran and other countries who passed their lives in India. His other noteworthy works are 4. *Haqiqatha-i-Hindustan* (1204/1789), a book containing information about historical, topographical and revenue matters; 5. *Bisat ul-Ghana'im* (1214/1799), a history of the Marathas; 6. *Tanmiq-i-Shigarf*, a history of the Deccan (chronogram - 1200/1786) and 7. *Ma'asir-i-Asafi*, a history of the Asaf Jahi family, 1208/1793.

Shah Nawāz Khān Aurangabādi, Nawwāb Samsām ud-Daulah Mir 'Abd ur-Razzāq (d. 1171/1758) belonged to a family of Husaini Saiyeds who emigrated to India from Khwaf, a town in Khurasān. The family held positions of responsibility since the time of Akbar. Shāh Nawāz Khān was born as a posthumous child at Lahore where his grandfather was a high official under Aurangzeb. As narrated by himself, his birth was an unlucky event to the family, for, it occurred a fortnight after his father's death, who passed away at a very early age. Shāh Nawāz settled at Aurangabād and played active role in the Deccan politics during the tumultuous years which followed the death of Asaf Jah, the first Nizām. Initially, troubles raised their head in his own life-time when his son, Nāsir Jang, revolted seeing that the father was away and busy with complicated affairs of the Central Government at Delhi. Shāh Nawāz supported the rebel son. The situation was soon controlled by Nizām ul-Mulk, who promptly reappeared on the scene. Young Shāh Nawāz, the brain behind the mischief, went into hiding for five years. No sooner than the great Nizām died, his descendants fought for power and played as puppets in the hands of the crafty French, who sided from time to time one or the other claimant according to their own interest. At last, having performed key-role in the Deccan affairs for several years, Shāh Nawāz Khān became the victim of treacherous events and the French instigated his murder. It was during the days of political hibernation that he compiled the memorable dictionary of Mughal nobles under the title, *Ma'asir ul-Umara*. The book is an excellent source of Mughal history from Akbar to the author's own days. His other work of lesser value was a *tazkirah* of poets which remained incomplete due to his sudden and tragic death. Its title was: *Baharishān-i-Sukhan*.

Shifa'i khān, Saiyed Fazl-i-'Ali (d. unknown) lived in Hyderabad and served as personal physician to Mir Sikandar Jah, the Nizām of Deccan, who conferred on Saiyed Fazl-i-'Ali the title mentioned above. As regards the original Shifa'i of Isfahān (d. 1037/1627) he was boon-companion of the Safawid monarch, Shāh Abbās the great, and had the reputation of versatile genius. The contemporary theologian, Mir Baqir Dāmād, remarked about him: "His poetry concealed his scholarship and his satire concealed his poetry." Shifa'i's pen-name indicated his success in the field of

medicine. And similarly, the Nizām's physician possessed sufficient skill to justify his title. Shifā'i Khān was the author of 1. *Mizān ul-Mizoj*, 2. *Qut-i-la Yamut*, and 3. *'Ilaj ul-Atfal*, etc. ca. 1240/1824.

Tajalli 'Ali, Shah (d. ca. 1206/1792) was trained by the pious and talented saint, Shah Mu' in Tajalli, from whom he obviously borrowed the title and the pen-name. He followed the footprints of his teacher, and leaving aside poetry, acquired fame in the fields of painting, calligraphy, and Sufi discipline. Mir Nizām 'Ali Khān (1218/1803) and the nobles of his court treated him with respect. His painting of the above-mentioned Nawwāb won him a big monetary reward. He wrote a history of his patron and the ruling family, which became a popular and prestigious work. It was entitled *Tuzuk-i-Asafi*, 1206/1792.

Tamanna Aurangabādi, Asad 'Ali Khān (d. 1204/1789) wrote a *tazkirah* of about fifty-one Urdu poets, who lived in the Deccan and received stipends from the Nizām's government. Its title was: *Gul-i-'Aja'ib* completed in 1194/1780.

Wali Muhammad (d. unknown) lived in Hyderabad and served as secretary in the government of Mir Nizām 'Ali Khān and his successors. He prepared a collection of letters for the education of his son in four chapters, naming it: *Chahar-Gulshan*, 1205/1790.

Walih, Saiyed Muhammad Musawi (d. 1184/1770) was an emigrant from Khurasān, Iran and served as a military officer under Nizām ul-Mulk Asaf Jah I, who posted him to Natharnagar Trichinopoly. Walih was a poet; his literary works were, 1. a *Diwān* of verses, 2. a tract on prosody, *Dastār un-Nazim* and 3. a number of *masnawi* poems.

Wankat Rāi (d. unknown) was an officer in the government of Mir Nizām 'Ali Khān Asaf Jah II of the Deccan, who raised him to the position of secretary. He wrote letters on behalf of his master to Maratha leaders and other nobles of the Nizām. Munshi Rām, one of the subordinates of Wankat Rāi, collected and preserved them under the title *Munsha'at-i-Bahar*, 1210/1795.

Yūsuf Khān Gilim-Posh (d. unknown) was a resident of Hyderabad

and travelled to England. He wrote an account of his observations, *Tārīkh-i-Yūsufi*, 1259/1843.

Zamhari, Muhammad Ja'far Khairabādi (d. unknown) left his home-town, Khairabād, Awadh, and moved to Hyderabad during the time of the Nizām, Mir Mahbūb 'Alī Khān, Asaf Jah VI, of the Deccan. His patron was Mir La'iq 'Alī Khān Sālār Jang, the Nizām's prime minister. Zamhari wrote three essays on the pattern of Zuhārī. The title of the work was *Shi' Nasr-i-Zamhari*, 1291/1873.

POETS

'Aqil, Muhammad 'Aqil Khān (d. unknown) passed his life in the service of Nizām ul-Mulk Asaf Jah I (d. 1161/1748), and stayed with him in the Deccan. In old age he returned to Delhi, where, on the recommendation of Nizām ul-Mulk, he was honoured with the title of 'Hunarwar Khān'. He collected his verses into a *Diwan*.

Asaf, Mir Qamar ud-Din (d. 1161/1748) was the son of Aurangzeb's chief noble and general of the Mughal armies, Ghāzi ud-Din Khān Firūz Jang. He played key-role in the political affairs of the empire following the death of the last Great Mughal. Familiar in history as Nizām ul-Mulk Asaf Jah I, the title obtained from Muhammad Shāh, his chief achievement was the carving out of a semi-independent state in South India with Hyderabad as its capital. It survived long after the establishment of British power till the time of his seventh descendant. As a youth, he had enjoyed the literary company of Mirza Bedil in Delhi. In spite of the busy life of a ruler, he could find time for intellectual exercise and gathered around him a large number of scholars from North India. For some time, he composed verses under the pen-name, Shākir which was later on changed to Asaf. His *Diwan* of verses is quite voluminous and his lyrics abound in excellence.

Asghar, Rajeshwar Rāo (d. unknown) was a scholar and poet of Hyderabad, composing verses under the pen-name mentioned above. He collected about ten thousand words of modern Persian usage from current

journals and newspapers of Iran, and arranged them in the form of a dictionary, which appeared under the title: *Farhang-i-Jadid*.

'Ashiq, Tālib Ali (d. unknown) belonged to Hyderabad, Deccan, and came to stay in Delhi. In poetry, he was a disciple of Mir Shams ud-Din Faqir (d. 1183/1769).

Girāmi, Ghulām Qādir (d. 1345/1927) belonged to Jalandhar, Punjab, and spent most of his life in Hyderabad, Deccan, where the two Nizāms, Mir Mahbūb 'Ali and Mir Usmān 'Ali, had been his patrons. Girami was one of the last stalwarts who upheld the dignity of Persian in the Indian sub-continent. Tenacious to the principle, he did not compose in Urdu and on the same ground waved away young aspirants seeking his favour and approaching him to guide them in the art of versification. Only the last Nizām, Mir 'Usmān 'Ali Khān, subscribed in practice to Girami's notions. Quatrain being his special field, Girami did not care to collect his *Diwān* during his lifetime.

Khayāl, Brij Nāth (d. unknown) was a poet and lived in Hyderabad during the days of Nizām, Mir Akbar 'Ali Khān Sikandar Jah (d. 1245/1829). He witnessed the rising of the Mahdawi Afghāns in his city. The followers of Mahdawi sect, since the time of their origin, paid the price of their dissent with considerable loss of life and property throughout their history (see Abd ul-Malik Sajawandi). Both the Sunnis and Shi'ahs joined the chorus of denunciation against the Mahdawis, as in recent times, their disparagement of the Ahmadiyah crossed the limits of reason. Once, a similar situation arose, but with reverse effect. The community of Afghāns, living in Hyderabad and having embraced Mahdawi tenets, went on rampage and created violent scene as anticipatory measure against their, so to say, persecutors. Khayāl preserved the account in a concise tract: *Waqā'i-i-Shurish-i-Afghāniyah*, 1237/1821.

Shadān, Chandu Lāl, Maharājah Bahādur (d. 1261/1845) was the Diwān = minister, of Mir Nizām 'Ali Khān, the Nizām of Hyderabad and claimed direct genealogical link with Rajah Todar Mal, the great minister of Akbar. Shadān was a poet of fine taste and lavishly patronized men of letters turning towards Hyderabad during his time. He was the author of memoirs containing autobiographical details, his own selected

verses, and also references to contemporary events. Its title was *'Ishrat Kadah-i-Afaq*.

Shahid, Maulawi Muhammad Baqir (d. 1178/1764) belonged to Ahmadabad, Gujrat, and came to settle in Aurangabad, Deccan. In poetry he was the pupil of Shaikh Hazin and enjoyed the literary company of Azad Bilgrami, who composed chronogram on his death. He was an expert calligraphist, particularly wrote excellent *naskh*, and left a *Diwan* of verses.

Shauq, Ahmad 'Ali (d. unknown) belonged to Lucknow and moved to Hyderabad. The Nizam, Mir Mahbub 'Ali Khan, Asaf Jah VI, of the Deccan, treated him with kindness. In poetry, Shauq was the pupil of the great *Marsiya* writer of Lucknow, Mirza Salamat 'Ali Dabir (d. 1292/1875). His versified letter addressed to his friends survived as *Namah-i-Manzum*.

Siraj Aurangabadi (d. 1177/1763) was a Husaini Saiyed and Sufi commanding great respect for his piety. He was one of the earliest poets of Urdu in the Deccan and played significant role in the development of that language. Siraj left his *Diwan* and made a *Golden Treasury* type collection of verses from a large number of poets, naming it *Majma' 'h-i-Shu'ara*.

'Usman, Mir 'Usman 'Ali Khan (d. 1368/1948) was the seventh and last Nizam of Hyderabad, the largest princely state under the British, where his great ancestor had finally retreated as rebel after exhausting himself in the politics of Delhi empire during the time of Muhammad Shah. Mir 'Usman 'Ali inherited his forefathers' zeal for the promotion of learning and culture. He founded the Osmania University, where as an innovation, the beginning was made to adopt Urdu as the medium of modern education including science and technology. Scoffed by some of his contemporaries as a man of miserly habits, Mir Usman 'Ali Khan approved huge budgets to be spent on a variety of cultural items, for example, translations into Urdu language. He was a visionary possessed with the desire to promote original thinking among his countrymen. As poet, his imagination was pleasant and vigorous and he composed invariably in Persian. Another poet, who adhered to the same rule and avoided Urdu as a matter of principle, was this own courtier, Girami Jalandhari. Like the first and second

rulers of his line, Asaf and Nāsir, 'Usmān left a *Dīwān* of verses.

'Uzlat, Mir 'Abd ul-Wali (d. 1189/1775) was born in Surat, Gujrat, where his father, Saiyed Sa'd ullah, lived as a learned man. He devoted his talents to poetry, painting, and music and impressed his contemporaries by his intelligence and wit. Leaving his birth-place he wandered freely and visited many places. In Delhi, 'Uzlat developed friendship with Khān-i-Arzū. Then, he left the Mughal capital and travelled to Bengal. Asaf Jāh Nizām ul-Mulk I, of the Deccan, enlisted 'Uzlat among his courtiers and he passed old age in the city of Hyderabad. Azād Bilgrāmi mourned his death in a chronogram: *'Uzlat beraft* = 1189. He left a *Dīwān* of verses and a tract on Indian classical music, *Rag-Mala*.

Wahdat, Shāh Hidāyat Ullah (d. unknown) lived in Delhi and was the younger contemporary of Mirza Bedil. He moved to Hyderabad, when Nizām ul-Mulk Asaf Jāh made that city the seat of his government. His *Dīwān* has survived.

Zorāwar Singh (d. unknown) was a noble under the successors of Aurangzeb and lived in Hyderabad. He was known for his large *harem* as was the custom among the men of his class, and enjoyed himself with poetry. In a *masnawī*, he described at length the defeat and death of Saiyed Husain 'Ali of Barhah and the appointment of Muhammad Amin Khān as Wazir. Seemingly, the poem was not given a precise title.

11. Karnatac

Sa'adat ullah Khān, Muhammad Sa'id, belonged to Bijapur, the capital of 'Adil Shāhi kings. When Aurangzeb occupied that kingdom, Muhammad Sa'id and his elder brother, Ghulām 'Ali Khān, entered imperial service. They were descendants of the Arabs of Basra. Since the early days of Islam, Arab merchants and fortune seekers voyaged in large number, and settled along the South-Western coast. They were called Nawā'it (pl.). So, Muhammad Sa'id was a *Na'iti*. After the conquest of Deccan Kingdoms Aurangzeb assigned the people of that clan with responsible positions. Initially, Muhammad Sa'id was appointed Warden of a strategic fortress, Jinjee. He proved his administrative merits and in the third year after the

death of Aurangzeb, the latter's son and successor, Shāh 'Alam Bahadur Shāh I, confirmed, him as governor of the province of Karnatac with the title mentioned above, 1122/1710. His seat was Arcot. The emergence of Nizām ul-Mulk on the Deccan scene compelled Sa'adat ullah and his descendants to acknowledge the overlordship of the rebel nobleman of Delhi. Thus, they managed their survival for about thirty four years, 1157/1744.

As no adolescent male member survived in the family of Sa'adat ullah Khān, the charge of the territory, was entrusted by Nizām ul-Mulk to one of his trusted generals, Anwar ud-Din Khān. He was a Shaikh-Zādah of Gopamau, Awadh, and had served with distinction under Aurangzeb. His son, Muhammad 'Ali Wāla Jāh I, was the most prominent member of the line. He ruled Karnatac for about forty eight years, d. 1210/1795. The remaining three successors, that is, 'Umdat ul-Umara Wāla Jāh II, 'Azim ud-Dawlah Wāla Jāh III and Ghulām Ghaus Khān Wāla Jāh IV, were nominal rulers. The real control had passed into the hands of the East India Company. After the fourth Wāla Jāh the state was formally annexed by the English, 1272/1855. All the members of the family possessed excellent literary training and ardently patronized learned men.

WRITERS AND POETS

'Abd ul-Haq Sāwi, Shaikh (d. 1165/1751) belonged to Arcot, South India, and was acknowledged as a Sufi poet; his patrons being Anwar ud-Din Khān and his son, Muhammad 'Ali Wāla Jāh. Originally, a native of Bijapur, his association with a merchant, who arrived from Sawa, Iran, made him famous as Sāwi. Khwājah Rahmat ullah, a Sufi of Nellore, initiated him into spiritual discipline and he formally entered the Qādiri order. With piety he combined scholarly pursuits and according to his biographer, was the author of about one hundred tracts, about thirty of which have survived. Most important of them were: 1. discourses on spiritual teachings, *Mifatih ul-Ghaib*, 2. tract dealing with lawfulness of music, *Risalah-i-Sama' wa Rag*, 3. biographies of sufis *Hayat us-Salikin*, and 4.

collection of five important principles for moral improvement, *Panj-Ganj*, etc.

'Abd ul-Husain Karnataci (d. unknown) was a nobleman associated with Nawwāb Wālā Jāh, ruler of the state of Karnatac, and held the title, Ra'is ul-Umara. He visited the holy shrines of Imām Reza and Imām Husain, situated at Mashhad and Karbala respectively. Having stayed in Karbala for some time (1230/1815), he proceeded further as a pilgrim to Mecca and Medinah. His account of the pilgrimage appeared under the title: *Tazkirat ul-Tariq fi Masa'ib Hujjaj Bait ul-'Atiq*, 1233/1818.

'Abd ul-Latif Qadiri, Saiyed Shāh (d. 1289/1872) lived in Vellore near Madras, and was respected for his learning and piety. People called him Qutb-i-Vellore. For inviting Queen Victoria in a letter to embrace Islam, he landed himself into prison and was released after fifty days. He wrote two books: *Jawahir us-Sulūk*, dealing with principles and practices of the sufis; and *Jawahir ul-Haqā'iq*, Sufi cosmography, that is, the picture of the world as it appeared to the imagination of a Sufi.

'Abd ul-Wahhāb, Madār ul-Umara (d. 1285/1868) was a clansman of the Nawwāb of Karnatac and lived in Madras during the time of Ghulām Ghaus Khān, Wālā Jāh, V, who treated him with confidence for his administrative abilities. After the death of the last Nawwāb, his services were terminated by the British. Having renounced official position, 'Abd ul-Wahhāb built his own palace to reside, which was known as '*Diwān Sahab Bagh*'. He possessed a big library and was the author of many books in Arabic and Persian. Noteworthy among them are: 1. a commentary on Jami's versified tract on religious views, popular as '*Aqa'id-i-Jami*', under the title, *Khulasat ul-Bayān*, and 2. a diary of travels undertaken to the holy cities of Mecca and Medinah, and also visit to the shrine of Shaikh Hamid ud-Din of Nagore, Rajasthan, in the company of Nawwāb Azim Jāh, *Ruz-Namchah*.

Abjadi, Mir Muhammad Ismā'il (d. 1203/1788) lived as a poet at the court of Muhammad 'Ali Wālā Jāh, the ruler of Karnatac. He obliged the Nawwāb by composing a versified biography of his father. Anwar ud-Din was a noble of the time of Aurangzeb, serving as governor of Karnatac.

As the central authority collapsed after the death of the last great Mughal, Anwar ud-Din switched over his allegiance to Nizām ul-Mulk, and managed to save his position. But, his rivals, a distant relative, Husain Dost Khan Chanda Saheb, the Nizām's grandson through daughter, Muzaffar Jang, and the French traders, all joined hands to challenge the authority of Anwar ud-Din, and killed him in a battle (1162/1748). Abjadi narrated the details in the chonicle: 1. *Anwar-Namah*. Also, he wrote other lengthy poems: 2. *Zubdat ul-Afkar*, 3. *Mawaddat-Namah*, and 4. *Haft-Jawhar*. His *Diwān* contained *ghazals* on the model of classical poets.

Agāh, Muhammad Bāqir (d. 1220/1805) belonged to Madras and claimed himself a Nayiti, a tribe of Arab origin settled along the coastline of South India. His reputation for scholarship made him a trustworthy friend and courtier of Muhammad 'Ali Wālā Jāh, ruler of Karnatak. He was a bi-lingual poet and wrote in Persian as well as Dakani Urdu. Noteworthy among the works of Bāqir Agāh were: 1. Report of his literary dispute against Azād Bilgrāmi, in which he enumerated 400 mistakes in the poetry of his adversary, *Chahar sad irād bar kalām-i-Azād*, 2. a survey of Shi'ah Sunni differences in 54 discourses, *Kitāb ur-Rasā'il* 3. a romantic *masnawī*; *Gulzar-i-'Ishq*; and 4. a *Diwān* of verses.

Ahmad Khān, Hāfiz (d. 1242/1827) was the son of a religious scholar, Shaikh Muhammad Ansāri, who came from Tilimsān, a town in North Africa, and stayed for some time at the court of the Mughal emperor, Muhammad Shāh, at Delhi. Later on, Shaikh Muhammad moved to South India and was warmly received by Muhammad 'Ali Wālā Jāh of Karnatak. The Nawwāb made him Qāzi of Arcot. One of his sons, Hāfiz Ahmad, rose to eminence and specialized in mathematics. Wālā Jāh's successor conferred on Hāfiz Ahmad the title of A'zam ul-Mulk, and he held responsible positions under the Nawwāb. Among his works, mention may be made of 1. a short treatise on algebra and geometry, divided into an introduction and four sections, with further sub-division into seven chapters, *Zubdat ul-Hisab*, and 2. a more elaborate work on the same subject. Apart from an introduction and epilogue, its two major sections were divided by the author into so many chapters. He consulted a large number of books in the course of its compilation. For instance, he discussed the Persian version of Pandit Bhaskar Acharya's treatise on algebra, *Bij Ganit*.

And, his knowledge encompassed the topics of astronomy, architecture, and principles of weights and measures. Its title was *A'zam ul-Hisab*, 3, a treatise on astronomy and geography, containing geometrical figures of the sun, the moon, and the earth, with latest informations supplied by the English, residing in the city of Madras, appeared as *Mir'at ul-'Alam*, and, 4, a condensed discussion on Quadrants; its parts, an introduction and twenty five chapters, was entitled: *Rubi'-Mujaiyab*.

Ahmad ullah Dehlawi, Hakim (d. 1217/1802) was known for possessing versatile talents and earned his livelihood by the profession of medicine. He moved from Delhi to Hyderabad in search of better prospects and stayed at the court of Nizam II. Later on, Muhammad 'Ali Wala Jah of Karnatak invited him to Madras, where he lived till the end of his life. His guide-books for professional physicians acquired wider currency. Among them were: 1. translation of a lesser known work of Avicenna about heart diseases, *Tafrih ul-Qulub*, 2. a tract about the symptoms and treatment of delirium, *Tahqiq ul-Buhran*; and 4. collection of prescriptions noted for their efficacy, *Majmu'ah-i-Nuskhajāt*.

Ahmadi, Ghulam Ahmad (d. 1291/1874) belonged to a family of learned men and lived in Madras during the days of Nawwab Ghulam Ghaus Khan A'zam. Like his father, Asad, Ahmadi was an accomplished calligraphist and possessed mastery over all the seven traditional styles and many a rare script, namely, Kifayat Khani and Dayanat Khani etc. He excelled in composing chronograms and left a *Diwan* of verses.

Ahqar, Maulawi 'Abd ul-Haiy (d. 1300/1882) was a Sufi poet and religious scholar of Bangalore, South India. In sufistic discipline, his teacher was Shah 'Abd ul-Latif, famous as 'Qutb-i-Vellore', for, Vellore was his seat of residence. Among his works were: 1. a monograph on theological and sufistic discussions, *Kalid-i-Ma'rifat*, 2, a commentary on Imam Bukhari's collection of traditions, *Faiz ul-Bari fi Sharh-i-Bukhari*, and 3, a *Diwan* of verses.

'Ali Muhammad Qadiri (d. 1137/1724) belonged to a Sufi family of Bijapur. His father, Shah 'Abd ur-Rahman, was a pious and learned man. He moved from his home-town and settled at Arcot, where the local

governor, Sa'adat ullah Khān and the members of his family treated him with respect. 'Alī Muhammad traced his spiritual connections from Shāh Sibghat ullah of Gujrat (d. 1013/1605). He wrote a book dealing with subjects of particular interest to the sufis: *Tajalliyāt-i-Rahmānī*.

Altāf, 'Abd ul-Latīf (d. unknown) lived in Madras and was the author of a *jazkirah* of poets, mostly belonging to the region of Karnatac. It was named: *Sham 'i-Mahfil-i-Sukhan*, ca. 1279/1862.

Amin ud-Din Khān (d. 1195/1780) served as chief of the fortress of Arcot under Muhammad 'Alī Wālā Jāh, the ruler of Karnatac. He was a scholar with particular interest in Greek philosophy and scholastic theology. Among his remains there were mostly commentaries on a number of juristic and scientific works written by earlier masters. And, a collection of tracts on miscellaneous topics has survived under the title: *Majmu' ah-i-Rasa'il*.

Aslami, Ghulām Muhammad (d. 1272/1855) served as *mufti* and was proud of his scholarly background. His father and grandfather initially served under Haidar 'Alī and Tipū Sultān of Mysore. Aslami moved to Madras and found employment in the establishment of Nawwāb Ghulām Gaus Khān, Wālā Jāh V, of Karnatac. The latter's uncle and regent, 'Azīm Jāh, honoured Aslami for his learning and conferred on him the title: *Sirāj ul-'Ulama*. At the instance of his teacher, Mulla 'Abd ul-'Alī Bahr ul-'Ulām, Aslami translated into Arabic Shāh 'Abd ul-Aziz Dehlawi's polemical book against the Shi'ahs, *Tuhfah-i-Isna 'Ashariyah*. As original author, he attempted: 1. a commentary on the Qur'an, *Tafsir-i-Mawahib ur-Rahman*, and 2. a treatise explaining the principles of Shafi'i jurisprudence, *Mufid ut-Talibin fi Fiqh-i-Shafi'i*. Also, Aslami possessed *Diwan* of verses.

A'zam, Nawwāb Wālā Jāh Muhammad Ghaus Khān (d. 1272/1855) was the last representative of the ruling house of Karnatac after whose early death at the age of thirty five the state of Madras was finally annexed by the British East India Company. Ever since the English and French traders arrived there, Karnatac was the main theatre of their competition and conflict. The English being more resourceful ultimately

got supremacy over their European rivals. The Nawwabs succumbed to their pressure and their seat of government became an English stronghold. In order to justify their rapacious act of annexation, the English Factors and their press in Britain misguided public opinion at home by painting a black picture of Nawwāb Wālā Jāh. In fact, he was an accomplished man of letters, endowed with personal qualities of kindness towards his subjects. Poetry for him was the joy of life and two anthologies of poets are ascribed to his pen: 1. *Subh-i-Watan*, exclusively devoted to the poets of Karnatak with specimens from their verses, and 2. *Gulzar-i-A'zam*, notices of later poets in general, completed in 1269/1852.

Azfari, Mirza 'Ali Bakht Gurkāni (d. 1235/1819) claimed blood relationship with the royal family of the Mughals and was popular as Mirza-i-Kalān. He initially lived in Delhi's Red Fort and escaped the tragedy of Ghulām Qādir Rohilla's cruelties inflicted on Shah Alam II and members of the house of Timūr. After much wandering in search of peace and refuge, through Lucknow, Benaras, Murshidabād, Katak, and Calcutta, he reached Madras and lived there till the end of his life. A poet of Persian and scholar of Chaghatty Turki, Azfari authored many books: 1. *Waqi'at-i-Azfari*, his memoirs describing Ghulām Qādir's horrible deeds, 2. *Marghūb ul-Fawād*, and 3. *Farhang-i-Azfari* etc.

'Azim Jāh, Ghulām Muhammad 'Ali (d. 1290/1873) was the brother of A'zam Jāh, the Nawwāb of Karnatak, and appointed regent during the year 1252/1836. He wrote an account of the events that occurred in his tenure of regency: *Tarikh-i-Niyabat-i-'Azim Jāh*.

'Azim ud-Din, Munshi (d. unknown) belonged to Arcot near Madras and served under the East India Company as a *munshi* = Persian secretary. Then, he obtained employment in the state of a feudal lord, Nawwāb Diler Khān, whose principedom, Savanūr, was situated in Dharwar region. He wrote a history of the rule of his patron: *Tarikh-i-Diler-Jangi*, 1262/1846. Also, he was the author of a tract on the interpretation of dreams, *Ta'bir-Namah*.

Bahjat, Tāj ud-Din Husain Khān (d. 1271/1854) belonged to Gopamao. Awadh, and lived in Madras. For, originally the Nawwābs of the

ruling line of Karnatac were his fellow townsmen. Anwar ud-Din Khān, a Farūqī Shaikh, was a noble of Aurangzeb and served him in the Deccan. The Nizam I appointed Anwar as governor of Karnatac during the last decade of his life. With the collapse of the central authority after Aurangzeb's death, Anwar ud-Din became virtually independent and founded his dynasty. Bahjat witnessed the time of Ghulam Gaus Khān, the fifth and last member of the ruling line, and enjoyed his patronage. Noteworthy among his works were 1. a tract on prosody, *Manba' ul-Bahrain*, 2. a commentary on Shaikh Sa'di's *Gulistan*, under the title, *Chamanistan*, and 3. *Diwan* of verses.

Bahr ul-'Ulām, Mulla 'Abd ul-'Ali (d. 1225/1810) was the son of Mulla Nizām ud-Din. He was the architect of educational syllabus *Dars-i-Nizami* for colleges of traditional learning. Like his father, Mulla 'Abd ul-'Ali was famous for his religious scholarship. He left Lucknow, his place of residence, in young age, and imparted instruction as a professional teacher at various places: Bareilly, Rampur, Buhār in Bengal, and finally, Madras, where he was invited by Muhammad 'Ali Wālā Jāh, the ruler of Karnatac. Out of respect, the latter conferred on Mullah 'Abd ul-'Ali the title mentioned above, Wālā Jāh's successors, 'Umdat ul-Umara and 'Azīm ud-Dawlah continued to patronize him and he kept himself engaged in study and writing till his death, which occurred at the age of seventy-one in Madras. Following the tradition of old teachers, he wrote glossaries and commentaries on classical works, perhaps for the benefit of his students. His original contributions were 1. a tract on metaphysics, *Ijalah-i-Nafi'ah*, and 2. discourses on six points covering Divine attributes, *Tanazzulat-i-Sittah*, etc.

Baligh, Shāh Muhammad Rūh ullah (d. 1284/1867) was a poet and Sufi belonging to Qādiri order. He lived in Madras and enjoyed the friendship of Nawwāb Ghulam Ghaus Khān, who was a poet himself composing under the pen-name A'zam. Baligh was known for his merits of calligraphy and poetry. His *Diwan* acquired much popularity for its charming verses.

Bāqir 'Ali Khān, Nawwāb (d. 1152/1739) was the son of Ghulam 'Ali

Khān, a poet and nobleman, whose younger brother, Sa'adat ullah Khān, held the governorship of Karnatak during and after the reign of Aurangzeb. Bāqir 'Alī succeeded his father as chief of Vellore and retained that position during the days of Muhammad Shāh. Inspired by the *Masnavi* of Rūmī, he attempted a poem in the same style and metre. It contained praise of the emperor, Muhammad Shāh, and the author's overlord, Nizām ul-Mulk Asaf Jah I. Its title was: *Rumūz ul-Tahirin*.

Binish, Saiyed Murtaza (d. 1266/1849) lived at the court of Nawwāb Wāla Jah Muhammad Ghaus Khān, the last ruler of Karnatak, who was a poet himself. Binish compiled a *tazkirah* of poets associated with Nawwāb Wāla Jah, and named it: *Isharat-i-Binish*, Chronogram = 1265/1849.

Burhān Khān, Munshi (d. 1240/1825) served as secretary to Nawwāb Husām ul-Mulk, the grandson of Muhammad 'Alī Khān Wāla Jah of Karnatak, who requested him to write a history of his dynasty. Burhān could not accomplish the work according to the original plan announced in the introduction and some sections remained incomplete. But, he collected ample information in the book regarding the father and the son, Anwār ud-Din and Wāla Jah Muhammad 'Alī. He named it: *Tuzuk-i-Wāla Jahi*, completed in 1200/1786. Also, Burhān Khān left a collection of letters, *Insha-i-Burhāni*, and a long poem in *masnawi* form: *Na'rah-i-Haidari*.

Dastgīr, Ghulām Dastgīr (d. 1280/1863) lived as a poet at the court of the later Nawwābs of Karnatak, 'Azim Jah and Ghulām Ghaus Khān. He possessed a special genius for composing chronograms, and to be sure, must be only second to Khwājah Husain Marvi, Humayun's friend and court poet, in the whole Mughal history, so far as that rare art was concerned. Like the Khwājah, whose poem, in two hemistichs of the same couplet, gave Akbar's date of coronation and Jahangir's date of birth, Dastgīr composed three brilliant poems of amazing length possessing similar character. The occasion for those pieces being Nawwāb Ghulām Ghaus Khān's (i) birth, (ii) marriage, and (iii) coronation. And, to his credit, Dastgīr's verses vibrated with the diction of early Mughal poets. He left a *Diwān*.

Diwān, Zain ul-'Abidin Khān (d. 1152/1739) was the younger brother

of Husain Dost Khān, known as Chanda Saheb, who ruled Trichinopoly and the adjoining territory almost independently during the period of anarchy and uncertainty that followed the death of Aurangzeb, and played active role for some time in the politics of South India. Diwān had the training of a scholar and was a poet, and followed Khwajah Hāfiz and Nāsir 'Ali Sirhindi as his models. He wrote a tract on rhetoric, which appeared as an appendix to the *Diwān* of verses. Its title was: *Arzāh-i-Diwan*. Also, he was the author of a commentary in Persian on Muhibb ullah Bihari's *Musallam us-Subūt*, a work on logic which he named *Sharh-i-Diwan*, and another commentary on first/last Sura of the Qur'ān: *Fayūzat ul-Fatihah*.

Fa'iq, Khair ullah (d. 1242/1826) belonged to Madras and was the pupil of Bāqir Agāh in poetry. Having arrived in Hyderabad, he was patronized by the Nizām's minister, Chandu Lal Shadān, who gave him lavish grant for maintenance. Fa'iq left a collection of letters: *Insha-i-Fa'iq*, and a *Diwān* of verses.

Fakhr ud-Din Khān, Shams ul-Ūmara Bahadur Amir-i-Kabir (d. 1277/1863) was a descendant of Nawwāb Muhammad 'Ali Wālā Jāh of Karnatac and lived in the Nizām's capital, Hyderabad. He was the author of mathematical manuals: 1. *Shams-ul-Hindāsah*, 2. *Risalah dar Bayan-i-'Amal-i-Qatta'*, and 3. *Tabdil us-Sutāh*. His major work was in the field of geography, *Maqta' ul-Arz*, 1251/1835.

Farūq, Khān-i-'Alam Khān Bahādur (d. 1271/1855) belonged to the ruling family of Karnatac, and was master of many languages, including Turkish and English. Influenced by Maulawi Muhammad 'Ali Rampuri, a wandering preacher from the North, he became an ardent supporter of *Wahhabi* movement, at the time a burning issue among the Muslims, which made him unwelcome to his co-religionists, the old type orthodox, and a suspect in the eyes of the British, whose star was rising in the area. Farūq left a *Diwān* of verses and a tract on prosody: *Mizān ul-'Arūz*.

Ghulām Ahmad Sāwi (d. 1217/1802) was a Sufi and scholar of Karnatac, living under the patronage of Muhammad 'Ali Wālā Jāh. Like his father, Shaikh 'Abd ul-Haq Sāwi, he was widely respected for his pious

and unworldly character. He wrote two books for enlightenment of the seekers of spiritual knowledge: *Sahifat ul-Mursalat*, and *Dark ul-Idrak*.

Ghulam 'Abd ul-Qadir Na'iti (d. 1243/1828) belonged to the Na'iti clan of the Arabs, who crossed the Arabian Sea and settled along the coastal region of Karnatak. He composed poetry under the pen-name Nāzir, but his name survived in literature mainly due to the prose work in which he described the genealogy of his tribe (plural: Nawā'it). Its title was: *Gulistan-i-Nasab*, completed in 1224/1809. (Also see Nāzir).

Ghulam 'Ali b. Muhammad 'Ali (d. 1128/1716) belonged to the Deccan and served under Aurangzeb, who appointed him chief of a fortress. He was the elder brother of Nawwāb Sa'adat ullah Khān, the governor of Karnatak under Aurangzeb and his successors, whom Nizām ul-Mulk Asaf Jāh retained as such in his position. Encouraged by his friend, Muhammad Reza, Qizilbash Khān, Ghulam 'Ali composed an ethical *masnawi*, much of its portion devoted to the praise of the Prophet and 'Ali. Corresponding to the numerical value borne out by the letters of 'Ali, the poem was spread over one hundred and ten sections = *Lam'at*. In a section, the author described the history of his ancestors, the Arabs, who sailed to India and settled along the South-Western Coast as Nawā'it. Its title was *Lam'at ut-Tahirin*, 1108/1696.

Ghulam Husain, Munshi (d. unknown) belonged to Arcot and served under Nawwāb Shams ud-Dawlah, one of the descendants of Wāla Jāh of Karnatak. He had friendly relations with 'Azim ud-Dawlah, the grandson of Wāla Jāh, and was a witness to his coronation under the tutelage of the English officers of East India Company at Madras. Later on, he was given a secretary's post by the English. Ghulam Husain was the author of: 1. a history of Karnatak from Aurangzeb to his own times, in which he frankly narrated the gradual rise of the English down to 1234/1819, its title was *Tuhfat ul-Akhbar*, and 2. a work belonging to the familiar *Mirror of the Princes* category, in six chapters, *Dastūr-Namah*, completed in 1202/1787.

Ghulam Husain Na'iti (d. unknown) served at the court of Nawwāb Ghulam Ghaus Khān, ruler of Arcot (d. 1272/1855) and was the author of a history of his clansmen, the semi-Arabs, settled along the coastal region

of Malabar, South India. According to his investigations, the Na'iti people (pl: Nawa'it) were Hashimite in origin, that is, members of the noblest tribe of the Arabs, who fled their homes due to the cruelties inflicted by Hajjaj b. Yūsuf, the Umayyad governor (d. 95/713). In South India, some of them embraced Shi'ah faith under the influence of Shāh Tahir (d. 952/1542: see Tahir Dakani), the author using for them the abhorrent phrase, *Rawāfiz*. Ghulām Husain planned to confine his book in five chapters: first, he narrated the career of his teacher, the premier noble of Ghulām Ghaus Khān, holding the title, Muhtamim ud-Dawlah Bahādur. The nobleman's grandfather was personal physician to the Mughal emperor, Muhammad Shāh. Nizām ul-Mulk brought him to the Deccan. In the fourth chapter, he gathered information about the governors of Arcot, chiefly, the author's own clansman, Sa'adat ullah Khān, whom Aurangzeb appointed governor of the province; and in the end, the fifth chapter contained miscellaneous details revealing the social conditions of the community. The title of the work was: *Ansāb un-Na'it*.

Ghulām Yūsuf (d. unknown) resided in Madras and enjoyed the patronage of the rulers of Arcot. He compiled a dictionary under the title: *Talif-i-Yūsufi*.

Ghulām Zāmin, Muhammad Karim Khair ud-Din Hasan (d. unknown) was a descendant of the Nawwābs of Karnatak and lived in Madras. He held many titles of honour, for example, 'Nāsir Khān', 'Samsām Jang' etc. But he was chiefly interested in scholarly pursuits. His contribution was a historical account of his ancestors. The work mainly focused attention on the last Nawwāb, Wāla Jāh (d. 1209/1794), whose principality was annexed by the British East India Company. The title of the work was: *Sawanihat-i-Mumtāz*, completed in 1252/1837.

Hafiz ullah Khān alias Muhammad Auliya (d. 1266/1849) lived in Madras and served in succession under the rulers who followed Muhammad 'Alī Wāla Jāh of Karnatak. Nawwāb A'zam Jāh treated him with kindness and conferred on him the title *Hafiz Yār Jang*. He wrote a history of his patrons down to the regency of 'Azim Jāh, 1258/1842. The title originally conceived by the author was: *Iftikhar-Namah*. But it acquired popularity as: *Tarikh-Hafiz ullah Khani*.

Haidar, Haidar Nawāz Khān (d. unknown) lived in Madras during the time of Muhammad 'Alī Wālā Jāh and his successors, and claimed relationship with them. Notwithstanding the hostile policy pursued by the English against the Karnāṭac Nawwābs, Haidar praised them in his book, the history of Anwar ud-Dīn Khān and his successors. Its title was: *Nishān-i-Wālā Jāhī*, ca. 1234/1818.

Hairān, Muhyi ud-Dīn (d. 1269/1852) lived as a poet in Madras during the days of Nawwāb Ghulām Ghaus Khān. He was the author of a popular grammar of Persian: *Tuhqīq ul-Qawānīn*.

Irtiza 'Alī Khān Gopamawī (d. 1270/1853) belonged to a learned family of Gopamaw, and lived under the patronage of A'zam-ul- Umara Nawwāb Ghulām Ghaus Khān, ruler of the state of Karnāṭac. He established his reputation for integrity and judicial expertise as *Qāzī* of Madras. A gifted poet composing under the pen-name Khwushnād, and a scholar devoted to reading and writing, he wrote a number of small tracts used in the curriculum of teaching in schools. A work providing elementary instruction in arithmetic was: *Nuqūd-ul-Hisāb*. His more serious contributions were: 1. a *tazkīrah* of his sufi mentor, Nafīs ud-Dīn Sa'dī Bilgrāmī, *Mawāhib-i-Sa'dīyah*, 2. a translation of Shaikh Sa'd Khairabādī's Arabic treatise, *Majma' us-Sulūk*, on mysticism under the title: *Fawa'id-i-Sa'dīyah*, and 3. a *tazkīrah* of poets and saints dedicated to his patron, *Tuhfah-i-A'zamīyah*.

Kamtar, Qādir 'Alī (d. unknown) belonged to Karnāṭac, and enjoyed the patronage of the rulers of Wālā Jāhī dynasty. He left a collection of letters: *Inshā-i-Kamtar*, 1224/1809.

Khīrad, Rajah Makhanlāl (d. 1241/1825) served as secretary to Nawwāb 'Azīm ud-Dawlah, the grandson of Muhammad 'Alī Wālā Jāh of Karnāṭac, who conferred on him the title of 'Rājah'. Khīrad was a scholar of Arabic and Persian and composed excellent chronograms. Wālā Jāh built the congregation mosque in Triplicane, Madras; and Khīrad composed a chronogram commemorating its construction (1210 A.H.). A slab bearing his verses was fixed above the niche of the prayer hall as testimony of the poet's literary skill.

Khwush-Dil, Ghulām Ahmad Mujtaba (d. 1234/1818) was the son of Mustafā 'Alī Khān Wālā Jahī, a scholar and nobleman of Madras related to Nawwāb Wālā Jah of Karnāṭac. He served as chief qāzī of Madras and was acknowledged for his understanding of literature and religious sciences. Khwush-Dil left a *Diwān* of verses.

Lazzati, Afzal Khān (d. unknown) belonged to Delhi and served at the court of Sa'ādāt Ullāh Khān (d. 1145/1732), the governor of Karnāṭac under Aurangzeb. Lazzati was a bi-lingual poet, composing both in Persian and Dakani Urdu. He versified the popular love-tale: *Mahyār wa Chander-Badan*.

Miskīn, 'Abd ul-Ghaffār (d. 1326/1908) lived as a Sufī poet in Bangalore, South India, and was the spiritual disciple of Shāh 'Abd ul-Latīf, famous for his pious character, and known as 'Qutb-i-Vellore'. Miskīn composed poetry both in Urdu and Persian. A disciplined scholar like all sufīs, he wrote concise tracts on religious and sufistic subjects. Of them, two *masnawī* poems explaining the stages of spiritual development were quite interesting: 1. *Kunh-i-Marghāb*, and 2. *'Uyūn ul-Mazāhir*.

Mauzun, Muhammad Aslam (d. unknown) lived as a poet at the court of Nawwāb Muhammad 'Alī Khān Wālā Jah, the ruler of Karnāṭac, whose seat of government was Madras (d. 1210/1795). He composed a *masnawī* narrating the achievements of his patron known as *Zafar-Namah*, and left a *Diwān* of verses.

Muhammad Amin Isrā'īlī, (d. unknown) arrived from Delhi and was employed by Sa'ādāt Ullāh Khān as a poet in his court. Initially he was introduced to the Nawwāb by his *Diwān* Rāī Dakhnī Rām. The latter granted generous bounty to the poet, who had fallen in debt. Amin left the following works: 1. *Gulshan-i-Sa'adat*, collection of letters addressed by Sa'ādāt Ullāh Khān to contemporary princes and dignitaries. 2. *Diwān* of verses.

Muhammad Ghaus, Sharaf ul-Mulk (d. 1238/1822) belonged to a noble family of Madras and served under Nawwāb 'Azīm ud-Dawlah, the grandson of Wālā Jah, who conferred on him the title mentioned above.

He was a learned scholar of Arabic and wrote a number of books in that language. Among the few works in Persian were, 1. a commentary on the versified composition, *'Aqa'id*, by the great poet, Maulana Jami of Herat (d. 898/1492), under the title *Khulasat ul-Bayan*, and 2. a guide-book for the beginners of Persian, *Amadan* (see *Abd ul-Wahhab Madar ul-Umara: Khulasat ul-Bayan*).

Muhammad Hasan 'Ali Mahāli (d. 1258/1842) claimed descent from the great saint, Shaikh 'Abd ullah Ansāri of Herat (d. 481/1088). His place of birth, Mahallah, a village in the neighbourhood of Jaunpur, was given by the Sharqi Sultans as *Madad-i-Ma'ash* to his ancestors when they emigrated to India from Herat. He completed his education in Benaras and Jaunpur and was the pupil of Shaikh 'Ali Hazin in poetry. His career as teacher began in Calcutta, and then, he moved to Madras, where the family members of Nawwāb Wāla Jah treated him with kindness. The officers of the East India Company appointed him *Mufti* = jurist of the city of Madras. As author of Persian, he wrote 1. a tract on geomancy, *Zubdat ul-Jafar*, 2. a similar work on the art of divination, *Miftah ul-Kunūz*, and 3. a discourse on Indian music, *Risalah-i-Rag Mala*.

Muhammad Isma'il b. Muhammad Baqā (d. unknown) belonged to Delhi and was employed as physician at the court of the Nawwābs of Arcot. The profession continued in the family and earned prestige for its members. Muhammad Isma'il was the author of a popular handbook for the guidance of medical men. Its title was: *Majmu'ah-i-Baqā'i*, completed in 1156/1743.

Muhammad Sa'id Ustād (d. unknown) belonged to the Nā'iti tribe of Semi-Arabs settled among the western coast of South India. Many Muslims of Kerala and Madras claimed descent from these people. He wrote a tract tracing the pedigree of his ancestors. Its name was *al-Nā'it*.

Muhammad Sibghat ullah, Qāzi Badr ud-Dawlah (d. 1280/1863) was related to the ruling family of Karnatak, which emerged on the scene of South India after the death of Aurangzeb. Muhammad Sibghat ullah commanded prestige for his scholarship of Islamic sciences. His elder brother, 'Abd ul-Wahhab Madar ul Ūmara, was chief counsellor of Ghulam

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Ghaus Khān, Wāla Jah V, the last ruler of the family. Badr ud-Dawlah established his integrity and competence in discharging the duties as Chief *Qāzi* of the state of Karnatac. He was the author of 1. a biography of the Prophet, *Nār ul-Ahsār fī Siyār-i-Sayyed ul-Ahrar*, 2. an account of the martyrdom of Husain, the Prophet's second grandson, *Dastān-i-Gham*, 3. compilation of a monograph containing historical and miscellaneous information meant to be presented to some members of British Parliament at their own request, *Siraj ut-Tawārikh*, and 4. translation into Persian of sixty-one important traditions of the Prophet, *Tarjumah-i-Shast wa Yak-Hadis*.

Muhammad Tāhir 'Ali (d. unknown) was the son of Muhammad Hasan 'Ali Mahāli, whom the East India Company had appointed *mufti* = jurist, of Madras. After his father's death the officers of the Company confirmed him in the same position. He collected his father's legal decrees, adding his own, and brought them out under the title: *Fatawa-i-Tāhiri*, 1285/1868.

Muhyi ud-Din Nā'iti (d. unknown) was a scholar living in Karnatac, and enjoyed the patronage of the Nawwābs of that place. The Nawwābs were themselves men of refined taste and ardently encouraged learning and literature. Muhyi ud-Din compiled a concise dictionary: *Farhang-i-Farrukhi*, 1245/1829.

Mū'jiz, Ghulām Muhyi ud-Din Khān (d. 1229/1813) belonged to Arcot and lived as a poet under the patronage of 'Azim ud-Dawlah, the grandson of Muhammad 'Ali Wāla Jah, ruler of Karnatac. A bi-lingual poet, composing in Persian and Urdu, he earned fame as literary guide of a large number of poets in the Deccan. His *Diwan* of verses was collected by his son, 'Ghulām 'Abd ul-Qādir, under the title: *Guldastah-i-Ash'ar-i-Mū'jiz*.

Munzawi, Mir Murtaza (d. 1173/1759) lived as a poet in Vellore, South India, and enjoyed the friendship and patronage of Nawwāb Bāqir 'Ali Khān, governor of Vellore, and a poet himself, Munzawi developed awkward habits as his age advanced and preferred to live in seclusion, avoiding social company. His mind continued to be vigorous and active,

and he wrote 1. a tract on rhetoric and prosody in seven sections and a termination, *Jawahir ul-Ash'ar*, 2. a monograph in verse dealing with astrology, *Tuhfah Wa-Dala'il*, 3. a similar versified explanation about the nature and qualities of the planets and their influence on the destinies of human beings, *Nazm ul-Wusul*, and 4. a *masnawi*, bearing five sections: horoscope, palmistry, physiognomy, etc., *Panj-Ganj*.

Mustafa 'Ali Wāla Jahi (d. unknown) lived at the court of Wāla Jah Nawwāb Anwar ud-Din Khān of Karnatak (d. 1210/1795). A relation of Anwar ud-Din, he claimed descent from eminent scholars of Gopamao, Awadh, whose anthologies he compiled in a book: *Tazkirat ul-Ansab*.

Nāmi, Ghulām 'Azz ud-Din (d. 1240/1824) lived as a poet in Madras and was related to Nawwāb Wāla Jah of Karnatak. Later on, he and his wife got stipends from the East India Company. He composed the popular tale of Mahyar and Chander-Badan under the title, *Firdaws-i-I'jaz*, and a poem addressed to the cup-bearer, *Maikhanah-i-kafiyat*.

Nāzir, Ghulām 'Abd ul-Qādir (d. 1243/1827) belonged to a learned family of Madras and enjoyed the friendship of Nawwāb 'Azim ud-Dawlah, the grandson of Wāla Jah of Karnatak. Nāzir accompanied the Nawwāb when the latter travelled to Nagaur, Rajasthan, to pay homage to the shrine of Shaikh Hamid ud-Din Nagauri and other saints buried there. He wrote, 1. a report of the above-mentioned journey, *Bahar-i-A'zam Jahi*, 1238/1822, 2. genealogy of his ancestors, *Gulistan-i-Nasab*, 3. a commentary on Shaikh Sa'di's *Bustan*, naming it *Khuldistan*, and 4. a commentary on the *Sikandar-Namah* of Nizāmi.

Nizām ud-Din Ahmad Saghir, Qāzi (d. 1189/1775) belonged to Arcot, South India, and served as a jurist under Sa'adat Ullah Khān, the governor of Karnatak during the time of Aurangzeb and his successors. A calligraphist and scholar of Islamic sciences, Qāzi Nizām ud-Din passed successful career of study and writing. He was the author of 1. a biographical account of the lives of twelve Imāms of the Shi'ahs, the direct descendants of the Prophet and heirs to his spiritual legacy; the work was dedicated to his ruling patron, Sa'adat ullah Khān, and named as *Kunāz us-Sa'adat*, 1142/1729, 2. translation of one hundred and fifty-

one Psalms of David from Arabic: *Surūr us-Sudūr bi Tarjumat uz-Zubār*, 3. translation of the New Testament, *Faiz ul-Jalil bi Tarjumat ul-Injil*; 4. translation, adding his own commentaries, of Shaikh Bahā'ī Amilī's treatise on mathematics, *Khulāsat ul-Hisab*, made at the instance of a nobleman, 'Abd ul-Wahhāb, brother of Nawwāb Muhammad 'Alī Wālā Jāh, and named *Faiz ul-Wahhāb*, 5. translation of Shaikh 'Abd ul-Azīm Makki's book on juristic matters, *Qaul us-Sadid*, complying the request of the above-named nobleman, *Fath ul-Wahhāb ul-Majid*, 1178/1764; and 6. a tract describing the details of Ka'bah, the sacred house in Mecca, toward which all Muslims of the world face while praying five times' daily; *Risalah fi Miqdār ul-Ka'bah*.

Nūr Muhammad Khurasānī (d. unknown) enjoyed the favours of the Nawwāb of Karnatac, Sirāj ul-'Umara 'Azīm Jāh, and wrote a history of India, naming it after his patron: *Siraj ut-Tawarikh* in 1240/1824. (Also see Muhammad Sibghat ullah)

Qadr-i-'Alam (d. 1242/1826) belonged to a Sufi family of Trichinopoly, South India, and was famous for his piety and learning. He composed both in Persian and Urdu and was the author of a number of monographs: 1. *Zikr-i-Mabda wa Ma'ad*, 2. *'Aqai'd ul-'Irfan*, and 3. *Shajarah-i-Qadiriyyah*, etc.

Qudrat, Qudrat ullah Khān (d. 1281/1864) was a Faruqi Shaikh; his family home being Gopamao, a small town in Awadh. From early life he stayed with Nawwāb Wālā Jāh Muhammad Ghaus Khān, the last representative of the ruling house of Karnatac, Madras. His contribution was a lengthy *tazkirah* of poets, *Nata'ij ul-Afkar*, completed in 1258 / 1842. Also, he composed a *masnawi* in praise of his patron, *Gulzar-i-'Ishrat*.

Qurbi, Abu'l Hasan (d. 1182/1768) was a Sufi poet of Vellore, South India, where his parents had settled after their home-town, Bijapur, fell to the Mughals. Qurbi's teacher in spiritual discipline was Shaikh 'Abd ul-Haq Sāwī. Besides a *Diwān* of verses, Qurbi wrote a number of pamphlets. Some of them were didactic, meant for the instruction of his Sufi disciples, and others polemical, chiefly, attacking the Shi'ahs: 1. *Khulāsat ul-'Irfan*,

2. *Risalah-i-Bahr ul-Asrar*, 3. *Mizan ul-'Aqā'id*, and 4. *Dala'il fi Radd-i-Mazhab-i-Shi'ah*.

Rāghib, Saiyed Ahmad (d. 1269/1852) was a poet and nobleman who lived in Madras during the days of Nawwāb Ghulām Ghaus Khān, the last ruler of Karnatac. He held the title, Mir Mubārak allah Khān, and took active part, like other members of his family, in local politics, where the English and the French competed for power. Rāghib left a *Diwān* of verses and two *masnawī* poems: *Saqi-Namah* and *Firaq-Namah*.

Rā'iq, Ghulām 'Ali, Bāqir Husain Khān Nā'iti (d. 1248/1832) lived in Madras and enjoyed the patronage of the Nawwābs of Karnatac. He composed a *tazkrih* of the poets of that region, most of them his own contemporaries, and named it *Guldastah-i-Karnatac*, ca. 1244/1828. His general history dedicated to his benefactor, Nawwāb 'Azim-Jāh, came out as *'Azim ut-Tawarikh*. As physician and natural scientist, he collected his observations in a book of general knowledge, and named it: *Jami'ul-Ashya*. Also, he left a *Diwān* of verses.

Rāqim, Maulawi Muhammad Husain (d. 1303/1885) lived as a poet at the court of Wāla Jāh. Muhammad Ghaus Khān, the Nawwāb of Karnatac, who had settled in Madras. Wāla Jāh was himself a literary man, composing poetry under the pen-name A'zam, and had gathered a large number of scholars around him. Rāqim compiled a voluminous dictionary and dedicated it to his patron. Its title was: *Bahr-i-'Ajam*, 1268/1851. Also, he wrote a commentary on Mir Shams ud-Din's work on rhetoric, *Hada'iq ul-Balaghāt*, which appeared as *A'zam us-Sanā'at*. His tract on sufism was: *Khazinat ul-Fawā'id*.

Raushan ud-Dawlah Bahādur Jang (d. unknown) was the son of Nawwāb Wāla Jāh of Karnatac (d. 1210/1745). He wrote a biographical account of his father, *Tarikh us-Shifah bi Ausaf-i-Wala Jah*.

Sa'd ullah Khān (d. unknown) belonged to Karnatac, and was supposed to be the author of a history dealing with the Nawwābs of Karnatac. In allusion to the founder of the dynasty, Nawwāb Sa'adat ullah Khān, it was entitled: *Waqa'i'-i-Sa'adat*, 1155/1742. A noble family of

Vellore, Ghulam 'Ali Khan and his successor, Ghulam Murtaza Khan (d. 1176/1762), have also received the author's attention in the appendix to the *Waqat-i-Sa'adat*.

Saqib, Mir Mahdi (d. 1304/1886) was a Husaini Saiyed claiming his descent from the family of the great Sufi, Khwajah Gesu-daraz. His grandfather came from Gulbargah to settle in Madras and was patronized by Muhammad 'Ali Wala Jah of Karnatak. Saqib was a skilled calligraphist and acknowledged for his poetry. To imitate Khaqani and other classical poets was his chief merit. He left a *Diwan* of verses.

Sha'iq, Sha'iq 'Ali Khan (d. 1249/1833) was a young poet and Sufi of the Qadiri order, living in Madras and enjoying the patronage of Nawwab Ghulam Ghaus Khan, Wala Jah V, the last ruler before the state was usurped by the British. Sha'iq left a *Diwan* of verses, a collection of sufistic poems, *Marj ul-Bahrain*, and a treatise describing the account of his ancestors who were all learned men, *Rauzah-i-Qudsiyan dar Ahwal-i-Buzurgan*.

Sharif Rizawi, 'Abd ul Baqi (d. 1273/1856) was an emigrant scholar from Najaf, Iraq, and had passed many years as a student in the cities of Shiraz and Isfahan. He enjoyed the patronage of Nawwab Ghulam Ghaus Khan Wala Jah V of Karnatak, Madras. The Nawwab possessed literary taste and requested Sharif Rizawi to make a translation of *Majalis un-Nafa'is*, the *tazkirah* of poets written in Chaghatai Turki by Mir 'Ali Sher Nawā'i (d. 906/1501), the great minister and literary genius living at Herat when the Timurid princes made that city a centre of art and culture before their final eclipse. Sharif Rizawi's translation, made c. 1242/1827, was the fourth in succession as three other writers earlier than him had successfully given Persian garb to the *Majalis un-Nafa'is*.

Shāyān, Muhammad Aslam Khān (d. 1234/1818) belonged to Arcot and was the disciple in poetry of Baqir Agah and 'Abd ul-Qadir Mehrbān. He served in the establishment of Umdat ul-Ūmara, the son and successor of Muhammad 'Ali Wala Jah, and had reputation for scholarship. As author, he wrote 1. a commentary on Ibn Hajar Makki's book dealing with jurisprudence, *Maxalik ut-Taslim*, 2. a similar

commentary on the theological treatise written by Shah Ni'mat ullah Wali (d. 834/1430), *Sharh-i-kifayat ul-Islam*, 3. an account of war fought between Wala Jāh of Karnatac and Haidar 'Ali of Mysore, *Waqa'i'-Haidar*, 4. a similar versified narrative of attack launched by Wala Jāh against the Rajah of Tanjore in 1187/1773, *Zafar-Namah*, 5. a romantic *masnawi* poem, *Gudaz-i-Dil*, and 6. another *masnawi* in praise of 'Azim ud-Dawlah, the grandson of Wala Jāh, *Guldastah-i-Manaqib*.

Tāj, Saiyed Tāj ud-Din (d. 1274/1857) was a poet and theologian living in Madras during the days of Nawwāb Ghulām Ghaus Khān. His ancestor, Mufti Tāj ud-Din, moved from North India with the armies of Sultān 'Ala ud-Din Khalji and settled in Madurai, the city situated in extreme south of the Indian sub-continent. The Mufti left permanent traditions of learning in his family. And, his descendants continued to be religious leaders of the area. Tāj was the author of many books in Arabic and Persian as well as the local language, Tāmil. Noteworthy among them were, 1. a monograph on the model of Shaikh Sa'di's *Gulistan*, written in response to the great Shaikh's exhortation in dream, *Nakhlistan*; 2. four, *masnawi* poems inspired by Nizāmī: (i) *'Ibrat-i-Absār*, (ii) *Ukhuwat-Namah*, (iii) *Daw'ud-Namah*, and (iv) *Sulaiman wa Bilqis*. And also, *Divan* of verses.

Tamanna, Muhammad Husain (d. 1277/1860) lived in Madras and enjoyed the literary company of Nawwāb Ghulām Ghaus Khān, the last ruler of Karnatac. He wrote a history of his patron's ancestors giving authentic information about the developments that occurred in the area since Anwar ud-Din Khān was appointed governor of Karnatac by Aurangzeb. Its title was: *Qasr-i-Wala Jahi*. Also, Tamanna was the author of a commentary on Shaikh Sa'di's *Bustan*, and a tract on grammar, *Badi' us-Sarf*.

Wala, Abu Sa'id Abu Taiyib Khān (d. 1264/1847) belonged to Nellore, South India, and was the disciple of Bāqir Agāh in poetry. One of his students, who took care of his needs, was Nawwāb Ghulām Ghaus Khān Wala Jāh V. Wala, a Qādiri Sufi, composed *masnawi* poems in praise of his spritual guide, Khwajah Rahmat ullah naming them 1. *Bahr-i-Rahmat*, and 2. *Ayah-i-Rahmat*. Also, 3. he exercised his pen on the model

of Zuhari and wrote three pieces of ornate prose, *Seh nasr-i-Wala*, and 4. left a *Diwān* of lyrics.

Wāqif, Mirān Muhyi ud-Din (d. 1270/1853) lived in Madras and enjoyed the patronage of Nawwāb Ghulam Ghaus Khān, Wālā Jāh V of Karnatak. He was inclined to sufism and formally entered the Qādiri order. He left a *Diwān* of verses.

Wāsif, Muhammad Mahdi (d. 1290/1873) was a wandering scholar and traversed across the entire landscape of Iran from Balkh to Isfahan before returning to India. His teacher, 'Arif ud-Din Khān Raunaq, belonged to Burhānpur. He lived in Madras and was respected by Nawwāb Ghulam Ghaus Khān Wālā Jāh V, for his learned background. All his ancestors were men of letters. He served as teacher to the English Factors of the East India Company posted at Madras. Proficient in many languages, Wāsif wrote a number of books in Arabic and Persian and translated from English as well. Among his works are 1. collection of anecdotes bearing the stamps of "*Mirror of the Princes*". He translated it, as he said, from English, which in turn was a rendering from original Greek language, *Hikayat-i-Dil Pasand*; 2. a *tazkirah* of contemporary poets, *Ma'dan ul-Jawahir*; 3. a multi-lingual dictionary, *Dalil-i-Sati'* and 4. a biography of the Prophet, *Anwar ul-Mashraqain*, 5. Also, ascribed to his pen was a book belonging to the familiar *Faza'il* category, describing the virtues and miraculous qualities possessed by the Prophet's family and the twelve *Imams* of the Shi'ahs; its title was: *Mazhar ul-I'jaz*.

Zaka, Habib ullah (d. 1291/1874) lived as a poet at the court of Nawwāb Ghulam Ghaus Khān Wālā Jāh V, at Madras. Later on, he moved to Hyderabad and found employment under the Nizām's premier noble and minister, Salār Jang II, Mir Turāb 'Ali Khān. Zaka maintained correspondence with Mirza Asad Ullah Khān Ghālib, the last great man of Mughal age, who condescended to enlist Zaka in the circle of his pupils and wrote favourable review on his collected works recommending them to critics at Delhi. The collection containing letters addressed to literary friends, pieces of panegyrics sung in praise of nobles, and bunch of lyrics composed after the fashion of classics, was jointly edited after Zaka's

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death by his elder brother and son, and appeared under the modest title, *Khash wa Khamash* = 'Straw and Chaff'.

Zauqi, 'Abd ul-Latif (d. 1194/1780) was a Sufi poet of Vellore, South India, and adhered to the way of life demarcated earlier by his father, Qurbi. After the latter's death, the mantle of spiritual guidance fell upon Zauqi, and devotees regularly attended him in order to seek blessings. Muhammad 'Ali Wala Jh, the ruler of Karnatak, was impressed by his qualities, and Zauqi regularly prayed for the safety, success, and happiness of the nobleman. About a hundred and fifty books are ascribed to his authorship. Most important were 1. a commentary on the Qur'ân, *Tafsir-i-Latifi*, 2. a tract on sufistic teachings, *Lata'if-i-Latifi*, 3. a biographical account of Muhammad Najib, the deputy of Anwar ud-Din, *Najib-Namah* 4. collection of letters addressed to Sufi disciples with a view to impart moral instruction, and inculcate fundamental beliefs, *Insha-i-'Aqa'id*, etc.

12. Mysore

Haidar 'Ali made himself independent ruler of Mysore by rising from an insignificant position. His ancestors were Arab emigrants, who crossed the Arabian Sea like so many people of their race and settled along the South-Western Coast. Haidar's only assets, which enabled him to succeed, were intelligence, determination and courage. From the beginning, he faced hostilities with powerful rivals: the Marathas, the Nizam, and the English. Invariably they made coalition against Haidar; yet he frustrated their designs. Moreover, he continued to expand the frontiers of his jurisdiction. In 1175/1761, Mysore completely passed under his control; and he ruled it for more than two decades. At the time of his death, 1197/1782, Haidar 'Ali left a well-governed Kingdom to his son and heir, Tipu Sultan alias Fath 'Ali. Since the age of adolescence, Tipu had actively participated in the campaigns fought with his father's enemies. Born in 1163/1750, he had gathered sufficient experience of governance and warfare till the time of accession. Henceforth, his rule lasted for seventeen years. During that period, he was overwhelmed by most hazardous events. The odds were too heavy against him. However, he made all possible efforts to retrieve himself from the adverse situation. He sent embassies seeking help from

Turkey 1200/1785, France 1202/1787, and Persia 1213/1798. The envoy despatched to Constantinople brought back the Sultan's exhortation quite contrary to Tipu's purpose. The Sultan advised Tipu to make peace with the English and not to trust the French, who were devoid of character. The French government received the envoys with formal courtesy and pomp. In the luxuries of Paris they spent all their money and contracted debt. The people ridiculed them as "expensive excellencies." No serious result was obtained. France was heading towards Revolution. Only one year and a few months had been left. As regards the Shah of Persia, he listened to the whole matter with great sympathy. But, actually he was not in a position to extend military help. The Qachar government was sinking day by day into deep and disgusting crisis. Meanwhile, in India circumstances continued to deteriorate. In pursuit of expansionist policy the English were determined to destroy Tipu Sultan. Militarily they had become invincible. On the other hand, Tipu's alliance with the French was of little military importance. In comparison with the English, their traditional enemies, they had neither will nor resources. Apparent disadvantages apart, Tipu was a brilliant strategist. Treachery, the last factor, sealed his fate. Mir Sadiq was not the only traitor. A whole tribe of high ranking officers followed Sadiq's footprints. When the decisive hour came, Tipu fought sword in hand in the rank of ordinary soldiers and died a martyr's death, 1214/1799. After the decline of Mughal empire so many potentates emerged on the scene. Of them Tipu was the noblest prince. His initiation of a cause, the expulsion of the English from India, further enhanced his prestige in the hearts of his countrymen. They remember him among the great men of their history. For the scholars of Islamic civilization Tipu Sultan left a library.

WRITERS AND POETS

Ahwal-i-Mulk-i-Coorg was anonymous history of the fertile area situated in Karnatak. The author was a servant of Haidar 'Ali, ruler of Mysore, who annexed Coorg and made it part of his dominions in 1187/1773.

‘Ali Reza (d. unknown) and another nobleman, Qutb ul-Mulk, were in the service of Tipu Sultān, the ruler of Mysore (d. 1214/1799). The latter sent them as personal envoys to negotiate with the Nizam of Hyderabad, whose opportunistic policy deterred Tipu from exercising his efforts to check the British expansion. During the course of their mission, the above-mentioned envoys maintained a diary: *Ruznamchah-i-Wukala-i-Hyderabad*.

Aqbal, Mirza (d. unknown) lived in the service of Tipu Sultān of Mysore (1197/1782-1214/1799). The Sultan had a fondness for pleasure-gardens; and one of them famous for its beauty and grandeur was laid by him as ‘Bāgh-i-Iram’. Mirza Aqbal described its details in a treatise: *Ahwal-i-Bāgh-i-Iram*.

Asad Anwar (d. unknown) was a poet and enjoyed the patronage of Tipu Sultān of Mysore. At the Sultān’s request, he made a Persian translation from the local Kanarese language of a manual containing brief account of men, who had ruled that area. The first ruler on the list being Timmaraj, an ancient Rājah, and the last was Haidar ‘Ali (d. 1197/1782), the Sultān’s father. His co-worker on the project was another scholar, Ghulam Husain. The work appeared as: *Nasab-Namah-i-Rajaha-i-Mysore*, 1212/1798.

Budh Singh Munshi (d. unknown) belonged to South India and served in the government of Haidar ‘Ali (d. 1197/1782), ruler of Mysore, Karnatak. He was the author of a history dealing with the career of his master: *Tawārikh-i-Haidari*, ca. 1197/1782.

Ghulam ‘Ali Khān (d. unknown) served in the government of Tipu Sultān and enjoyed his master’s confidence. He travelled from Mysore to Istanbul as Tipu’s ambassador to the court of the Ottoman Sultān and maintained a diary of what he observed from stage to stage during his journey. It was entitled: *Waqa’i-i-Manazil-i-Rum*, 1201/1787.

Ghulam Hasan (d. unknown) lived at the court of Tipu Sultān and was well-known as a poet. He composed a *masnawi* in praise of his patron and commemorated his achievements. Its title was: *Tipu-Namah*, completed in

1198/1784.

Ghulam Muhammad, Prince (d. 1289/1872) was the youngest son of Tipu Sultan and only four years of age when his father lost his life. After the British conquest of Mysore, the late ruler's family was lodged at Calcutta, where Ghulam Muhammad alias Muhammad Sultan passed the rest of his life. He participated as an active citizen in the social life of the city and created charitable foundations. His contribution as writer was the translation of a history narrating the account of his father and grandfather. Its original author was a European, De la Touche. The translation appeared under the title: *Kar-Namah-i-Haidari*.

Hamid Khan (d. unknown) was an employee of the British East India Company in Karnatak region and witnessed the early wranglings between the British and Tipu Sultan of Mysore. He wrote a history of Haidar 'Ali and Tipu Sultan which gained popularity as: *Tarikh-i-Hamid Khan*; its date of completion was 1206/1792.

Husain 'Ali Khan Kirmani, Mir (d. unknown) served in the kingdom of Haidar 'Ali Khan and his son, Tipu Sultan of Mysore, and had settled in Balaghât. He was the author of 1. a history of Haidar 'Ali's reign, *Nishan-i-Haidari*, 2. an account of twelve localities situated under the jurisdiction of Mysore, and of well-known personalities associated with Haidar 'Ali's government, *Tazkirat ul-Bilad wal Hukkâm*, and 3. a biography of an old semi-legendary saint of Karnatak, Baba Fakhr ud-Din, *Badi' ul-Ma'ani*, ca. 1215/1800.

Husain Khan Lohani (d. unknown) served as a scribe = *munshi*, under the Maharajah of Coorg, South India. At the request of his master, he translated into Persian the historical records of the Rajahs of Coorg preserved in Kanarese language. The work covered a period of about a hundred and seventy years to the date of its completion. Its title was: *Tarikh-i-Rajaha-i-Coorg*, 1212/1807.

'Ishrat, Hasan 'Ali (d. unknown) served under Tipu Sultan of Mysore. At the instance of his master, he wrote a book on music; it has an introduction, *muqaddimah*, six chapters and a termination, *khatimah*. Its

title was: *Mufarraḥ ul-Qulūb*, completed in 1192/1783.

Mawlūd Muhammad (d. unknown) was a physician living at the court of Tipū Sultān (d. 1214/1799). He wrote a book on the subject of medicine and dedicated it to his patron. Its title was: *Bahr ul-Manafī*, completed in 1209/1794.

Muhammad Nāsir Afshar, Mirza (d. unknown) served as a physician at the court of Tipū Sultān and was the author of a book on medicine completed in the year of his master's tragic death. Its title was: *Tulḡah-i-Muhammadi*, 1214/1799.

Tipū Sultān, Fath 'Alī Khān (d. 1214/1799) was the son and heir of of Haidar 'Alī, independent ruler of Karnatac. He was the author of official letters despatched through personal envoys to the Ottoman Sultān and to the French. As France was engulfed in the storm of revolution (1789), her rulers could provide no substantial help to Tipū Sultān. Great publicity was given to those letters by the British in order to cover their treacherous designs and an English translation of a bunch of them appeared soon after the tragic end of that noble prince. Also, a manual of his government survived under the title: *Dastār ul-'Amal-i-Tipū Sultān*.

Zain ul-Abidin Shūstārī (d. unknown) belonged to Hyderabad and was employed in the government of Tipū Sultān (d. 1214/1799). He was the author of many books 1. *Zabarjad*, concerning astrology and magic, 2. *Fath ul-Mujahidin*, manual of army regulations introduced by Tipū Sultān, and 3. *Sultān ut-Tawārīkh*, a history of Mysore narrating the career of Haidar 'Alī (d. 1197/1782) and his son, Tipū Sultān.

CHAPTER 13

From Ghālib to Iqbāl
(1225/1810 - 1357/1938)

I

The period, beginning from Ghālib's arrival in Delhi and lasting till the death of Iqbāl, made itself distinct due to a number of reasons: Chiefly for our purpose, it was the last phase of the authority of Persian over the sub-continent. Persian had little attraction in the field of prose to resist the natural claim of Urdu language. Its poetry, however, continued to retain the traditional popularity and fashion. Brilliant men of genius appeared on the scene in quick succession; most of them were poets. Of necessity, their art was bilingual; they depended upon the Persian classics for inspiration; but they were gifted with sufficient power of innovation. Due to peculiar circumstances rapidly occurring around them, they were induced to expand their thinking capacity. Search for new hope introduced them to the higher world of ideas.

The prosperity and intellectual refinement of the two imperial capitals, the seats of the Safawid and Mughal, were famous throughout the world, and their fame lasted for two centuries. Within a short interval of eighteen years, these great centres of civilization lost their glory. Both

Isfahan and Delhi were pillaged and destroyed by the Afghans and the Persian soldiers of Nadir: 1134/1721 and 1152/1739. More than a century, was spent in striving to pick up the process of mental and moral reconstruction. Meanwhile, Western Imperialism, spearheaded in the area by the English race, which exercised absolute control, indirect and direct in Iran and India respectively, introduced the 'subordinate' people with a new civilization. Soon, its values were going to guide the progress of the whole mankind. Ghalib, was one of the foremost amongst the wise men of his generation, who frankly admitted the reality. He acknowledged the strength of the Western civilization, which had overtaken the sub-continent from across the distant seas. In his vision, steam and electricity symbolized its advantage. Ghalib felt deep pain for the loss of power and humiliation suffered by his people. None the less, his response to the change remained positive. The poet was gifted with a strong mind.

Born in Akbarabad Agra, 1212/1797, Ghalib, Mirza Asad ullah Khan alias Mirza Naushah, lived in Delhi from 1225/1810 onwards till his old bones were laid to rest in a graveyard near the mausoleum of Nizam ud-Din Auliya, 1285/1869. Innate talents admitted, the peculiar course of life's journey also subscribed, partly at least, to make him a unique poet and a man of powerful ego. His father, 'Abd ullah Baig Khan, met accidental death when he was a child of five years, 1217/1802. The burden of his care shifted to his uncle, Nasr ullah Baig Khan. Soon, the latter also passed away and the boy, aged eight years, once again found himself an orphan under the sky, 1221/1806. None the less, all comforts of life were available in the house of his maternal grandfather, who was a nobleman of Agra. The Mughal society being essentially mobile, scholars from Islamic lands, chiefly Iran, wandered freely in the cities of the sub-continent. One such wandering scholar was Mulla 'Abd us-Samad, a Zoroastrian convert. He enjoyed the hospitality of Ghalib's maternal grandfather and stayed in his mansion as the young boy's tutor for two years. His association made Ghalib a master of pure Persian idiom and Iran's ancient history. Another teacher, who polished Ghalib's mind in boyhood, was Maulawi Muhammad Mu'azzam. The latter's *madrasah* at Agra was reputed for its high standard. It imparted instruction in all subjects from literature and history, mathematics and astronomy to religious sciences. The social atmosphere

was charged with poetry and music. Ghalib attempted to versify, of course first in Urdu, when he was merely ten years old. The ideal poet, whom he strenuously emulated, was Mirza Bedil. Early marriage introduced a change in life. For, he shifted from Agra to Delhi. Henceforward, his literary fame made vertical graph day by day. 1225/1810.

An interesting episode in Ghālib's life was his litigation for pension. Simultaneously, it was a landmark in his literary career. Nasr ullah Baig Khān, Ghālib's uncle, served as military governor of Agra under the Marathas. His high position continued as the English succeeded in occupying that territory. Nasr ullah Baig died young; and the Company granted maintenance allowance, about rupees ten thousand per annum, to his family members. Its mode of payment, not against apprehension, did not prove workable. For, Nawwāb Ahmad Bakhsh Khān, the elder brother of Ghālib's father-in-law had been made responsible to pay the above amount from the annual revenue of his state. The Nawwāb adhered to the commitment; but his son, Nawwāb Shams ud-Din Ahmad Khān, could not make regular payment as he was involved in serious troubles. In short, Ghālib failed to obtain his stipulated share. That matter impelled him to file a suit at the court of the Company's governor general. He proceeded partly by land route and partly by boat. The cities visited were Lucknow, Allahābād, Benaras and Patna, before finally reaching Calcutta, 1244/1828. It was an enjoyable experience. The attractions of Lucknow and Benaras detained him for a year. Unluckily, no worldly-wise friend crossed his path to impress that practical sense was the basic requirement which made a successful litigant and that poets were not competent to fight legal battles. The idea remained alien to his mind that the proceedings should have been initiated at lower court in Delhi. Nor had he any awareness that the legal system which the English brought with them was dilatory and complicated with unlimited scope for corruption and distortion. Only devil's disciples could succeed there. However, men of genius are distinct from ordinary mortals in more than one respect. They have ability to discover compensatory means if the woes of the world afflicted them. In their secret scheme our planet was not a bad place to inhabit. When Ghālib cast his searching eyes over

Calcutta, that tiny village of fishermen, where the English trading ship, *Hector*, anchored in 1017/1608, he found it fast developing into a big commercial centre. The presence of Western people, men and women, over and above others, had vastly increased its sphere of entertainments. It was soon going to be labelled as 'City of Joy'. Ghalib stayed in Calcutta about two years and seemed to have forgotten all his personal worries. At last, tearful prayers of the pious lady exercised their effect. He looked back towards Delhi in 1245/1829. Actually, more than miscellaneous diversions, there was another factor of far greater importance detaining him at Calcutta. The poets of the city raised a storm against Ghalib whom they found a strange fellow. He refused to accept Qatil and Waqif as superior models for intellectual improvement. At no cost shall he allow the literary men to degrade their taste by abandoning great authorities like 'Urfi, Faizi, and Zuhari, and adopt mediocrities in their place. He made it a sacred cause to rescue the versifiers of Calcutta, rather the entire generation of contemporary poets, from falling into the misleading error. No matter two years were spent in pressing the argument with his opponents that their literary heritage did not originate from Qatil and Waqif. They should keep in view the traditions of their long past. The Calcutta controversy changed his attitude as a poet. Henceforth, he ceased to compose in Urdu, except on rare occasions, and devoted his attention mainly to Persian.

The invitation of Bahādur Shah Zafar and Ghalib's visit to Red Fort must be mentioned as an important occurrence of literary history. It was arranged by Hakim Ahsan ullah Khan, Zafar's chief secretary, and Maulana Nasir ud-Din, whom the emperor treated as his spiritual mentor. Zafar conferred on Ghalib the titles of *Najm ud-Dawlah* and *Dabir ul-Mulk* and asked to write a history of the *Timūrid* dynasty in two volumes. The titles were decided as *Mehr-i-nim Roz* and *Mah-i-nim Mah*. Although the project remained incomplete, its memory survived in the mind of later generations. Ghalib's superior talents were publicly recognized. From that date they traced the advance of their own mind, 1267/1850.

The climax of Mirza Naushah's literary career reached when Bahādur Shah Zafar offered him the position of *Ūstad-i-Shah* = king's tutor or simply king's poet, after the death of Shaikh Ibrāhīm Zauq, 1271/1854. Exceptional

importance was attached in literary circles to that purely decorative office. The Great Mughals had poet-laureates. Zafar raised Ustād-i-Shāh to the same status. Ghālib enjoyed that honour until Zafar lived in the Red Fort. His function was to examine the king's verses and improve them if necessary. Only three months before the outbreak of Revolt, Nawwāb Yūsuf 'Alī Khān of Rampur enrolled himself as Ghālib's pupil in poetry. The teacher suggested his pen-name, Nazim. After the suppression of Revolt, large scale arrests and executions took place. Ghālib was also implicated due to his connection with the Red Fort. Later on, the charges were withdrawn and the English exonerated him. Revolt cut off the privileges and honoraia available from Red Fort. The Rampur connection lasted till his death.

It is a myth that Ghālib fell into financial difficulties after Revolt. All scholars of *Ghālibiyat*, so to say, Shaikh Ikram, Ghulam Rasūl Mehr, Malik Rām and others, succumbed to it without applying serious thought. The actual figures of his income were as follows: His pension, Nasr ullah Baig's inheritance, rupees sixty two and annas eight, came to his pocket every month. The Nawwāb of Rampur made monthly payment of rupees one hundred on the condition that if Ghālib stayed in Rampur, the amount will be doubled. The princes of Loharu family sent a donation of rupees fifty per month to Umrao Begum as she was their aunt. Many well-wishers and pupils of the poet, among them Mirza Hargopal Taftah more regularly, showed their obeisance by offering money from time to time. The total amounted to sufficient cash for a modest living. Moreover, a little economy in the number of expensive Portuguese and French bottles and the army of twenty domestic servants could have made him and his Umrao Begum happy man and woman. His personal standard of reason and propriety swayed in other direction. Essentially, Mirza Naushah's relationship with the upper classes of Mughal Society was inalienable. For them life was meaningless without the enjoyment of dancing girls, mistresses, drinking and gambling. That is the uniformly manifest record of human civilization in all times. Financial worries, real or imaginary, notwithstanding, Ghālib was not prepared to de-class himself. Let us not forget the simple fact: just as Abu Zafar Sirāj ud-Din Bahādur Shāh was the last king of Babur's dynasty and the symbol of India's

passing greatness, so Ghalib was the last great man of Mughal age. To praise him was to praise the values of social harmony and tolerance nursed by the Mughal rulers in the diverse society of the sub-continent.

II

A bilingual poet, composing in Urdu and Persian Ghālib's Persian poetry made distinct contribution. By his tireless efforts, Iran's literary history was allowed final opportunity to repeat itself with renewed vigour. The Ghaznawid poets: Mas'ud-i-Sa'd-i-Salmān, Abul Faraj Runi, Abu 'Abd ullah Nukti and their contemporaries, inaugurated the journey. Innumerable generations traversed it for nine centuries. Ghālib's footprints emanated last sparkle before the end of the era. He regularly maintained the standard of old masters and observed almost a religious seriousness in upholding the classical traditions. No accepted category escaped his attention.

Of the various categories of verse, *masnawī* occupies historical precedence. It was originally invented, like the *Ruba'i* by the Persian genius. So, it may be called the indigenous product. Technically, verses ending on uniform rhyme may be added indefinitely to the size of the poem. Thus, *masnawī* ideally suited itself for narrative purpose. The first writer of *masnawī* was Rudaki. The *Panchatantra*, Sanskrit book of wisdom, first passed on to Pahlawi version and from Pahlawi it was rendered into Arabic as *Kalila*. Rudaki transformed the Arabic *Kalila* of Ibn Muqaffa' into Persian *masnawī*. Ferdowsi employed that category for his national epic, *Shāh Namah*, and Sana'i Ghaznawi, the first Sufi poet, made it the vehicle of moral and philosophical teachings. Nizāmi Ganjawi raised *masnawī* to new heights by versifying his *Khamsah* = five romantic legends. The last addition to the store of the category was made by Rūmi.

Ghālib attempted eleven *masnawīs*, employing five metres from *mutaqarib* to *Ramal* on the pattern of earlier masters. His poems are brief in deference to modern taste: 1. *Surmah-i-Binish*, praised the spiritual qualities of his royal patron, Bahādur Shāh Zafar, 2. *Dard wa Dagh*, presented an interesting legend of Indian origin. Theme: Man is helpless victim of fate. 3.

Chiragh-i-Dair, admired the greatness of Benaras, the centre of Hindu religion. His imagination made the poem a masterpiece. 4. *Rang wa Bâ*. The hero of the legend is a tender-hearted king. 5. *Bad-i-Mukhalif*, depicted his literary controversy with the poets of Calcutta. Besides five others, which were less important, the last, *Abr-i-Guharhar*, embraced a good number of topics. It contained six hundred and fifty verses, that is, more voluminous than the above mentioned five taken together. Ghalib maintained extremely impressive diction as poet and thinker from the beginning to the end of this poem.

In dignity, *qasidah* was estimated by old critics to possess equal rather higher place as compared to other forms. It was originally invented by the Pagan Arabs in their desert surroundings. Borrowing from their neighbours, the Persians made its exclusive use for praising and flattering their ruling classes. Thus, they transformed it into an artificial category of verse full of verbosity and florid expression. None the less, *qasidah* rendered one useful service. It enabled Persian to serve as the language of learning. The *qasidah-writers* dug out words from lexicons and made them commodities of ordinary use. Of necessity, the poets turned towards that field in order to be acknowledged as having sufficient command over vocabulary. Scholars at large followed their lead; for, they laboriously learned the art of infusing unfamiliar phrases with pleasant meanings.

Ghalib was fully conscious of all the old traditions. Moreover, an additional factor which induced him to try his gift as *qasidah-writer* was his professional rivalry with Shaikh Ibrahim Zauq. The latter's acknowledged merit was his command over *qasidah*. Ghalib discarded Urdu and poured out his poems in Persian. He composed sixty four elaborate pieces. Decidedly, it was a plus point to establish his superiority. Next, *qasidah* was the poem traditionally addressed to noble patrons, chiefly kings, for the sake of reward. Besides Bahadur Shah Zafar in whose praise he has left fifteen *qasidahs*, Ghalib cast his net wide. His patrons: the Maharajah of Patiala, the Maharajah of Alwar, the Nawwâb of Rampur and the Nawwâb of Tonk were generous persons. Their reward came promptly and they never left the poet waiting much

longer. However, there was one instance of a set-back worthy of mention. On way to Calcutta Ghalib stayed in Lucknow and presented a *qasidah* to Nasir ud-Din Haidar. The ruler of Awadh ordered rupees five thousand to be paid to the poet. As narrated in a letter by Ghalib himself, the prime minister, Rawshan ud-Dawlah and his secretary kept the whole reward. Not a single rupee came down to the poet's pocket. Indeed, one thing happened. Amjad 'Ali Shah was not destined to enjoy himself with more than one *qasidah*. Ghalib promptly changed the late patron's name and greeted Wajid 'Ali Shah in the poem. On being questioned by friends, who knew the reality, Ghalib frankly replied: "All great poets followed that custom. Anwari repeatedly indulged in the same practice. What was the folly if it was tried by a poor poet. I just placed the son instead of the father". However, following the path shown by the Safawid poets, chiefly, 'Urfi and his contemporaries, Ghalib believed that *qasidah* could be injected by the elements of piety as well. He composed eleven poems in praise of the Prophet, his cousin, 'Ali and Fatima's descendants. In the last, that is, twelfth *qasidah*, the poet praised Imam Mahdi, the twelfth spiritual descendant of the Prophet. These poems reflected Ghalib's deep devotion to *Ahl-i-Bait* = Prophet's family.

The *Diwan* of *Ghazals* contained about three thousand five hundred verses. The poet was justly proud of his achievement and called them *Naqshha-i-Rang Rang* = paintings of diverse colours. The Mughal poets staked their claim for genius mainly on *ghazal*-writing. Ghalib was their ardent follower and adhered to their custom. He often borrowed general framework, rhyme and metre, from them. Indeed, there was no dearth of original ideas in his mind. Oddly enough, a concise *Diwan* of Urdu, made him famous in the whole world; and his Persian *Diwan*, the manifesto of his real greatness and five times more voluminous, remained obscure from full public gaze. That is, it did not win as much popularity as it deserved. None the less, the poet retained to the last his patience, confidence and hope. The truth had dawned upon him: *Shuhra-i-shi'ram ba giti ba d-i-man khwahad shudan* = the fame of my poetry will spread on earth after me.

Dastanbū: The English suppressed the Revolt with the help of Sikh contingents from Patiala. They placed Delhi under curfew and pillaged the houses of the nobles before making large-scale arrests: about twenty five

thousand Muslims of the capital were hanged or shot down for the blame of promoting the Revolt. The locality where Ghalib lived was guarded by Patiala soldiers and remained safe, partly at least, from plunder. The poet remained completely shut inside house for more than three months. As he had nothing to do and books in his personal collection were scarce, he maintained a diary of events and hearsay reports that reached him from stray sources. Later on, this diary portraying the tragedy of Revolt, appeared as *Dastanbu* – perfume. In the prosecution against Ghalib, it proved of great help to establish his innocence despite obvious connections with the Red Fort.

Qāti'-i-Burhān: During the tiresome months of house arrest, so to say, Ghalib got by chance the Dictionary, *Burhān-i-Qāti'*, prepared by Muhammad Husain Khalaf Tabrizi. On close scrutiny, Ghalib found it full of errors. He noted them on the margin. These remarks gradually swelled into a volume. Ghalib printed his findings under the title mentioned above. To his dismay, the work raised a storm of controversy against him. For, most of the professional teachers, who controlled *madrasah* education, accepted Khalaf Tabrizi as the final and unquestionable authority. They raised a chorus of indignation and Ghalib was made target of objections from all sides. His supporters gave good account of themselves in the field. Both parties wrote poems, pamphlets and articles against each other. One gentleman from the region of Punjab published a lampoon which decency could hardly permit. Ghalib filed a suit of libel and dragged him to the law court. The postman delivered spate of letters full of abuses. To be fair and objective, many inaccuracies pointed out by Ghalib against the approach of Kalaf Tabrizi were quite sound. Others, who insisted that dictionary as such was not Ghalib's sphere of command, were equally sincere in their view.

Letters: Ghalib maintained regular correspondence with friends, whose number was quite large, and addressed them both in Urdu and Persian. His Urdu letters are the starting point of modern Urdu prose and by common consensus shall never lose their literary charm. On the other hand, the Persian stuff is not very pleasing in style. Initially, these Persian letters appeared in the collection of prose pieces, entitled *Panj Ahang*.

Panj Ahang: Ghalib's friend, Mirza 'Ali Bakhsh Khān Rānjūr, was the initiator of this concise work comprising five sections. He requested the poet to consolidate together suitable and appropriate words of polite etiquette used by Persian letter-writers. Customarily, the letters were addressed in ornate style. Ghalib obliged Rānjūr by making a key, so to say, of phrases, proverbs and remarks of courtesy capable of turning plain correspondence into a piece of art. This material, arranged in two sections, was at once acknowledged as of great benefit to epistolary purpose. In the third section, he picked out a few verses from his own '*Diwan*' in order to be utilized in letters. Needless to say, their mingling would increase the charm of expression. The pieces of introductory nature or *taqriz* = review, occasionally written by him on the books of friends found place in section four. More important was the last, that is, fifth section. It contained the Persian letters Ghalib addressed to his friends before Revolt. These letters revealed many points of interesting information concerning the writer and his friends.

III

Ghalib's death occurred twelve years after the Revolt. Around that time an era closed and a new one began. Henceforth, two distinct social streams made their appearance on the surface.

In 1246/1830, that is, twenty seven years prior to the Revolt, the Bengali scholar, Rām Mohan Roy, was conferred the title of 'Rājāh' by the Mughal emperor, Akbar Shāh II, and sent as his envoy to England. The Rājāh had started a reform movement with many noble objectives, chief amongst them was the abolition of *Satti* = widow burning. Its centre-stage was Bengal. Later on, the movement assumed the title of *Renaissance*, and spread to the rest of India. It was exclusively a Hindu movement. The Muslims although forming majority in Bengal, got no dividend from its benefits, chiefly, the programme of modern education.

Syed Ahmad Khān (b. 1233/1817) was just twenty years younger than

Ghalib; and their families had intimate relations in Delhi. Naturally, the genius of the one seemed to have animated the aspirations of the other. The old master addressed a letter to one of his friends a few years before his death: "There is nothing Musalmān-like in me. Yet I am deeply grieved by the spectacle of disgrace and miseries the Muslims have suffered as victims of the recent tragedy." Similar impulse brought Syed Ahmad Khan to the theatre of active life. Once, he poured out his heart's desire to an elderly relative, Nawwāb Ammūjān, in a private conversation, "If I had one million rupees, I would have transformed the condition of the Muslims." The Nawwāb exclaimed: "You are a fool. The Muslims will not advance you a single rupee, I know them." But, the nobleman forgot at the moment that the world was indebted to its "fools" for inviting great changes.

In the given state of things the lesson was not far to seek. The regaining of lost position was out of question. What sound reason directed as attainable was the regaining of self-respect and self-confidence. Syed Ahmad Khān spent all his energies to translate that dream into reality. Then, only three years after Syed Ahmad Khān's death Iqbāl picked up the thread and began to captivate popular attention by his poetry. The matter occupied central place in his scheme of thought. It was logical culmination of the same purpose.**

Surprisingly, about half a century the life of a single man unfolded the history of the entire community living in the sub-continent. Syed Ahmad Khān was born in a family of Delhi's old nobility and brought up by a widowed mother in poor circumstances. He possessed inherent qualities of leadership, which he displayed in guiding the Muslims through the unprecedented crisis and confusion of their history. His activities, after the unfortunate Revolt, 1274/1857 aimed at vigorous reform embracing all aspects of Muslim life in the sub-continent; he inspired the community

* Shaikh 'Abd ul-Qadir, editor of *Makhzan*, published Iqbāl's first poem in 1901 A.D.

* Maulavi Saiyid Mir Hasan, Iqbāl's teacher, was a supporter and a friend of Syed Ahmad Khan. Both the teacher and his pupil composed chronograms on the death of the great master, 1316/1898 A.D.

with a fresh will to live; and in short, he brought them out from medieval to modern world.

The range of his endeavours may be summed up as follows: **1. *Asbāb-i-Baghāwat-i-Hind*:** Instead of the slanderous appellation, *ghadar* = Mutiny, given to the calamity by official propaganda, Syed Ahmad Khan was the first Indian who insisted on calling it *baghawat* = Revolt, and systematically analysed its causes in a book, *Asbāb-i-Baghawat-i-Hind*. The English treated the Muslims as main perpetrators of the nuisance and completely banished them from their trust. Retaliatory action of the new rulers against their arch antagonists by way of hanging and indiscriminate confiscation of their properties reduced large number of Muslim families to utter distress and poverty. The book attracted the attention of the leaders of public opinion in England. They took it to the House of Commons and made its contents the subject of serious debate. Their eyes were opened against the working of the Company. And, Hume's remark proved its veracity that traders could not be good rulers. Mitigating suspicions of the victorious against the vanquished was not an easy task. Syed Ahmad Khan did what a man of exceptional courage could do. The effect of his book was not quite wasted. **2. *Khutbāt-i-Ahmadiyah*:** Since the Crusaders put down their sword, the clergy took up their pen and presumed as if the message of Christ was not fairly intelligible without accompanying disparagement of the Prophet of Arabia. The venerable fathers of the Church created a record in the history of world religions by piling up literature of indignation against Islam. Later, they received additional support from the learned of the universities. "Fanatic" was the mildest reapproach reserved against him who announced the simplest faith: "God is one; and Muhammad is the last prophet of God." Hatred became the guiding factor of their approach. Scholars like William Muir and Margoliouth should have scarcely rendered useful service to Christianity by decrying the founder of a world religion. Syed Ahmad Khan painfully witnessed the resentment of his co-religionists against Muir's *Life of Muhammad*, which appeared during those days. His first reaction was to write its rebuttal. With that object in mind he undertook a journey to England, 1296/1869, where original sources were preserved intact. In the sub-continent they had been vastly destroyed due to the recent turmoil. The project remained unaccomplished. Islam expressly forbade believers from indulging in polemical controversies. "If you assailed spurious gods (of idolaters) they will assail

your true God." But, he prepared lectures, *Khutbat-i-Ahmadiyah*, to compensate the requirement. The emphasis was on the point that Islam had potentialities for adjusting itself in modern times. For further elaboration of the idea he attempted *Tafsir* = Commentary of the Qur'an. The next aim of staying in England was to obtain first hand knowledge of western society and institutions. His son, Syed Mahmūd, served as companion and secretary. He stayed there about one and a half year. 3. **Tahzib ul-Akhlaq:** After coming back from England, Syed Ahmad Khan started a journal, *Tahzib ul-Akhlaq*, 1287/1870, and made it the herald of social reform. Its declared policy was to acquaint the Muslims with modern ideas and modern civilization. The transformation of their character was the need of the times. In its first phase, the journal continuously appeared for seven years (Hali: Six years). The editor's ideas in regard to matters of religion, particularly, his emphasis on tolerance, accommodation, and application of reason, led to generate a lot of uneasiness. Many rigid and narrow-minded Muslims, vehemently expressed their disliking against him and became his bitter critics. They brought out their own organ: *Nūr ul-Afaq*, from Kanpur. On the other hand, the positive benefit was that the Syed succeeded in gathering a small band of supporters, who were convinced that change was needed in the style of life. Further, the articles of the journal dispelled mental stagnation and encouraged intelligent people to think. They participated in writing about problems demanding urgent attention. But, the editor forgot to take care of one crucial fact in his zeal for progress. That the religious leaders, the 'Ulama, were gradually developing strong suspicions against his programme; and they had power to make life hell for him. A truce was made on the condition that Syed Ahmad Khan would never write on religious topics. Nor shall he question the age-old customs of religion denouncing them as *taqlid* = ritualistic observance. Both parties closed their journals. However, the publication of the newspaper, *Aligarh Institute Gazette*, 1283/1866, was not interrupted. The truce was irreparably broken after some time when the Syed revealed his new project of educational reform and floated the idea of introducing Western system of education. 4. **Scientific Society:** The Scientific Society was first established at Ghazipur, 1280/1863. Thereafter, it was shifted to Aligarh. Originally, when science gained ground in Europe during the period of *renaissance*, it created a situation of confrontation

with religion. Syed Ahmad Khan anticipated similar ideological dilemma. And, in order to impress upon the Muslims that the corpus of new knowledge pouring forth from the West was not harmful to their religious beliefs, he took the practical initiative. Regular meetings of the Society were held in which papers informing about scientific progress were read by scholars. Mostly, the papers were translations from English or other Western languages and members were invited to participate in discussions. For pushing the social reform on right track, Syed Ahmad Khan deemed it necessary to raise the awareness of his co-religionists about modern discoveries. The old traditional link with the Islamic world had broken. Forming new link with a dynamic civilization became inevitable. **5. Legacy of Ancestors:** Since the past century, Muslims were gradually sinking down both morally and materially. The Revolt exposed them as a degenerate society ignorant of the development of ideas and consequent changes having taken place in the West. Suddenly, they were overtaken by an agonizing dejection more painful than death itself. Political and economic surrender had been complete. However, they should not be allowed to concede intellectual defeat. Nor should they accept themselves as culturally inferior. At least, one remedy could be tried to restore their sense of prestige and inspire confidence. Let them turn attention for a while to the legacy of their ancestors. Syed Ahmad Khan picked up a few model books and prepared their editions for publication. They were: *Zia-i-Barani's Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi*, Shaikh Abul Fazl's *A'in-i-Akbari* and the emperor Jahangir's *Tuzak*. Also, he added from his pen an account of Delhi's monuments, *Asar us-Sanadid* and a monograph containing the Timurid rulers' list: their dates of birth, accession, death or deposition, and other relevant details. Its title was *Jam-i-Jam*. **6. Madrasat ul-'Ulûm-i-Musalmanân:** The establishment of an institution of learning based on western model of education was the vision extremely charming and dearest to him. Unluckily, it proved most difficult and most controversial of all the projects, although it was going to be the most permanent and most useful. It was the *Madrasat ul-'Ulûm-i-Musalmanân* = Mohammadan Anglo-Oriental College, founded in 1192/1875, at Aligarh. The 'Ulama = conservative classes, took it as a challenge to their prestige. Since Baghdad came into existence as the centre of civilization, they enjoyed the prerogative as custodians of knowledge. In their view, Syed Ahmad Khan

had already proved himself an undesirable man; but that was the height of unwisdom. As if substantial allegations against him were not less disturbing. For example, he advised Muslims to make their religion compatible with reason, improve their social character, amend out-dated customs, deliver themselves from *taqlid* = ritualistic observance, and proclaim their loyalty to the English. The last objection carried instant appeal: "He was bowing our neck to the yoke of the English and taming the community for slavery. And now, he dared to interfere in the most sacred domain: education of our youths". At this stage, the Syed, who was always conciliatory and modest came out bluntly. He declared that the *madrasah* and the subjects taught in its syllabus have ceased to be relevant nowadays. Further, the *madrasah* did not produce broad minded human beings. That was too much for his opponents. They had been left with the last arrow in their quiver. The *fatwa* = death decree, was issued. "This man is infidel. May God destroy him and his *madrasah*. His slaying is *Wajib* = compulsory, according to the holy commandment of religion." Sixty outstanding 'Ulama imprinted their signatures on it (Hali). Side by side, Syed Ahmad Khan pursued his programme of fund-raising for the college. After Revolt, the Muslims exhibited one noble virtue despite their one hundred weaknesses. They subscribed generously to every good cause. Even if Charlatans took advantage of that lenient habit, they did not mind. The poet, Akbar Allahabadi, pointedly made the Syed's hectic activity, *Chandah* = fund raising, the subject of his satire. All buildings of the Mohammadan Anglo Oriental College were constructed by means *Chundah*. Its annual expenses were also met in the same manner. After it became university, 1330/1911, no difference took place. The Vice-Chancellor was jockingly called national beggar. The Muslims of the sub-continent, both rich and poor, shall remember with pride that the founder of the College was not disappointed by their ancestors.

Urdu-Hindi Controversy: About two years before proceeding to England, Syed Ahmad Khan noticed a new development in Benaras, 1284/1867. The educated Hindus of the city raised the demand in favour of Hindi with Devnagri script and pressed that it should take the place of Urdu in government offices. It may be recalled that after Macaulay's report, 1253/1837, English had displaced Persian as official language of the Company's administration. But, Urdu was retained for working at lower positions. It was rich in Persian idioms and written in the same

script. Actually, the Mughals paid consistent attention for the evolution of common culture; and Urdu was its symbol. The language was understood in every corner of the land approachable by the Mughal army. On the other hand, the demand of the Hindus had its own logical grounds. From their side it was the first perceivable sentiment of nationalism. Recently, they were enlightened by the study of European history what tremendous role languages had played there in the shaping of distinct nationalities. Interest in antiquity inflamed their imagination; and belief in a glorious past ran like hot current in the mind of educated classes. Its discovery became the task of supreme importance. Originally, Sanskrit was the treasure of ancient knowledge. As a first step, Hindi could be used for the purpose of creating link with the past. Obviously, there was one more reason. The Muslims would enjoy cultural superiority as long as Urdu was allowed to exist in ascendant state. Syed Ahmad Khan realized the far-reaching consequences contained in the demand. The Muslims, who were already lesser qualified in English, and therefore, unable to get higher posts, shall lose the scope of lower positions also. That would be the result of removing Urdu and employing Hindi in its place. He has been reported to have left on record a statement as his message to the future leadership of both communities: "India is a bride, and the Hindus and Muslims its two eyes. If one eye was damaged, the bride would lose her beauty." * It implied clearly that the policy of mutual concessions was the safest guarantee of cordial relations. And, the Muslims should not be deprived of their legitimate rights. In case his counsel was not given due attention, tensions would ensue. He expressed his sense of disgust to an "English friend, the Commissioner of Benaras: "Henceforth, I fear, the Muslims and the Hindus would not live in the atmosphere of trust and good will." 8. **India Council Act:** Apart from the Urdu-Hindi controversy, mentioned above, events moved rapidly and Syed Ahmad Khan, basically a social reformer, had to divert his attention towards forces of political nature working in the sub-continent. Just after Revolt, the British Parliament hastily adopted a brief Act. The post of a minister, Secretary of State for India, was added into the Cabinet. A Council of experienced Englishmen, who had worked in the sub-continent, was created as Indian Council. Its function was to assist the minister. Meanwhile, Queen Victoria declared general amnesty. Again a well

* Speech at Patna, 27 Jan. 1883 A.D. (*Hali Hayat-i-Jawid*)

considered Act was passed after four years, 1279/1861. It was called Indian Council Act, mainly because "the first Indian of eminence" impressed upon the English through his book that the perilous situation of Revolt arose due to their own default. They had no means of getting themselves informed what the Indians thought about their rule. So, the purpose of the "*Indian Council Act*" was to associate the Indians in the Council of the governor general. That was the main feature of the Act. Syed Ahmad Khan twice served as member of the Supreme Council: first, under Lord Lytton, who arrived in 1876 A.D. and next, during the days of Lord Ripon, whose viceroyalty lasted till 1884 A.D. The governor general selected the members himself. During the promulgation of the Act, it was made known that the Indians would be gradually apprised with the methods of self-rule. For a man of sturdy common sense like Syed Ahmad Khan, the announcement mentioned above was an alarm bell. He foresaw that self-rule or democracy will create the conflict of majority-minority interest. He pleaded in the viceroy's council that the system will place the Muslims in permanent difficulty. India was a picture of diversity. That is, there were clear differences of religion, race, language, and culture. Undisputably, democracy's worst drawback as a system was that it may degenerate solely into majority affair and place the minority, religious, ethnic, or otherwise, in perpetual disadvantage. The minority would meekly submit to majority's absolute authority, and perpetual sub-ordination will be its fate. That is why, some critics of democracy defined it as *majority dictatorship*. According to the simple reckoning of Syed Ahmad Khan, Muslims in India were one fourth of the Hindus in number. If one Muslim was elected to a representative body, there would be three Hindus to silence his voice. Actually, Syed Ahmad Khan did not exaggerate in opposing the Westminster model of democracy. It has its own peculiar features. The English people retained monarchy and its inalienable institution, the aristocracy. Monarchy was nominal and weak, but aristocracy real and powerful. No such conditions existed in the sub-continent. Surprisingly, the new rulers soon realized that their democracy was not a perfect method of government and it would give rise to problems in India. For, human society was not uniform. Already, there was complicated caste system working amongst the Hindus themselves with bifurcations into high and low caste down to untouchables. In fact,

majority tyranny was inherent in democracy notwithstanding high sounding claims of equality, rule of law, and constitutional guarantees. In his tour of Punjab, 1302/1884, Syed Ahmad Khan made an important declaration. Twice, in his speeches, he assured the majority people that common nationhood was quite possible.* In the same context, he himself proposed a redeeming feature to develop understanding and trust between majority and minority. Let the two communities agree for a reasonable share in power. Later on, the concrete shape of the idea emerged as separate electorate. It will bring sense of involvement to the minority. The umbrella of common nation, shall remain intact. But, in regard to the sharing of power there shall be no compromise.** In the year 1330/1885, the Indian National Congress came into existence. A year afterwards, Syed Ahmad Khan announced the establishment of Muslim Educational Conference. In his view, the spread of modern education was the first requirement. The first thing must be achieved first. But, as Maulana Hali reported, the Conference was an annual fair of the Muslims held in Aligarh or some other city. There could be no doubt that it was the political platform with a different name. The early three years of the Congress passed peacefully. Its gatherings took place at Bombay, Calcutta and Madras respectively. In the fourth annual session, 1888 A.D., held at Allahabad, a resolution of bold and agitational character, containing many demands, was adopted. It sent a wave of anxiety amongst the ruling circles. The English changed their policy towards the Congress from patronage to strong dislike. Syed Ahmad Khan had his own reasons to be disturbed. In order to expiate the folly of Revolt, he wanted his co-religionists to demonstrate loyalty to the English and make no fuss against them. Secondly, the Congress was predominantly a party of Hindus, highly educated and mostly lawyers. The complexion of nationalism needed no comment. The Syed, therefore, advised his people to keep distance from the Congress. Gradually, the distance increased as reasons multiplied. He died in 1316/1898. Eight years after his death, Nawwāb Muhsin ul-Mulk, his successor, secured for the minority the right of separate electorate, which symbolized its

* Speech at Jalandhar, in reply to the address presented by the students of government school.

** Speech at Lahore before the Arya Samaj delegation.

representation in political quota. 9. **Two outstanding contemporaries** of the Syed deserve mention. Syed Jamal ud-din Afghani had succeeded in spreading his mission of Muslim awakening with strong support base in Egypt, Turkey, and Iran. In his view the Muslim world should unitedly face the challenge of the West. He crossed over to India and established himself in Calcutta for some time. Ideological clash soon developed between Afghani and the Syed. The latter's set policy was to heal up the wound of Revolt. He argued that Muslims had been the special target of British wrath. Time, therefore, was not ripe for them to join any such movement which Afghani strived to lead. The next great Muslim of the period was Syed Ameer 'Ali, author of many learned works. After retirement as Chief Justice of Calcutta High Court, he settled in London, where concerted effort was made by him to enlighten English public opinion about the inherent drawback of their system in case there was peculiar situation like that of the Indian sub-continent.

IV

Shaikh Muhammad Iqbal was essentially a poet; his next domain was philosophy; he passed through the stormy weather of Indian politics and took serious interest in it till the end of his life.

The poet-philosopher traced his ancestry from the Brahmins of Kashmir. His grandfather, Shaikh Muhammad Rafiq, left his hometown, Srinagar, and came to settle in Sialkot, Punjab, where Iqbal was born in 1289/1873. His mother, Imam Bibi, was an intensely pious lady and his father, Shaikh Nur Muhammad, possessed a sufi's spiritual discipline. Their training played crucial role in shaping the mind of the child. He developed deep attachment with religion, which ultimately determined the direction of his philosophical thinking. Upto high school and higher secondary courses his education was completed in the Mission school of the city. There he came under the influence of Saiyed Mir Hasan, a well known scholar of Islamic Sciences. The pupil's firm grasp over Persian classics and their idioms, which he later on used with great decorum in his poetry, were the gifts of the teacher. In the battle which raged around Syed Ahmad Khan

and his programme of social reform, Maulana Mir Hasan openly sided with the Syed in defiance of his own class. The habits of such a person always inspire the youths. Iqbal pursued his further studies in Government College, Lahore. Professor Thomas Arnold had arrived there after resigning from Aligarh. He was very much impressed by the young student and the professor's encouragement turned his mind towards philosophy. After post-graduation, 1899 A.D., opportunity came to serve as assistant professor in Government College, and that position was held by him till 1905 A.D. Meanwhile, Arnold left for England and advised Iqbal to apply for higher research. He, therefore, secured admission in Trinity College, Cambridge. The degrees of graduation from that university and Ph.D from Munich, Germany, were conferred in 1908 A.D. Altogether, his sojourn in England and the continent lasted for three years. During those impressionable years his most noteworthy companions, studying together were Shaikh 'Abd ul-Qādir and the talented lady, 'Atiya Faizi, who left her memoirs about Iqbal. She belonged to the princely family of Janjirah, near Bombay. Once in a mood of depression he decided to give up poetry. Shaikh 'Abd ul-Qādir and Professor Arnold counselled not to do so and he yielded to their persuasion. Having arrived home, Iqbal found to his surprise that the world around him seemed ready to undergo rapid changes. He soon decided his future. The practice of law as Barrister at Lahore was sufficient to secure a modest living; although he knew that his temperament and training, that is, both poetry and philosophy, shall hinder in his professional career. He had already reached the portals of fame, thanks to his poetry. The creative output of past eight years had fully introduced him to the literary and academic circles of the sub-continent. A chronology of most salient events from 1908 A.D. onwards may reveal the panorama of events engaging his attention: 1. **Bengal, its partition and annulment:** 1906 A.D. - 1911 A.D. Iqbal was a student in London when the viceroy announced the division of the province. The landlords in rural areas were Hindus and the tenants, mostly Muslims, lived under grim conditions of poverty and exploitation. Partition offered a paltry relief. Hindu reaction was fierce. They adopted violent tactics and compelled the government to withdraw its order. Naturally, the Muslims took it as an injustice. 2. **Lucknow pact:** 1916 A.D. It was a lucky occasion when the majority leadership appreciated the aspirations of the minority. A joint session of the Congress and the Muslim League was held

at Lucknow and a pact was drafted between the two parties. Positive points of the pact (i) The Congress accepted the principle of separate electorate. (ii) By implication it conceded the existence of the Muslims League as the representative body of the Muslims. (iii) In the provinces where Muslims formed minority they were given weightage. Its negative point was chiefly one. In Bengal and Punjab the Muslims were in clear majority. Their seats in legislature were determined as forty and fifty per cent respectively. The right to vote was linked with three qualifications: property, wealth and education. In their own majority provinces the Muslims were afflicted with backwardness and lacked far behind the Hindus in the above requirements. However, they were very much annoyed and in the two provinces the base of the Muslim League was demolished. Particularly, in Punjab the repercussions of the pact proved very harmful during the coming three decades. **3. Khilafat and Non-Cooperation: 1918 A.D. - 1924 A.D.** As the first World War came to an end, Indians, Congress in particular, expected that the British would announce concessions which must make their final goal, Self-rule, nearer and easier to attain. That did not happen. The imperialists were masters of backtracking. In desperation the Congress launched the agitation of Non-Cooperation. Indians shall boycott the government and make it defunct. Meanwhile, the agony of the Muslims became unbearable to them on account of the defeat of Turkey in War. For, the Sultan of Turkey was also the caliph of the Islamic world. To save the *Khilafat* became a life and death question. Maulana Muhammad 'Ali emerged as the leader. He had graduated from Aligarh and Oxford universities and possessed the fine gift of oratory both in Urdu and English. When student in Aligarh, his friends lovingly called him Maulana, and the epithet was to last forever. Notwithstanding full-time occupation of politics, the editorship of an English journal *Comrade*, was extra exertion. As a calculated strategy the Congress proclaimed its support to *Khilafat* and both parties joined their platform. Those who believed in constitutional struggle, drifted away from the Maulana and his movement. Actually, the *Khilafat* leaders forgot to notice the fact that the Sultan of Turkey, whom they adored as *Khalifah*, had submitted to the British and was hated by his own people. The Congress took full advantage of the Muslim zeal for sacrifice. Hitherto, it was a party of the educated Hindus of urban

background, mostly engaged in legal profession. At this juncture its leadership secured mass base for the party. The people were convinced that demand for India's independence could not be less important than demand for *Khilafat*. For the first time the Congressmen were encouraged to be bold and fearless. *Khilafat* was an out-dated ideal. When Mustafa Kamal declared its abrogation in Turkey, it lost relevance in India as well. Due to so much engrossment of the Muslims in extra-territorial affair, the purely domestic question of protecting minority rights, also the Lucknow Pact, went to the wind. **4. Kinghthood, 1923 A.D:** During those days, many title holders had returned their titles to support Non-Cooperation Movement. So, Iqbal's acceptance of the title of 'Sir' became a subject of criticism in many circles. Since he settled in Lahore, Iqbal devoted most of his time to poetry, scholarly pursuits and legal profession. His interest in politics was only marginal. From now onwards he assumed the role of a full-fledged politician. **5. Nehru Report, 1928 A.D:** A year earlier, the British appointed a statutory commission to scrutinize its governance in India. The purpose was to restrict or enhance the degree of representative institutions as the case may be. No Indian was included in the commission. So, the Congress, the Muslim League and all other parties decided its boycott. The British rulers levelled the charge that Indians were incapable of framing a constitution acceptable to all sections in the land. Indeed, the country had relapsed into the grip of divisionary forces at the time. The Congress accepted the challenge. A committee under the presidentship of Motilal Nehru drafted a constitution and placed it for approval before an all parties' conference held at Calcutta. Unluckily, the Congressmen exhibited extremely rude and arrogant behaviour against the Muslim leaders. Maulana Muhammad 'Ali, who raised certain points, was hooted down. The other leader, Muhammad 'Ali Jinnah, came out with only three amendments. Not one of them was given consideration. Moreover, as reported by Jamshed Nauserwanji, he was insulted and humiliated. Maulana Muhammad 'Ali descended from the dias and all Muslim representatives, except one, followed him in staging walk-out from the conference. Next morning Jinnah's Parsi friend went to see him off at the railway station. Jinnah told Jamshed Nauserwanji with tearful eyes: "This is the parting of ways". Iqbal did not go to Calcutta. But, his reaction may be estimated from an incident. The Maharajah of Mahmudabad, a prominent Muslim Leaguer of

U.P., was supposed to hold favourable views about Nehru Report. A few months after the whole affair he visited Lahore. Iqbal refused to see him.

6. Allahabad Session of Muslim League, 1930: While the deliberations of the First Round Table Conference were going in London, a significant event took place in India. The Muslim League convened its annual session under the presidency of Iqbal at Allahabad. In his presidential address Iqbal for the first time made loud thinking that "the formation of a consolidated self governing state in the region of North-West within or without the British empire appears to be the destiny of the Muslims". The Muslim League did not incorporate the suggestion in the formal agenda of its policy. Nor did the intelligentsia pay much serious attention to it. A young student studying in London approached Jinnah, who had started practice in Privy Council, and requested him to clarify the idea floated by Iqbal. For, it was gaining acceptance under the title, Pakistan. Jinnah amusingly replied: "My boy, Iqbal is a poet. You know, poets are dreamers".*

7. Round Table Conferences: The first was held in November 1930 A.D. The joint agitation of Congress and *Khilafat* disturbed the peace of the sub-continent. It attracted the attention of the British rulers in London. They invited Indian representatives to find out a solution. The conference dispersed without reaching any decision. For, the Congress leaders were in Jail. Jinnah was there as a delegate. Disgusted with lack of unity in the ranks of his co-religionists, he opted out of politics and stayed back in London. His self-exile continued for three and a half years. Soon, the Viceroy released all Congressmen. They signed a pact with him and expressed readiness to negotiate. A Second Round Table Conference was fixed, September 1931. Maulana Muhammad 'Ali and Iqbal participated to represent the Muslims. The Maulana's speech was the last brilliant demonstration of his genius. "I shall never die in a slave country." Actually, he died on the way back and found a grave in Palestine. Iqbal was left as the sole leader to guide Muslim interests. As the conference began, it was dominated by the question of Muslim representation in the future constitutional set-up. The inaugural words of the British prime minister: "My Hindu and Muslim friends", were interrupted by a shrill voice: "There are only Indians here". Thus, the Congress stated its position. That is,

* Mohammad Raza Khan: *What Price Freedom*, p. 20

"Hindus and Muslims were one and Congress was the only body which could speak for India". It confirmed the fear of minority leaders. "The majority will monopolize power and place the minority at its mercy". Despite pleadings on behalf of the Muslims, the Congress leadership was not prepared to budge. At last, all lengthy discussion came to a halt over the demand of just one seat made by the Muslims. It was refused on the ground that other non-Congress Hindus were not in favour of conceding. In fact, two years earlier, 1929 A.D. the Congress in its Lahore Session resolved two significant matters. One, it pronounced complete independence as its goal. Second, no negotiations with the Muslims about their demands will be made before achieving independence. The door had been closed. Yet, the minority leadership clung to the rule of hoping against hope. The Third Round Table Conference, November 1932: Iqbal was invited. Federation at the centre and its constitutional framework was the chief item of the agenda. Iqbal was not directly interested in the subject. He witnessed the deliberations merely as a spectator. However, many academic bodies arranged receptions in his honour and he attended them.*

8. Ultimatum to Surrender, 1937 A.D: After returning from London, 1934 A.D., Jinnah organized the Muslim League and made it election worthy. The elections were held for provincial assemblies, subsequent to the approval of the Government of India Act 1935. The method of separate electorate for Hindus and Muslims had been retained. It was understood that after elections both the Congress and the Muslim League would form coalitions. The success of the Congress in Hindu majority provinces, which was over and above expectations, intoxicated its leadership like Vodka heating the brain of Russian peasants. A letter was issued to the Muslim League taking up the province of U.P. first. There were about six conditions; all of them patently unreasonable rather insulting. In short, the Muslim League should liquidate itself. The League took it as a calculated attempt to ruin the Muslims of their independent identity. Their demand for safeguard was not a religious or communal matter. It was a political question related to their physical existence first and religious or cultural existence afterwards. To the shame and disgrace of Nationalist Muslims, that is, those who were loyal to the Congress, the most outstanding amongst them was

* Also, in the year 1933 A.D., he visited Afghanistan on the invitation of Amir Nādir Shāh, King of that country.

chosen to the servile job of delivering the letter. Jinnah could not be duped: "It is ultimatum to surrender". Later on, many writers passed disapproving judgments about that step of the Congress. Again, drunk with the same arrogance, the foremost theoretician of the party asserted: "There are two parties in the field: The British and the Congress". Jinnah's reaction was prompt. "There are three: the Indian Muslims as well". At the same time, Iqbal also warned: This Moscow's borrowed language will confuse instead of resolving the issue. Stated in nutshell: The Congress leadership did not want to relinquish the privilege which democracy as a system conferred on the majority. Their inflexibility was quite understandable. In human number the Muslims of the sub-continent were one fourth of the Hindus. The incident proved a major contributory factor to decide the destiny of the sub-continent. In connection with French Revolution, it has been affirmed that philosophers took precedence over politicians in re-shaping the world. The same must be applicable to Iqbal. His words, so modestly uttered, attested the greatness of his character: "I am an ordinary soldier of Jinnah".

9. Unionist Party: From its founder down to his two successors, their activities were confined to Punjab only. It was their grand circus, so to say. Iqbal did not feel happy with Unionist party's record, particularly, during the closing years of his life. His death occurred in 1357/1938.*

V

As a poet, Iqbal faithfully maintained the bilingual tradition of his predecessors, particularly, Ghālib. The old master had prayed: "O God, send someone after me who could take care of the edifice of poetry I have raised to such a grand height". (Introduction to the *Kulliyat* of Persian Poetry). Mercifully, the prayer was granted. Iqbal came and exhibited the same animation and dignity in his style. The one succeeded in making Urdu language powerful vehicle of conveying philosophical thoughts without claiming to preach any demarcated system. The other was gifted with

* Salik: *Zikr-i-Iqbal*. Ashiq Batalawi: *Iqbal's Last Two Years (Urdu)*. Khalifah Abd ul-Hakim: *Fikr-i-Iqbal*.

systematic thinking and secured his place in the category of those who subscribed to refine and improve human understanding. In his scheme, message instead of artistic elegance occupied primary importance. Both had greater predilection towards Persian as compared to Urdu. It is evident from the volume of creative output left by them. During Ghālib's days society was in transition. As Iqbal emerged it had completely changed; in his poems he gave vivid expression to contemporary situations; and the genius possessed by him enabled to make them timeless. Greatness embraced Ghālib chiefly because of his very concise *Diwan* of Urdu. Interestingly, the poet himself gave scanty importance to it. Iqbal's Persian works proved eminently helpful as qualifying guarantee for entrance into the hall of world's great poets. Common opinion attached more value to them; let us enumerate: 1. **Asrār-i-Khudi:** *Asrār-i-Khudi*, = Secrets of self: It is a *masnawi* in Rumi's metre, *Ramāl musaddas*, containing about seven hundred seventy couplets. Iqbal chose the phrase *Khudi* = self, as introductory symbol of his philosophy. The phrase was familiar to Muslim sufis, who also called it *Nafs*. Iqbal infused it with altogether fresh and original meanings. In short, it means the realization of creative powers latent in man. The poem was translated into English by Professor Nicholson during Iqbal's lifetime. 2. **Rûmûz-i-Bekhûdi:** is actually the appendix of the earlier poem *Asrār* in the same metre and expanding over nine hundred eighty couplets. Just as the *Asrār* explains the secrets of individual ego, the object of the *Rûmûz* is to probe collective ego. It needs a social code for its welfare. Surely, Islam satisfies that need. 3. **Gulshan-i-Râz-i-Jadid:** Mahmûd Shabistârî (d. ca. 720/1320), a sufi poet living in the neighbourhood of Tabriz, responded to a questionnaire circulated by a band of scholars, chiefly Amir Husaini, regarding some problems of sufistic and theosophic interest. His answers of fifteen questions appeared in the form of a *masnawi* poem under the title, *Gulshan-i-Râz*. In course of time, it gained extraordinary popularity and fame; and its reading became almost a compulsory practice in Sufi circles. Iqbal concluded that most of the ideas presented in the poem have crept into Islamic thinking from non-Islamic origins. And, they have created harmful effect upon the mind of the Muslims. As for example, let us mention one of the questions (Q.4), "What is meant by "Pilgrim" and What by 'Perfect Man'. "Iqbal, therefore, attempted to construct more positive answers that could be acceptable to modern mind

and inspire Muslim society for its healthy development. He took up nine out of fifteen questions. Thus, appeared Iqbal's new version of Mahmud Shabistari's work. **4. Payām Mashriq:** Iqbal personally wrote an introduction to this collection. This message of the East was delivered in response to the message of the West passed on by the German poet, Goethe, through his *Diwan*, that is to say, *West Oestliche Diwan*. Initially, Goethe had been inspired by reading the German translation of the *Diwan* of Hafiz. Iqbal possessed full acquaintance with German language and his knowledge of the so much fascinating and peculiar Oriental current of German literature was quite adequate. He was fully competent to pay well-deserved tribute to Goethe; and he did the job in excellent manner as the poems included in the *Payam-i-Mashriq* convincingly revealed. According to the poet these poems point out to the moral, religious, and social realities directly concerned with the inner discipline of mankind. **5. Zubûr-i-'Ajam:** About this collection the poet exhorted: "If you have eagerness, read *Zubûr-i-'Ajam* in solitude. The wailings of midnight are full of secrets." There are two parts in the book containing about sixty six and seventy five pieces respectively. Many scholars treat them as *ghazals*. These poems exhibit Iqbal at the height of his creative imagination. At the end, we find *Gulshan-i-Raz-i-Jadid*. Also, there is a poem, *Bandagi Namah*. It has further sub-divisions: Fine Arts of the Slaves: Music, Painting, Religion of the slaves, and Architecture of the Independent people. **6. Jâved Namah:** is a poem of more or less two thousand verses in the metre of Rumi's *masnawi*. Maintaining uniform mood of ecstasy from beginning to the end of their creative exercise is a distinct characteristic of first-rate poets. There is ample evidence in the poem to confirm the truth of that assertion. This single work ought to be treated as a unique addition to Persian poetry giving allowance to its beauty and charm. Initially, the poet may have turned for inspiration to the Italian poet, Dante, or some of the Arab poets, who versified their dreams of meeting with great men of the past. But, Iqbal must be credited for constructing his own framework. Actually, his attempt to paint a colossal picture on cosmic canvas may be called a carefully thought out response to the turmoil of his times: the First World War in Europe, the wide-spread awakening in Asia.

Summary: The poet alias Zindah Rūd and his guide, Rūmi, go on a heavenly visit. Of course, Zarwān, the spirit of Space and Time also accompanies them. All stars welcome them and their choir presents a sweet anthem. The first stage of the journey is *Falak-i-Qamar* = Mansion of the Moon; the second is *Falak-i-Atarid* = Mansion of the Mercury; the third *Falak-i-Zohra* = Mansion of the Venus; the fourth *Falak-i-Mirrikh* = Mansion of the Mars; the fifth *Falak-i-Mushtari* = Mansion of the Jupiter; the sixth *Falak-i-Zuhal* = Mansion of the Saturn. Then, the ascension or heavenly journey, so to say, continues to other side of the planetary Mansions. In the first stage they pass through the abodes of Buddha, Zoroaster, Jesus, and Muhammad, on whom be peace. Crossing various stages, their meeting takes place with the souls of a number of eminent persons: Jamāl ud-Dīn Afghāni, Sa'eed Halim Pasha, Husain b. Mansūr Hallaj, Ghālib, Qur'at ul-'Ain Tahirah, Mīr Saiyed 'Alī Hamadani, Ghani Kashmiri, and the Indian poet Bhartri Hari. Sitting under one roof in a palace of paradise are Nādir, Abdālī, and Sultān Tipu of Mysore. The German philosopher, Nietzsche, who insisted on his atheism at the time of confession, is found roaming in a garden of Paradise and entertains the visitors with his brilliant conversation. Interestingly, as they turn towards hell, they view *Fir'aun* = Pharaoh, ancient king of Egypt from far distance; and their ears hear the cries of *Iblis* = Devil, due to the pain of *firaq* = separation. Among those, whom hell refused to accept out of contempt and shame, are the traitors who betrayed their country and their people; most conspicuous are Sādiq of Deccan and Ja'far of Bengal. The visitors are not silent spectators in the journey. All great men treat them affectionately, pay attention to their questions and enlighten Zindah Rūd with extremely valuable ideas concerning the problems of religion, morality and politics. In short, these ideas constitute Iqbal's philosophy. 7. *Pas chi bayad kard*: King Nādir Shāh of Afghanistan invited Iqbal and two other scholars to seek their guidance in order to frame the educational policy of his country. Apart from the formal teaching syllabus, Iqbal tried to offer philosophical solutions whereby the Muslim youths could make themselves ideal human beings in the present day world. The title, "What the people of the East should do," alluded to the difficulties faced by them and the intrigues of the Western powers. In a separate poem, *Musafir* = Traveller, annexed with the above, the poet described his visits to places of religious and historical importance

situated in Afghanistan. **8. Armughān-i-Hijāz:** is a collection of more than three hundred eighty quatrains. Needless to say, the quatrain, a short poem comprising four lines, has been acknowledged as the most fascinating and world renowned form of Persian poetry. Dividing the corpus into five sections, the poet has dedicated them to God, the Prophet, the *Millat* = Muslim community, the human race, and *yaran-i-tariq* = companions of the path. A few Urdu poems have also been included in the end of the book; most interesting among them is "*Assembly of the Devil*."

The Urdu collections of Iqbal are three: **1. Bāng-i-Darā:** It appeared with an introduction of Shaikh 'Abd ul-Qādir, the poet's friend and fellow-student in Cambridge. The compositions are placed in three parts: from beginning to 1905 A.D.; from 1905 to 1908 A.D; and from 1908 onwards, that is, till the time of publication, 1924 A.D. Among the notable poems of early period we find *Tarāna-i-Hindī*; *Haqiqat-i-Husn*, *Balād-i-Islāmiyah*, *Shikwa*, *Jawab-i-Shikwa*, *Khizr-i-Rah* and *Tulā'-i-Islām*. **2. Bāl-i-jibril:** In its early portion there are *ghazals* followed by poems. Remarkable for their grace and charm must be *Masjid-i-Qartaba*, *Lenin*, *Zauq wa Shauq*, and *Sāqi Namah*. **3. Zarb-i-Kalim:** The one hundred and eighty three poems in this book are all topical. Short in length, they are distinct for their portrayal of modern developments. The poet's philosophical thinking and literary presentation are at their zenith in these compositions. His ideas and their active medium, the poetry, are warning signals to his co-religionists that the onslaught of materialistic West brings real menace to our entire value system. As outright critic of Western civilization he soon comes to the conclusion that its foundations are precarious. In Iqbal's scheme, Islam and not Marxism would emerge as civilizational challenge in the future.

Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islām: are seven lectures Iqbal delivered at Madras, Hyderabad and Aligarh. In the preface he says that "religious faith ultimately rests on inner experience. And, that modern man is less capable of that experience." He, therefore, attempted to reconstruct Muslim religious philosophy so as to make it intelligible to modern mind. He foresees that in the near future religion and science may discover to develop mutual harmonies. The issues covered by the

lectures are: 1. Knowledge and Religious Experience. 2. The Philosophical Test of the Revelations of Religious Experience. 3. The Conception of God and the Meaning of Prayer. 4. The Human Ego-His Freedom and Immortality. 5. The Spirit of Muslim Culture. 6. The Principle of Movement in the Structure of Islam. 7. Is Religion possible. In short, these deliveries earned for their speaker the honour due to a full-fledged philosopher.

The Development of Metaphysics in Persia: Iqbal's quest into the depth of Persian mind, or let us say, Aryan spirit, begins from this point. It is the thesis submitted to the university of Munich, Germany, for the award of Doctor of Philosophy. In course of time he came to the conclusion that some of the ideas and practices, asceticism in particular, which gained respect in Muslim society, were of Manichaeian origin. The consolidated system of sufism was responsible to import these alien ideas. He made a thorough revision of his opinions and the stage arrived when his criticism of *Tasawwuf* = Sufi doctrines, became a known fact. Thus, we may notice that from *Development of Metaphysics* to *Secrets of the Self*, Iqbal traversed a long journey.

*Bedil in the Light of Bergson** This study in the form of an article remained unpublished during Iqbal's lifetime. The editor undertook the arduous task of reading the hand-written manuscript and publishing it together with annotated Urdu translation. Iqbal was deeply inspired by Bedil's ideas. Naturally, it was a source of pleasure for him to discover points of similarity between Bedil and the French philosopher, Henri Bergson, with whom he had personal acquaintance. Bergson is known for his powerful attack upon materialist attitude of Western society. In his major work, *Creative Evolution*, he challenges Darwin's concepts of struggle for existence and survival of the fittest. In his view, impulse and desire are active forces in evolution. He brings new hope to the West about old notions of religion, chiefly, God and immortality. Further, he applies attention to establish the importance of intuition instead of intellect. Bedil's conception of Reality is the same arrived at by Bergson: "a perpetual Becoming, a continuous flow". Both pronounce that human intellect can touch only the surface and not the essence of Reality. Bedil is very fond of employing the metaphor "Colour",

* (ed.) Professor Tehsin Firaqi, Punjab University, Lahore.

that is, a term for space invented by the Sufis. They exhort to get rid of it in order to fathom the reality of life. Similarly, Bergson's conception of "Pure Duration" is preconditioned with eliminating the element of space, philosophically speaking, spatialization. Primacy of intuition over intellect is a significant point of common agreement. Only intuition may help us to identify the march of life and other subtle truths. "Rationalism and empiricism are equally worthless."

VI

Iqbāl, the philosopher, finally declares himself in the *Reconsturction** the digest of his religious thought addressed to modern philosophysical understanding. Admittedly, the attempt is quite concise. His collected works, both Persian and Urdu, demonstrate the art of poetry at its best. The thought content there ceases to be integrated. It moves in so many directions like the rays of light emanating from a prism. We get lost in multiplicity of interpretations. Inspiration could do a lot in dispersing sustained logical order. Let us arrange the elements of his philosophy in simple and brief manner: 1. **Khudi** = Self or Ego, was known to the early sufis, who called it *Nafs*. Other non-Islamic mystical systems equally acknowledged its importance; they insisted on its complete mortification. Muslim sufis did not go beyond striving for its proper discipline. Secondly, they deemed it essential to attain ultimate knowledge of the *Nafs*. A famous dictum pronounced their belief: "If you know your self, you would be able to know God." Iqbāl used *Khudi* in altogether different sense and infused the word with a new meaning. According to him, it means the realization of creative powers latent in man. As vicegerent of God on earth, his life must be guided by a plan of action. And, the plan was to be distinct from the biological concept of struggle for existence. In essence and basic purpose, man was the messenger of peace and goodwill. Said Rūmi: "you have come to unite: not to disunite." That reality could dawn upon human beings if they turned to achieve awareness of their *Khudi*. Notwithstanding its

* Lecturers: Madras, Hyderabad, Aligarh.

spaciousness, the universe could not overshadow human supremacy. In the Divine scheme of existence, Adam has been placed above the Angels. His *Khudi* is ever active and ever restless. Rest signifies curtailment of freedom. Access has been granted to him, as a unique favour, to the *Lauh-i-Mahfuz* = Preserved Tablet, that is, unlimited possibilities of knowledge. Having succeeded to that status, every trial of life would be made easy. By the virtue of *Khudi*, he could reconstruct himself and his society. Surely, a new civilization could emerge. That was Iqbal's message to the Muslims of the world in general and the Muslims of the Sub-continent, in particular. He was a pragmatic philosopher. In his thinking *Khudi* occupies central place. Let us awaken our dormant faculties to rebuild the world. 2. '*Aql* wa '*Ishq* = Intellect and love. These two active forces are the distinct assets of human race. The faculty of '*Aql* is closer to the attribute of cunningness. Iqbal, therefore, speaks disapprovingly about it; he concedes full respectability to '*Ishq*. The role of intellect in human mission: ever becoming, is limited. Only intuition, the gift of love, may lead him to infinite development. By the same logic religion was superior to philosophy. In this respect, Rumi is Iqbal's chief guide, who inspires his disciple with the belief that intuition was all powerful. Love could lead the pilgrim on the way to eternal journey, the unending progress. However, during the golden age of Islamic civilization, when Baghdad was its centre, the Muslim mind, influenced by Greek traditions, devoted all its energy to rational activities. Ghazali introduced major change. None the less, due accommodation to reason was unavoidable. Knowledge of external reality required rational application. Universe and nature are symbols and their cognizance is obligatory. Islam has permitted free use of reason. Iqbal therefore, extended the scope of '*Ishq*, and used it in wider sense. It included intuition as well as creative impulse. Let us accept '*Ishq* as action-oriented. All the important events of Islamic history are its results. Moreover, intuition is the highest form of reason and the two are inseparable. Philosophically, intuitional knowledge presents reality in its totality. Rational knowledge lacks behind on this score. 3. Symbols: *Shahin* = Eagle, *Mard-i-Hur* = Free Man, *Bandah-i-Mou'min* = Believer, *Qalandar* = Wandring Sufis, etc. Iqbal has conceived symbols for delineating the image of his ideal man who is in the state of alertness for exhibiting the virtue of *Khudi* = latent creative powers. His capacity for self-expression has vast limits. Particularly, amongst them,

the *Qalandar* makes his existence felt since the early days of Islam in the sub-continent. He bears the mark of a careless wanderer, absolutely dispossessed of worldly belongings save the coarse woolen garb on his body, sleeping under the sky and not staying more than a day at one place. In a way, he seems to have set himself far from the bondage of space and time. Attaining spiritual purity is his primary concern. These symbols indicate that the highest value in man's life is freedom. In our philosopher's view (Rec.p.138), what his co-religionists have lost is just one point: dynamic character, both at the levels of faith and action. Social change was welcome; but its initiator must be the man of perfect *Khudi*.

4. *Zamān* = Time, in Iqbal's thinking is real like the universe itself. In this respect, he differs from the Greek masters, particularly, Plato. All knowledge is the outcome of time. It appears from the continuity of concepts. In other words, knowledge is the continuous movement of time. Again time is destiny. For, thought must move from finite to infinite and finally reach perfect infinitude. This process could receive the desired help from intuition. The Muslims attached much importance to time-space phenomena on account of their repeated reference in the Qur'anic verses. Further, the event of extra-ordinary interest in the Prophet's life was *Mi'raj* = Ascension to heaven. Its influence on Muslim mind, stimulating them to debate the issue of space-time, was quite natural. All recent schools of philosophy regard change as real. It can take place in time only. Logically, time is integral with ego, love, freedom, and God. Iqbal has tried to evolve time's concept, which must be in conformity with the teachings of his religion. And, that concept must offer a plan of action. Among the Muslims, Imam Shāfi'i is the earliest thinker, who has advanced the definition of time, *al-waqt saifun* = time is the sword. Shāfi'i means to say that time is a weapon in man's hand to conquer nature and to control history. Iqbal elaborates the same concept in the *Asrār-i-Khudi*. In his view, time is not mere concept, but an instrument of change. By exercising control over the process of change, the building up of a healthy civilization shall become a possibility. Similarly, Iqbal's spiritual teacher, Maulana Rūmi (672/1273), consistently inspires him to ponder over the problem. Rūmi borrows the metaphor of *arrow* = existence, from Zeno (ca. 490 B.C.) The arrow is moving in space. But, unlike Zeno, Rūmi reminds that the movement is

continuous. No stationary stage shall arrive (*Masnawi* II. 42.) Likewise, his attention turns to Heraclitus (ca. 480 B.C.). The latter uses the phrase "River" and anticipates the sufi theory of *Tajaddud-i-Amsal* = the renewal of like by the like.* Every moment the world is annihilated and the like of it comes into existence. Heraclitus holds: "In the same river other and still other rivers flow. The river is same and not the same." Rûmi argues: "life is ever arriving anew like the stream. In the body it has the semblance of continuity (*Masnawi* II.45.). The ultimate cycle of night and day known to our senses as the ceaseless activity of time is initially connected with the phenomenon of *Tajaddud-i-Amsal*. The activity is not mere repetition; it is independent and original. During sleep at night the souls are recalled to the timeless and spaceless realm. Their return to consciousness is not a mechanical behaviour. It has a Divinely ordained purpose. Temporal existence entered a single "now". This is the significance of the cycle of night and day. (*Masnawi* I. 388-396). Another example: "In autumn the myriads of leaves go down into the sea of death. (In the spring) Lord sends command to non-existence: Give back what thou hast eaten up. O' brother, collect thy wits and think. From moment to moment there are autumn and spring within thee". (I. 1893-1896). One more instance of Rûmi's vision: "The abode of God is infinite. It admits neither space nor time. Past and future stand merged together. They are identical, rather one. Men possessing perfect ego could affirm it." (III. 1151-1152). The writer, next to Rûmi, who enabled Iqbâl to shape his views regarding time, was a lesser known sufi, Mahmûd Ashnawi (ca. 550/1155). His home, Ashna, was a village near Tabriz. He left the work *Ghayat ul-Makan fi Dirayat uz-Zaman*, or more popularly, *Risalah-i-Makani wa Zamaani*. The treatise suffered from confusion due to the cataloguers, who attributed its authorship to more scholars than one. The manuscript in Iqbâl's possession bore the name of 'Iraqi, the poet as its author. A small extract from the above *Risalah*, cited by Iqbâl in his *Reconstruction* (p.75), may not be out of place. "The time of gross bodies which arises from the revolution of the heavens is divisible into past, present, and future, and its nature is such that as long as one day does not pass away, the succeeding day does not come. The time of immaterial beings is also serial in character, but its passage is such that a whole year in the time of gross bodies is not more

* Shaikh Ibn ul-'Arabi initiated the idea.

than a day in the time of an immaterial being. Rising higher and higher in the scale of immaterial beings we reach Divine time; time which is absolutely free from the quality of passage, and consequently does not admit of divisibility, sequence, and change. The eye of God sees all the visibles. His ear hears all the audibles, in one indivisible act of perception..." Thus, Divine time is what the Qur'an described as *Umm ul-Kitab* = Mother of Books, in which the whole of history, freed from the net of causal sequence, is gathered up in a single super-eternal "now" 5. **Iblis** = Mephisto. The rebel angel, who preferred to be banished from Divine favour and was doomed to eternal separation, attracted Iqbal's curiosity and became a significant part of his thought. In a diary of early period, he places on record: "I have a certain amount of admiration for the devil. By refusing to prostrate himself before Adam... he revealed a high sense of self-respect." (*Thoughts and Reflections of Iqbal*). According to the Qur'anic version, the sin of Iblis was disobedience. He defied when all other angels submitted to God's command. They acknowledged Adam's superiority over themselves. Whereas all of them demonstrated timidity, *Iblis* was ready to confront the raging tempest, that is Divine displeasure. The qualities of unending activity and striving made him a distinct creature. Iqbal expected the same merits in his ideal man: constant development by achieving higher and higher degrees of experience. At last in one of Iqbal's poems, (*Iblis ki 'Arzdasht*) the naughty angel is relenting in his firmness of will and seems to be on the verge of seeking God's forgiveness. For, he is fed up with European politicians, who have made his existence needless in the world. Soon, he regains his old confidence and greatness (*Iblis ki Majlis-i-Shura*) In concourse with his cronies he comes out as a fully dynamic personality: neither depressed nor lonely. They receive his command with obedience and shall henceforth snare, besides other rogues, the Sufis and Mullas as well. For, sincerity of purpose is conspicuous by its absence in their character. Such ideal recruits should not be spared. 6. **The West**: During his lifetime, Iqbal had few equals as a discerning critic of Western philosophy and institutions based upon it. He witnessed the First World War: a direct outcome of ruthless competition for colonial greed, exploitation and rivalry between European powers. The Second World War began a year after his death. Its horrors and termination with nuclear

bombing at Hiroshima and Nagasaki created serious doubts in the mind of Western intellectuals themselves regarding the stability and fairness of their system. The leaders of Pagwash movement voiced their dismay in the same language, more or less, which Iqbal had employed earlier in his poems. An obvious result of war was the Western peoples' loss of confidence in their moral superiority; it deprived them of all lofty pretensions. In due course, Bertrand Russell admitted that the white man was most cruel. While the curtain on the First World War was going to drop, a vehement reaction against capitalism and imperialism gave rise to the Russian Revolution of 1917. The event proved an eye-opener to the whole world. Iqbal's poems composed on the occasion reveal his deep sympathy with the victims of tyranny and injustice. However, as a realist, he could not ignore the fact that progress had entered Asia, thanks to the enlightenment offered by Western institutions and the teachings supplied from the other side of the Mediterranean. A modern scholar proudly enumerates four merits, which make European civilization unique. Of them, he assigns primary place to individual liberty. Next in importance is rule of law, etc. Yet Iqbal and Muslim intellectuals like him did not abstain from pouring their indignation against the West. Historically, the attitude of the West regarding the Muslims and the chief commodity of their land, oil, may be defined in a single word: pillage, to say the least. In his poem, *Lenin in Presence of God*, Iqbal bewails: *O God, when the scenario will change? Thy world is waiting for the day of retribution.*

7. Democracy: The peculiar environment of the age was largely responsible to determine Iqbal's political thinking. He was not a democrat; and logically he could not be. In this connection, first of all the sub-continental background deserves notice. From Syed Ahmad Khan onwards every Indian Muslim instinctively entertained strong reservations against democracy. Their argument was simple: the system could easily degenerate into majority dictatorship making the position of minority very precarious. None the less, their fears could be set aside after a slight reshaping of the existing Westminster model. They insisted on "constitutional safeguards," a phrase implying mutually agreed concessions. Its meaning remained incomprehensible to the majority's leadership. In short Iqbal's mind was fertile enough with alternate ideas. Initially, he came out with one-man guardianship principle. Such a man must be mature and perfect. Actually,

we are not sure that following the Allahabad *Khutba* – Presidential Address of Muslim League, his map of mind remained unchanged? Another deciding factor, which prompted him to raise question mark against democracy, was the double standard of Western democratic rulers. All the intellectuals of Muslim world, Iqbal not excepting, rejected their encomiums of liberty and equality as hypocrisy. Democracy's association with imperialism became undeniable reality. At a stage, all democracies maintained overseas empires. More pernicious than the democratic system as it existed from nineteenth century onwards, was the concept of nationalism. It divided mankind into nationalities and made them hate-objects of each other. Iqbal, therefore, launched powerful attack against "that biggest idol which the West had carved out in its pantheon." Moreover, the idea of nationality was fraught with another evil consequence: it may strike down the roots of universal Islamic nationhood. Against democracy there was one more tacit reservation. The system opened the door for corrupt persons and allowed them undue liberty.

WRITERS AND POETS

‘Abbas Shirāzi (d. unknown) was employed by the officials of East India Company as secret agent to collect information for them in the area of North-West Frontier and Afghanistan. Since he was not properly educated, the observations made by him were recorded by an Englishman, who later on, eliminating the superfluous exaggerations, brought out the work as: *Safar-namah-i-‘Abbas Shirāzi*, ca. 1253/1837.

‘Abd ul-Ahad (d. unknown) lived in Lucknow and served the East India Company. He wrote an account of Padshah Begum, wife of Ghāzi ud-Din Haidar, ruler of Awadh. She was a consistent supporter of her son Rafi ‘ud-Din Haidar alias Munna Jan; but ultimately failed in her adventurous plans. ‘Abd ul-Ahad named the work: *Waqā’-i-Dil pazir*, completed in 1256/1840.

‘Abd ul-‘Ali Islamabādi (d. unknown) belonged to Chittagong, Bengal, and spent a considerable part of his life in Calcutta, where he

held the position of professor at the famous Calcutta Madrasah. He wrote a history of his home-town, Islamabād, that is, Chittagong, naming it: *Sahifat ul-A'māl wa Mir'at ul-Alwāl*, ca. 1307/1889.

'Abd ul-'Alim Nasr ullah Khān (d. 1299/1881) belonged to Khurja, a town situated about a hundred kilometres south-east of Delhi, and served as a civil servant under the East India Company. Then, he moved to Hyderabad, where the Nizām's government employed him in view of his past experiences. In old age, he returned to his home-town and wrote a number of books. Mention may be made of a *tazkirah* of Urdu poets: *Gulshan-i-Hamishah-Bahār*, and a history of the Muslim dynasties who ruled in South India: *Tarikh-i-Deccan*, completed in 1285/1868. Also, he wrote a biography of his spiritual guide, Shāh 'Abd ul-'Alim under the title: *Byāz-i-Dil Kusha*.

'Abd ul-'Azim Husaini Isfahāni (d. unknown) came to settle in Lucknow when the rulers of Awadh made it their capital. He composed a literary version of the legend of Joseph as narrated in *Surah XI* of the Qur'ān, naming it: *Ahsan ul-Qisas*.

'Abd ul-'Azim, Saiyed Muhammad (d. 1227/1812) lived as a sufi in Panipat, the town situated near Delhi. His ancestors emigrated from Gilān, Iran, and initially settled in Lahore. He wrote a book dealing with the lives and teachings of celebrated Sufis: *Mishah us-Salikin*.

'Abd ul-'Aziz, Maulawi (d. unknown) belonged to Arrah, District Shahabād, Bihar, where he enjoyed scholarly leisure and trained many students. Besides tracts on grammar and rhetorics, his collection of letters survived under double title: *Ruqy 'at-i-'Azizi/Insha-i-Dil awiz*, 1270/1853.

'Abd ul-'Aziz Dehlawi, Shāh (d. 1239/1824) was the son of Shāh Wali ullah Dehlawi and commanded respect for his learning. A number of his books are in Arabic. But, the widely acceptable medium being Persian, he preferred that for his commentary on the Qur'ān, *Fath ul-'Aziz* or *Tafsir-i-'Azizi*. Like his father, he was relentless in his attitude against the Shī'ahs and wrote a polemical treatise condemning their tenets. Its title was: *Tuhfah-i-Isna 'Ashariyah*. His *Sirr ush-Shahādatin* discussed

martyrdom of the two grandsons of the Prophet; and his *Bastān ul-Muhaddisin* was a bibliography of works on traditions.

‘Abd ul-Ghani Khān, Muḥammad (d. 1334/1916) belonged to Farrukhabad, Uttar Pradesh, and served as Principal of the *Madrasah* at Hyderabad, the capital city of the Nizām’s state. He compiled a dictionary, and in order to illustrate the usage of unfamiliar words, quoted about forty thousand couplets from poets belonging to the Safawid, Mughal, and earlier times. The title of the book was: *Armughan-i-Asafī* and its year of completion, 1292/1875. Also, he was the author of a concise *tazkirah* of poets, *Tazkirat ush-Shu‘ara*, 1328/1910.

‘Abd ul Hakim b. Abd ur-Rahim, Shaikh (d. unknown) lived in Delhi during the time of Shāh ‘Alam II, and was known for his knowledge of astronomy. He discussed the subject in two concise books: *Ikhtiyarat-i-Sa‘at* and *Taswīyat ul Buyūt*, ca. 1180/1868.

‘Abd ul-Hamid Azamgarhi, Maulawi (d. unknown) belonged to Azamgarh, North India, and translated the works of Wāqidi and Ibn Sa’d, the two early authorities on Islamic history. Wāqidi (d. 207/823) lived in Baghdad, serving as *qāzi* in the reign of the Abbāsīd Caliph, Ma’mūn. He studied extensively with a view to writing history on a large scale, but death overtook him before time. His secretary and pupil, Ibn Sa’d (d. 230/845) continued the project and brought out complete volumes under the title: *Tabaqat*. Maulawi ‘Abd ul-Hamid translated Wāqidi’s *Kitāb ul-Maghāzī*. Also, he prepared Persian version of Ibn Sa’d, dealing with the life of the Prophet. These translations appeared as: *Tarjumah-i-Tarikh-i-Wāqidi*, *Tarjumah-i-Para-i-az Tabaqat-i-Ibn Sa’d*, and were printed in lithograph from Agra, 1309/1891.

‘Abd ullah b. Muḥammad Ashraf Siddiqi (d. unknown) wrote a tract on weights and measures. Interestingly, the units of weight in India, which were *ser* and *man*, had undergone variations from time to time. The Mughal administrators were quick enough to watch the market needs and introduce change in standard weight accordingly. Hence, was the distinction mentioned as *Ser-i-Akbari*, *Ser-i-Shah Jahani* and so on. Similar rules were applied in case of *tolah*, the unit for weighing precious

metals. Nor was the practice unfamiliar to countries other than India, where fluctuations were allowed to occur in the weight of *dirham* and *dinar*, the silver and gold coins respectively. The author collected these facts as much for practical benefit of the traders as for the pharmacists and jurists. The work was entitled: *Tahqiq ul-Awzan*, 1263/1846.

‘Abd ullah Mushtâq (d. unknown) was the author of a book dealing with the life of the Prophet. Its title was *Tarikh-i-Nabawi*, completed in 1279/1862.

‘Abd ur Rahim Gorakhpuri (d. unknown) was a man of unusual intellect and his contemporaries scornfully called him *dahriyah* = atheist. He developed contacts with men of the East India Company at Calcutta and acquired from them the knowledge of scientific subjects current in Europe; although some topics, for example, the evolution of man, were still fraught with serious controversy. The abstracts from the books of European authors were translated by him and with a brief autobiography he brought out the volume under the title: *Shigarf-Bayan*. His other and more widely known work was: *Karnamah-i-Haidari*.

‘Abd ur-Razzâq b. ‘Abd un-Nabi (d. unknown) belonged to Nander, a district town in the Nizâm's state of Hyderabad, situated on the bank of the River Godavari. He served as a *munshi* = scribe to Sir John Malcolm, the governor of Bombay during the days of the East India Company. As the British soldiers captured the fortress of Nirmal from the gang of marauders, called the Pindaris, Sir John Malcolm requested his *munshi* to trace its history. Accordingly, ‘Abd ur-Razzâq wrote the *Tarikh-i-Nirmal*, 1231/1816.

‘Abid Husain, Saiyed (d. unknown) belonged to Sahasrâm and practised as a civil lawyer at Mirzapur, near Benaras. He wrote a history of Ja'is, a village in district Râi Bareli, Awadh. It was entitled *Tarikh-i-Ja'is*, completed in 1295/1878.

Abu'l Faiz Muhammad Malâhat (d. unknown) lived in Gujrânwalah, Punjab, and was a teacher by profession. He wrote commentaries on the textbooks of *madrasah* education for the help of

young students. Interesting among his exercises was a tract on mathematics. Some portions of it dealt with *Sīyāq* = rules observed in taxation and revenue department involving miscellaneous calculations. Its title was *Mir'at ul-Hisab*, completed in 1256/1840.

Abul Hasan, Maulawi Saiyed (d. unknown) was a resident of Shikarpur, a town in district Bulandshahar, near Delhi. He compiled a dictionary of Persian verbs over which he claimed to have spent three years. There was vertical arrangement of the original Persian verbs in it with their Persian and Urdu meanings. Illustrations from the verses of Persian poets occurred frequently. It was entitled: *Ganjinah-i-Masādir*, completed in 1342/1923.

Abu'l Hasan, Mirza (d. unknown) belonged to Multan and moved in later life to settle at Agra. He had experience of civil service and possessed scholarly habits. In his compilation of letters, he followed Har Karan so closely that some critics accused him of plagiarism. The title of his work was: *Marghah ul-Qulab*, ca. 1252/1836.

Abu'l Hasan Ajodhi (d. unknown) was the author of an astrological treatise, *Miftah un-Nujūm*, written in 1271/1854. It was a translation made by him from original Sanskrit: *Jhanka-Bhawan*.

Abu'l Khair (d. unknown) translated into Persian W. Hunter's book on modern astronomy, based on Copernican system. The author served as a physician and surgeon (1755-1812) under the East India Company. Abu'l Khair named his version: *Majma' ul-i-Shamsi*.

Abu'l Qāsim Simnani Sasāni (d. unknown) was a friend of Francis Gladwin, a scholarly Englishman serving the East India Company. Inspired by the latter, he devoted patient labour and prepared a revised edition of the Persian translation of Tabari's history. In his project, he studied the original Arabic text of *Tarikh ur-Rusāl wal Mulūk* and several redactions of Bal'ami's Persian version; An interesting work from his pen was a hand-book of general knowledge, *Jam-i-Jahan nama-i-Sasani*. Also, he attempted a history, dividing the work into two sections: non-Indian and Indian dynasties. Its title was: *Sulalat us-*

Sayr, 1230/1814.

Abu Turab Rizavi (d. unknown) was the author of a general history, *Qutb-Numa-i-'Alam* or *Hadiqat ul-'Alam*. But, his biography of the Prophet acquired much popularity. Its title was: *Furhat ul-'Alam*, completed in 1221/1806.

Agha Jân, Mirza Muhammad 'Abd ul-Qâdir Khân (d. unknown): His father had emigrated from Kabul and found employment in the state of the Thakur of Songarh, who was a nobleman near Gwalior. After the old Mirza's death in 1315/1897, the Thakur treated Agha Jân with kindness and retained him as the chief functionary of his state. Agha Jân's field of interest was the tribal lore and early history of the Mughals of Central Asia. He pursued extensive researches in tracing the origins of the chief Mughal tribes and their branches, including the ancestry of Babur since the times of Changiz and Timur. The work was entitled: *Awimâq-i-Mughal*, completed in 131'8/1900.

Ahmad 'Ali b. Yusuf 'Ali Faizabadi (d. unknown) was the author of an abridged history of the Mughals; the book contained sufficient details of the events which occurred during the days of Shâh 'Alâm II. The title he chose for it was: *Mukhtasar dar Ahwal-i-Timûriyah*, 1245/1830.

Ahmad 'Ali Khairabâdi (d. 1281/1864) was trained in the discipline of sufism by the saint of Punjab, Khwajah Muhammad Sulaiman Taunsawi (d. 1267/1850). He collected an account of the celebrated sufis down to the days of his own spiritual guide and prepared a biographical dictionary, naming it: *Qasr-i-'Arifin*, ca. 1270/1853.

Ahmad 'Ali Khân (d. unknown) belonged to Muradabad and wrote a history of the Indian Afghans with particular attention to the Rohellas, who had established themselves in the areas of Bareilly, Rampur, and Farrukhabad. The book was entitled: *Nuzhat uz-Zuma'ir* ca. 1219/1804.

Ahmad Bihbahâni (d. unknown) belonged to the family of religious leaders commanding respect in Iran. Mulla Muhammad Baqir Majlisi was one of his ancestors. Having left his birth-place Kirmanshah, he wandered across all the important and holy cities of Islam, and similarly in India his

wanderlust carried him to places, from Bombay to Murshidabad, Calcutta and down south to Hyderabad. In old age he was living in 'Azimabad Patna, when he wrote his memoirs full of interesting details. Although settled in India, he dedicated the work to the prince of his homeland, Muhammad 'Ali Khān Qachār. He named the work: *Mir'at ul-Ahwāl-i-Jahan-Numa*, ca. 1225/1810.

Ahmad Jān Dehlawi (d. unknown) lived in Ludhiana, Punjab, and had the reputation of a pious man possessing experience in the field of medical science. He wrote a book prescribing the maintenance of bodily health by spiritual exercises, that is, to cure diseases thorough psychological methods. Its title was: *Jamī' ul-'Ulūm-i-Rūhāni*, completed in 1262/1846.

Ahmad Kot Qasimi, Munshi (d. unknown) wrote an account of his clansmen inhabiting the old Mughal province of Mewat, located in the south of Delhi, in a sketchy manner. His friends persuaded him to investigate the record of their tribal chiefs, the Meo as they were called, on the same pattern as prior to him Munshi Makhdūm Bakhsh had written about the Banjarah tribe. Oddly enough, Ahmad Kot picked up the thread from the Deluge of Noah, thereby making larger portion of his work a collection of fantastic legends. The only trustworthy information which he was able to collect, was about Maulana Malik Nāhar Khān, the first Muslim of Meo tribe. The latter rose to important position during the days of Sultān Abu Bakr Shāh, one of the last members of Tughluq dynasty (d. 792/1389). After the return of Timūr from India (801/1398), Maulana Malik Nāhar again managed to retain his influence. Initially, the Maulana embraced Islam at the invitation of Shaikh Nasir ud-Din Chiragh-i-Dehli, whose company induced him to acquire knowledge of Islamic sciences. He attained the double distinction of being a noble as well as a learned man. His son, Bahadur, inherited his father's status and rank, and the Lodi Kings enlisted him among the army commanders. Both Malik Nāhar and Bahadur believed that their worldly success was the result of blessings they received from their spiritual mentor, Shaikh Nasir ud-Din Mahmūd. Ahmad Kot Qasimi brought out his work under the title: *Halat-i-Mewat*, completed in 1293/1876.

Ahmad Qasûri (d. unknown) belonged to a family of scholars living in Qasûr, Punjab. He collected documents concerning transactions of miscellaneous nature. One such paper revealed the sale of a slave girl named Bakhtâwar: "tall, open eyebrows, elephant eyed, proportionate limbs, aged fifteen years, sold for rupees thirty." The title of the collection was: *Siraj ut-Talibin*, ca. 1273/1856.

Ahmad Reza Khân, Maulawai (d. 1340/1921) belonged to Bareilly, Uttar Pradesh, and was the founder of an independent juristic school, named after his seat of residence. The Bareilawis, as his followers were called, held views over certain issues of religious theory and practice, which gave rise to disagreement and discord among contemporary leaders of orthodoxy, particularly, the 'Ulama of Deoband. In order to plead his standpoint, Maulawi Ahmad Reza wrote arduously all his life. Most of his works being in Arabic and Urdu, he could not ignore Persian altogether. Noteworthy among his more than a dozen treatises in Persian were: 1. *al-Mâhit ur-Rezawî*; 2. *al-Hujjat ul-Fai'hah*, volumes of his legal digests; 3. *'Amal ul-Wifaq*, 4. *Jafar-i-Rezawî*; 5. *Tuzuk-i-Murtazawî*, and 6. a *masnawi* in Rûmî's metre. He composed verses under the pen-name, Reza.

Ahmad Sa'id, Shâh (d. 1277/1861) lived in Delhi and was a descendant of Shaikh Ahmad Mujaddid Sirhindi. In the course of the Revolt of 1857, when the English soldiers had captured and plundered the capital of the Mughals, Ahmad Sa'id managed to escape to Lahore and settled there. He was the author of many books dealing with religious and sufistic subjects. Mention may be made of 1. *Arba'-Anhar*, and 2. *Rabitah-i-Ma' mûlah*.

Ahsan ullah Luchnawi, Maulawi (d. unknown) wrote a book on the life of the Prophet, chiefly for the instruction of young students, and named it: *Ahsan ul-Qisas*. Its other title, bearing a chronogram, was: *Tarikh-i-Nabi* = 1273/1856.

Ajmal, Shâh (d. 1236/1820) was a sufi of Allahabad and combined learning with piety. He lived till the age of seventy nine and left behind a *Diwan* of verses and a collection of treatises, explaining the subtle points of sufistic discipline meant for the guidance of his disciples: *Nalah-i-'Ushhaq*, *Jigar Kharâsh*, etc.

Akbar 'Ali Saharanpuri (d. unknown) was a servant of the East India Company and presented to his English patron an abridged version of Saiyed Ghulam Husain Tabataba'i's history, adding to it the events of the death of Shāh 'Alam II and the succession of Akbar Shāh II, down to 1249/1833. Its title was: *Khulasat ul-Azkar*.

Al-i-Hasan, Saiyed (d. unknown) belonged to Amroha, a town in district Muradabad, North India, and wrote an account of the saints and the celebrated men of his birth-place. He named it: *Nukhbat ul-Tawarikh*, 1296/1879.

'Ali Akbar b. Khalil ur-Rahmān (d. unknown) belonged to Kairanah, a town in district Saharanpur, North India, and spent some years of his early life in Delhi, where, said he, his chief enjoyment was reading of books. Quite a large number of books were extremely pleasing and full of enlightenment. He, therefore, decided to arrange the wonderful information he derived from them in a coherent manner. Thus, his professed aim was the dissemination of knowledge. Leisure was available to him when he returned to his home-town. He developed friendship with Miyān Allah-dād, a local teacher, who persuaded him to write down the intended book, but, advised that its appeal should be mainly directed to the intelligent youth. Accordingly, 'Ali Akbar produced an interesting book of general knowledge and named it: *Hidayat us-Subhyan*, completed in 1263/1846.

'Ali Hasan Khān (d. unknown) was the younger son of Nawwāb Siddiq Hasan Khān, with whom Shāh Jahān Begum, the ruler of the state of Bhopal, contracted her marriage. 'Ali Hasan Khān was twelve years old when the under-mentioned *tazkirah* of poets, ascribed to him, was completed; and therefore, according to modern research, he was not its real author. A similar doubt has been entertained about the authorship of his father also. It is evident that these *tazkiras* were written by the courtiers to satisfy the vanity of their rulers. As claimed at the time of publication: 'Ali Hasan Khān continued the work of Siddiq Hasan Khān and prepared a supplement to the earlier *Sham'-i-Anjuman* by adding two thousand and twenty-four poets. The compilation appeared as *Subha-i-Gulshan*, 1295/1878. Another work of similar fictitious

authorship ascribed to him was a *tazkirah* of Urdu poets: *Bāzm-i-Sukhan*, 1297/1880. Also, he earned the credit for having written his father's biography: *Ma'asir-i-Siddiqi*.

‘Ali Bakhsh (d. unknown) was the author of a mathematical treatise containing exercises on *siyaq* = subject covering revenue and taxation matters, their categories and methods of calculation. Its title was: *Mir‘at ul-Hisab*, completed in 1256/1840.

Amin Ahmad (d. unknown) was a sufi poet of Bihar and belonged to the Firdawsi order founded in that area by Shaikh Sharaf ud-Din Ahmad b. Yahya Maneri. He composed a *Masnawi*, describing the life and ideas of the above-named Shaikh, and named it: *Gul-i-Firdaws*, ca. 1258/1840.

Amir ‘Ali Rizawi (d. unknown) wrote a history of the Rajahs, who ruled Azamgarh, North India, from the time of Rajah Abhimān, a contemporary of Akbar, to the year 1216/1801, when the District was taken away from Awadh territory by the rulers of the British East India Company. The work was entitled: *Sarguzasht-i-Rajaha-i-Azamgarh*, completed in 1289/1872.

Amir Hasan Madāri (d. unknown) lived in a village, Mākanpur, situated between Kanpur and Allahabad, famous for being the resting place of the semi-legendary, saint, Shāh Madār. He wrote a *tazkirah* devoted to the account of the above-named saint and his followers, naming it: *Tazkirat ul-Muttaqin*, 1315/1897.

Ammār ‘Ali, Maulawi (d. 1304/1886) belonged to Sonipat, a town situated in the north of Delhi. Among Shi‘ah theologians of the sub-continent, he attained eminence chiefly due to his commentary on the Holy Qur‘ān, of course in Urdu: *Umdat ul-Bayan*.

Anand Rāi (d. unknown) wrote a history of the Jat stronghold, Bharatpur, south of Rajasthan, till its conquest by the British officers of the East India Company. Its title was: *Tarikh-i-Bharatpur*, 1242/1826.

Anandi Prashād (d. unknown) was the author of a book for the benefit of young students interested in learning Persian language. He arranged groups of Persian words in a novel fashion: animals, fruits, and things

having similarity. According to his claim, it would be easy for boys of tender age to remember them without strain. It was entitled: *Guldastah-i-Guftar*, completed in 1268/1851.

Asghar Husain b. Ghulam Ghaus (d. unknown) served as physician at the court of the Bangash Nawwabs of Farrukhabad and was the author of many books, especially, in the field of medicine. Important among them were. 1. a work on children's diseases: *Ilaj-us-Subyan*, and 2. a tract on mathematics: *Risalah dar Hisab*, ca. 1273/1856.

Ashki, Rajah Kundan Lal Dehlawi (d. unknown) was a poet and nobleman of the imperial capital during the days of Shah 'Alam II, and displayed side-interest in astronomy. He composed an almanac and named it: *Zij-i-Ashki*. Also, his more entertaining work was a book of knowledge dealing with miscellaneous topics: *Nuzhat un Nazirin*, completed in 1231/1816.

Ashraf Khan (d. unknown) was a landlord of Muslim Rajput family, known as Lalkhanis, whose estates were situated mostly in district Bulandshahr, Uttar Pradesh. His father, Nawwab Dundey Khan, refused to surrender when the British East India Company extended their sway over the region and formally annexed the territory around the Mughal imperial capital (1221/1806). Either Ashraf Khan, or a poet patronized by him, sang the tale of Dundey Khan's dauntless resistance in a lengthy epic poem: *Ashraf-Namah*, ca. 1236/1820.

'Asi, 'Abid Husain (d. unknown) was a poet-physician of Jaunpur. He translated into Persian the medical textbook. *Ma'alijat-i-Sadidi*, by *Sadid ud-Din Kazrûni* (745/1344), which was twice repeated commentary on a few chapters of Ibn Sina's *al-Qanûn*. Asi's translation appeared as *Taj ul-'Ilaj*, completed in 1262/1846.

Aulad Ahmad, Maulawi Saiyed (d. unknown) belonged to Sahsawân, a town in district Badaun, North India. He was the author of a Persian-Urdu dictionary; *Miftah ul-Lughat*, 1273/1856.

Azurdah, Mufti Sadr ud-Din (d. 1285/1868) was a leading scholar

of Delhi during the days of Bahadur Shah Zafar and composed poetry, according to contemporary fashion, both in Persian and Urdu. A professional jurist, Azurdah left a book in that field; *Muntahi ul-Maqal*.

Bakhshu Miyan, Shaikh Ahmad (d. 1265/1848) was a scholar living at Surat, Gujrat, and held the judicial position of *munsif* in that city. He attempted a history of India, paying special attention to his own region, and named it; *Hadiqah-i-Ahmadi*. Later on, Shaikh Ahmad revised his plan and intended to expand the range of his work. The revised version, which remained incomplete, was entitled: *Hadiqat ul-Hind*.

Bankey Lāl, Son of Tarange Lāl (d. unknown) sketched a brief history of Gujrat and its capital city, Ahmadabad, from early times to its capture by the Marathas, and named it: *Muntakhab-i-Ahwal-i-Zain ul-bilad-i-Ahmadabad*.

Bāqir 'Ali Khān, Saiyed Muhammad (d. unknown) was the son of Shāh Kalim ullah Bukhārī, a pious and learned man of Delhi living in the reign of Akbar Shāh II (d. 1252.1837). Bāqir 'Ali Khān started his career as tutor of the princes, Mirza Jahangir and Mirza Babur, the sons of Akbar Shāh II. Afterwards, he secured employment under the East India Company and held the judicial post of *munsif* at Hamirpur situated at some distance from Allahabad. He attempted a general history of India and dedicated it to his English patron, Henry Pidcock. It appeared under the title: *Tarikh-i-Henry*, in 1251/1835.

Bārhaḥ : An author whose name remained unknown, traced the genealogy of the Bārhaḥ Saiyeds, famous for their military qualities and enjoying high ranks and titles among the Mughal nobility since the days of Akbar. At last the position of prime ministership passed on to Qutb ul-Mulk Saiyed 'Abd ullah, a Saiyed of Bārhaḥ, whose support raised Farrukh Siyar to the Mughal throne. The same and immediately following incidents earned for the Saiyeds the title of 'king-makers' implying sarcasm rather than praise. Their original settlements in India constituted a chain of twelve villages, said to have been granted by the Mughal Emperor, Humayūn; hence, *Barhaḥ* = twelve, now situated chiefly in district Muzaffarnagar and partly in Bijnore and Meerut, the Gangetic region in North India.

Humayun's original *farman* allowed to cover still larger region: *az Gang ta Sang* = from the Ganges to the Himalayas. The work appeared under the title: *Nasab-Namah-i-Sadat-i-Barhah*, ca. 1314/1897.

Beale, Thomas William (d. 1292/1875) was an Englishman, who settled in Agra after retirement from the service of the East India Company. He attempted a general history of India and brought the account to the year 1265/1848: *Miftah ut-Tawarikh*. Beale collected a large number of chronograms concerning about every important event. Their variety and range revealed the degree of perfection acquired by Indo-Persian poets in that special domain. Simultaneously, they made the *Miftah ut-Tawarikh* a work of interesting character.

Bejigar, Khairati Lal (d. unknown) Lived during the days of Shah 'Alam II and Akbar Shah II. and was an observer of the approaching transition. His place of birth was Sikanderabad, a town in district Bulandshahr, North India. With the capture of Delhi, the seat of Mughal power, by the British officers of the East India Company (1218/1803), people began to hope that the long spell of lawlessness and anarchy would be over. On the cultural front, Persian gradually gave its place to Urdu; and soon, it was to be abolished as official language of the land (1252/1837). Literary men interested in composing poetry switched over to the more natural and easy medium of Urdu, of which *tazkirah* writers had to take notice. But, as a marked feature, they insisted to write in Persian. One of the early anthologies of Urdu poets appeared under the title: *Tazkirah-i-Bejigar*, ca. 1242/1826.

Bekhabar, Khwajah Ghulam Ghaus Khan (d. unknown) belonged to Kashmir and was in the service of the East India Company. He made the city of Allahabad his permanent home after retirement. His contemporaries acknowledged him as a poet.

Bhagwan Das Shrivpuri (d. unknown) witnessed the days of Shah 'Alam II and his successor Akbar Shah II. He wrote an account of the military movements of Lord Lake against the Marathas, the final stage of expansionist policy pursued by the British East India Company; and named his work: *Makhzan ul-Futah*, ca. 1221/1806.

Bismillah Beg (d. unknown) was a descendant of Ahmad-i-Mi'mār Lahori, the architect of Taj Mahal. His immediate predecessor was Mirza Khair ullah Khān, the astronomer of the reign of Muhammad Shah, who designed the observatories of Maharajah Jai Singh at Delhi, Jaipur, and Mathura etc. and associated with the Maharajah in his grand researches. Bismillah Beg prepared a calendar, naming it simply: *Tarqim*, 1260/1844.

Bulāqi Dās, Rāi (d. unknown) lived in Delhi during the days of Akbar Shah II, and enjoyed his kindness. He praised the emperor in the preface of his book. The nobles of Mughal India qualified themselves with liberal and secular education. Their declared objective was enlightenment of the mind. Rāi Bulaqi Dās represented the same age-old tradition, which he confirmed by writing a miscellany of knowledge. It contained imperial *farmans*, revenue documents, rules of taxation, select verses from poets, discourse on Indian music, essentials of medicine, wonders of the world, and besides many other topics, a commentary on Kūka Pandit, the great master of sex science, together with interesting information about the various types of women: *Padmani*, *Chaturni*, *Hastani*, and *Sankhani*. The work, in acknowledgement of his patron, Akbar Shah, appeared under double title: *Mir'at-i-Akbar/Mir'at un-Nawadir*, 1226/1811.

Chhattar Mal, Rāi (d. unknown) belonged to a family of literary scholars and civil servants of Agra. His father, Munshi Prān Chand, composed poetry under the pen-name, Sarshar and his grandfather, Munshi Thorī Mal 'Tamkin', was also acknowledged as a poet. Rāi Chhattar Mal inherited the merits of his ancestors and was the author of two works: 1. a guide-book for officials working under the Diwān = provincial revenue chief in four sections, *Diwān Pasand*, an 2. and account of the imperial monuments standing in his native city, *'Imarat-i-Akbarabad*, ca. 123/1810.

Chela, Nūr Muhammad (d. 1279/1862) belonged to the Sayal tribe of Jhang, Punjab, and was respected for his scholarship. He traced the origin of his tribe, a Rajput clan, which, having migrated from Jaunpur region, along the bank of the River Gomti, settled in Jhang, between Lahore and Multan, and embraced Islam. He named the work *Tarikh-i-Sayal*, completed in 1279/1862.

Dhonkal Singh (d. unknown) served as secretary = *munshi*, to Ranjit Singh, the Jat ruler of Bharatpur. He witnessed the occupation of that state by the British and negotiated on behalf of the Rājah with the East India Company's military commander, Lord Lake. He wrote his memoirs and narrated the developments of which he was a key figure himself. The work appeared under the double title: *Tasallut-i-Sahibān-i-Angrez/Waqa'ī-i-Dhonkal Singh*, 1221/1806.

Fa'iq, Qāzi Nūr ud-Din Husain (d. unknown) belonged to Gujrat and wrote a *tazkirah* of 'Rekhtah' poets who lived in that region, naming it: *Makhzan-i-Shu'ara*, 1268/1852.

Faiz ul-Hasan, Maulawi (d. unknown) lived in Lahore and was acknowledged for his learning in the field of religious sciences as well as medicine. He added Hanafi Chishti with his name, which indicated his spiritual affiliations. His father, grandfather, and great grandfather, 'Ali Bakhsh, Khuda Bakhsh, and Qalandar Bakhsh respectively, were all sufi scholars. The commentaries he wrote on a number of textbooks were popular among the students. As poet, he composed *masnawi* poems: 1. *Chashmah-i-Faiz*, 2. *Gulzar-i-Faiz*, and 3. *Nasim-i-Faiz*, ca. 1204/1886.

Faiz ullah, Maulawi Shaikh (d. unknown) was a school teacher in District Etah, North India. He wrote personal letters to friends, which they desired to be preserved for the benefit of students. Incidentally, the transfer of an English officer of the East India Company from his neighbourhood to Calcutta has been reported in one of the letters. As a general rule, no care was taken to mention the names and whereabouts of the addressees. The title of the collection was: *Insha-i-Gulzar-i-Ma'na*, completed in 1238/1822.

Fakhri, Muhammad Mu'in ud-Din (d. unknown) lived in Fatehpur Sikri, the residing place of Shaikh Salim Chishti (d. 979/1572), the saint of Akbar's time, whose influence impelled the emperor to shift his capital from Agra to the above named place. Fakhri introduced himself as a *Khadim* = servant of the shrine of Shaikh Salim Chishti. He was a poet, and also, wrote in prose a book of anecdotes: *Dastan-i-Bagh wa Bahar*, 1250/1834.

Fakhr ud-Din Husain (d. unknown) was a painter whom the last Mughal emperor, Bahādur Shāh Zafar, employed to prepare an album of the Mughal emperors and princes together with coloured diagrams of their tombs. The work was taken up in 1266/1849, and two more painters, Ghulam 'Ali Khan and Bābur 'Ali Khan, were associated with it. Hakīm Ahsan ullah, a nobleman, provided miniatures from his personal collection and borrowed paintings from other old families of the capital. The album appeared as: *Mir'at ul-Ashbah-i-Salatin-i-Asman Jah*.

Farid ud-Din Ahmad Khān, Khwajah (d. unknown) belonged to a noble family of Delhi and lived in the capital during the time of Shāh 'Alam Second (d. 1221/1806), who acknowledged his scholarship in the rare field of astronomy by conferring on him the titles, Nawwāb Dabir ud-Dawlah Muslih ul-Mulk. Khwajah Farid ud-Din's grandson, Syed Ahmad Khān, rose to eminence as leader of the Muslims after the Revolt of 1857, and founded the Aligarh Muslim University. Khwajah Farid-ud-Din had studied the works of early scholars, who subscribed to the development of astrolabe, the instrument used for astronomical calculations. Particularly, he mentioned Mulla Nu'mān ud-Din Usturlābi, a leading authority on the subject. He explained the working of the instrument by means of elaborate diagrams. There were three main chapters with many sub-divisions in the work. Its title was: *Jawahir-i-Faridiyah*.

Farman 'Ali, Maulawi Saiyed (d. 1334/1916) was a theologian known for his religious scholarship. From his birth-place, a village in district Darbhanga, Bihar, he came to acquire education in Lucknow and impressed his teachers by his intelligence and studious nature. A medical dispensary at Muzaffarpur sufficed for his modest living, and he devoted the rest of his time to reading and writing. He made a translation of the Qur'an in Urdu and wrote a book on Shi'ah Jurisprudence: *'Ilm ul-Farā'iz*.

Farūgh, Badri Krishna (d. unknown) lived in Delhi and was a lawyer by profession. His family members were landlords of Sikandarabad, District Bulandshahr, North India. He recollected among his teachers in poetry the name of Mirza Hargopal Taftah, Ghālib's favourite pupil, whom the great poet treated as his son. Farugh was the author of a tract on prosody: *Farugh-i-'Arūz*, 1320/1902.

Fazl-i-'Azim (d. unknown) was an employee of the British East India Company and passed many years in Delhi in connection with official duties. He composed poetry under the pen-name 'Azim. Having witnessed important events, he preserved his information in two works. 1. *Waqa'ī-i-Kāhistan*, described in prose mixed with poetry the British expedition to the Himalayan state of Nepal. 2. *Afsanah-i-Bharatpur*, gave a versified account of the surrender to the British of the above named Jat stronghold, situated on the border of Rajasthan, and, 3. his poetic emotions found congenial field in the love story of a dancing girl of Khairabad: *Sham'-i-Shabistan*.

Fazl-i-Imām Khairabādi (d. 1243/8127) was a scholar of Khairabad, Awadh, and author of many works. Noteworthy among them was a tract on Persian grammar and rhetoric. Its last chapter contained brief account of a few contemporary men of letters. He named it: *Amad-namah*.

Firāz, Mulla (d. 1246/1830) was a Parsi scholar born in Bhroach, Gujrat, where his parents initially lived. Having accompanied his father to Iran, he returned after about a decade to Bombay and passed the rest of his life in academic and religious pursuits. He wrote a number of tracts explaining the basic tenets of Parsi religion and was the founder editor of a newspaper. *Bombay Samachar*. Obliging a British officer of the East India Company, he composed a *masnawi* in Ferdowsi's epic metre and praised the achievements of the British people in India. Its title was: *George-Namah* (*Faraj Namah*, sic?)

Frāsu, Francis Gottlieb (d. unknown) was a German living in India and serving the Begum Samru of Sardhanah near Meerut, North India. He composed poetry, both in Urdu and Persian, under the pen-name mentioned above. Frasu was the author of 1. *Tarikh-i-Bharatpur*, a history of the Jāt stronghold and its subjugation by the East India Company, and 2. *Fath-namah-i-Angrez*, also entitled *Zafar us-Zafar*, a versified account of the Mutiny 1857.

Ghālib 'Ali Khān (d. unknown) was the author of a tract on cookery; its title was: *Lazzat ut-Ta'ām*, completed ca. 1253/1837.

Gharib, Nasir ud-Din Ahmad (d. unknown) was a poet during the reign of Shāh 'Alam II. He left a voluminous *Diwan* of verses.

Ghaus Muhammad Khān, Nawwāb (d. 1282/1865) was head of a small princely state, Jaorah, in Malwah. He prepared chronological tables of the rulers of India and England and named it: *Ma'jma'us-Salatin*.

Ghulām 'Ali, Shāh (d. 1240/1824) belonged to Batalah, Punjab, and passed most of his life in Delhi. He was the spiritual successor – *Khalifah*, of Mirza Mazhar Jan-i-Janān, the sufi poet and representative of the Naqshbandi order in the capital. He collected the sayings – *malfūzat*, of his teacher and discussed the standpoint of his fraternity, the Naqshbandiyah-Mujaddidiyah, in the work: *Maqamat-i-Mazhari*.

Ghulām Muhammad, Khalifah Shaikh (d. unknown) lived in Delhi during the days of Akbar Shāh II (d. 1253/1837), and was famous as a calligraphist. He composed poetry under the pen-name, Rāqim. Qudrat ullah Qasim gave his account in his *tazkirah*: *Majmu'ah-i-Naghz*, and mentioned him as his classfellow. His appellation, *Haft Qalam*, indicated his mastery over seven scripts invented by earlier Muslim masters. He wrote a *tazkirah* of Mughal calligraphists from the age of Akbar to his own times. Its title was: *Tazkirah-i-Khwush-Nawisan*, 1261/1845.

Gokul Chand (d. unknown) served as secretary to Zeb un-Nisa Begum, famous as Begum Samru of Sardhanah, the gallant lady who married the European adventurer, Walter Rainhardt. Gokal Chand wrote her biography in verse, *Zeb ut-Tawarikh*, completed in 1238/1822.

Hādī 'Ali Khan, Ghulām Muhammad (d. unknown) was a disciple of the sufi scholar, Hafiz Muhammad 'Ali Khairabādi, an adherent of the Chishti order, whose biography survived from his pen: *Manaqib-Hafiziyyah/Risalah-i-Hasab wa Nasab-i-Hafiz Muhammad 'Ali Shah Khairabadi*, ca. 1305/1888.

Haidar Husain Khān Shahjahanabādi (d. unknown) lived in Delhi. He collected details concerning the life of Shāh Jahān's great minister, Islām Khān Mashhadi. The title of the work was: *Tarikh-i-Ahwal-i-Islam Khan Mashhadi*, completed in 1264/1848.

Hamza b. Shah Al-i-Muhammad (d. unknown) was a descendant of Saiyed 'Abd ul Wahid Shahidi Bilgrami. He lived in Marehra, a town in district Etah, North India, where his father had established a sufi centre. Shah Hamza wrote biographies of his ancestors, the Saiyeds of Bilgram. The work appeared under the title: *Kashif ul-Astar*, ca. 1277/1860.

Hasan Shi'ri, Maulana Abu Muhammad (d. 1298/1881) came from Kashmir and settled at Amritsar. He earned his living by trade and had the reputation of a sufi and poet. Among his literary remains are a *Diwan* of verses, memoirs dealing with historical events: *Zubdat ul-Akhbar*, and a biographical account of his spiritual mentor, Khwajah Muhammad Khalil Qadiri of Kashmir (d. 1242/1827). The title of the latter-named work was: *Gulzar-i-Khalil*.

Hasrat, Shaikh Ahmad (d. unknown) was the author of a voluminous dictionary containing about twenty-seven thousand words of Arabic and Persian origin. As an innovation, besides the known pattern of ordering words under regular alphabets, he placed them together according to the number of letters. The words composed of three letters preceded those having four and five in their arrangement. That method was borrowed by him from Sanskrit lexicons. The work was named as: *Tashil ul-Lughat*, completed in 1259/1843.

Hâziq, 'Abd ul-Haq (d. unknown) belonged to Hindustân = Gangetic plain, and emigrated to North-West Frontier region. The traditional character of the people living there permanently involved them in mutual jealousies and feuds. Secondly, their mountainous geography made them ideal guerillas indulging in predatory activities and always giving headache to the lawful authority. Hâziq, a sensitive poet, was moved by the scene of life in the Frontier. The fatal hostilities between two tribes, residents of two neighbouring villages, Malkah and Sithanah, and the consequent interference by the soldiers of East India Company, were observations which stimulated him for poetic exercise. He composed the *masnawi*: *Halat-i-Jang-i-Malkha wa Sithanah*, ca. 1275/1858.

Husâm ud-Din Muhammad (d. unknown) belonged to Delhi and

was known for his skill in medical profession. The Mughal emperor, Bahādur Shāh Zafar, and princes of the royal family consulted him for their treatment. Later on, the Maharajahs of Patiala and Indore employed Husām ud-Dīn as their personal physician. During the days of turmoil caused by Revolt of 1857, he shut himself inside the four walls of his house in Delhi and wrote the book *Shifa ul- 'Alil*, 1274/1857.

I'jāz Husain, Maulawī Shaikh (d. unknown) belonged to Bada'un, North India, and was respected for his theological learning. His father, Shaikh Ja'far Husain, was also an eminent scholar. His ancestors, the Shaikhs of Bada'un, traced their descent from Muhammad b. Abu Bakr. I'jāz Husain was the author of, 1. a dictionary of the collection of 'Alī's addresses, *Nahj ul-Balaghah*. Its title was *Hall-i-Lughat-i-Nahj ul-Balaghah*, 2. a monograph dealing with religious law and ethics, *Najm ul-Hidaya*, and 3. a commentary on the *Alfiyah of Ibn Malik*, completed in 1325/1907.

Imām Bakhsh (d. unknown) belonged to Thanesar, Punjab, and earned his living by teaching. Reading of books was his leisure as well as professional necessity. He collected his private letters addressed to friends and appended with them a bunch of model papers in vogue as civil documents. The collection appeared as *Bagh-i-Bahārī* (chronogram = 1221/1806)

Imām Bakhsh Chishti, Khwajah (d. 1300/1882) belonged to Mahār, a spiritual centre in Punjab and came to live in Delhi, where he attended the assemblies of the last Mughal emperor, Bahādur Shāh Zafar. His contemporaries acknowledged him as a pious sufi and poet. Khwajah Imām Bakhsh compiled a *tazkirah* of Chishti sufis, naming it *Makhzan-i-Chishti*, 1277/1860.

Imām ud-Dīn Hasan Khān (d. unknown) served as magistrate and revenue officer at Ajmer, Rajasthan, and was the author of a biography of Khwajah, Mu'in ud-Dīn Chishti. The work contained account of the Khwajah's successors and spiritual descendants, who established centres of the Chishti order at various places throughout the sub-continent. Its title

was: *Mu'in ul-Auliya*, ca. 1313/1894.

Imdād ullah, Mulla (d. unknown) was a sufi scholar commanding respect among the people. His place of birth was Thana-bhawan, a town in district Saharanpur, North India. Having emigrated to the holy city of Mecca, he started teaching sufism, particularly, his lectures on Rumi's *masnawi* were attended by large gathering of students. He wrote a book on the concerned subject: *Ziaya ul-Qulāh*, ca. 1308/1890.

'Ishq, Ghulam Muhyi ud-Din (d. unknown) belonged to Meerut and shifted his residence to Delhi in the days of Shāh 'Alam II. He composed poetry under the pen-name mentioned above. His fame is based on a *tazkirah* in two sections, dealing with the poets of Persian and Urdu separately. Most of them were personally known to the author. The title of the work was *Tabaqat-i-Sukhan*, completed in 1222/1807. Another work of 'Ishq dealing with the same subject was: *Majmu'ah-i-'Ishq*.

Ismā'il, Shāh (d. 1246/1831) was the grandson of Delhi's eminent theologian, Shāh Wali ullah. His father died leaving him an infant and he was brought up under the care of his uncle Shāh 'Abul-'Aziz. As a young man, he joined the reform movement initiated by the religious scholar, Sayied Ahmad of Rāi Bareilly who, impressed by Shāh Isma'il's sincerity and zeal, accepted him as his trusted lieutenant. Moved by the miserable plight of the Muslims and the cruelties they suffered at the hands of the Sikhs in Punjab, Kashmir, and adjoining areas, Sayied Ahmad gave call to *Jihad* = Holy War. Both he and his faithful disciple, Shāh Isma'il, sacrificed their lives for the cause of saving the dignity and honour of the Muslims. They fought with the Sikh army of Ranjit Singh at Balakot and notwithstanding defeat, their mission proved a success in awakening the conscience of their co-religionists. As author, Shāh Isma'il left: 1. a collection of letters, *Taqwiyat ul-Imān*; 2. a tract clarifying some reservations expressed by the contemporary scholar, Maulana Fazl-i-Haq Khairabadi evidently written in one day, *Risalah-i-Yakruzi*; 3. a manual dealing with the much needed issue, the leadership of the Muslims, *Mansab-i-Imamat*; and 4. a concise discourse in joint

authorship with his teacher, Saiyed Ahmad, *Sirat-i-Mustaqim*.

‘Izzat, Jagannath Prashād (d. 1246/1830) lived in Madras and served as librarian of the State Library under the East India Company. Ra‘iq, the author of anthology, mentioned him among poets, adding nonetheless, that he had not personally seen ‘Izzat’s *Diwan* of verses.

‘Izzat Ullah, Mir (d. unknown) accompanied a British traveller, Willman Moorcroft, as his secretary and interpreter on a journey to Central Asia. Having started from Delhi and passing across Kashmir, Tibet, Yarkand, Kashghar and Samarqand, they finally reached Bukhara. On their return journey, they chose a different route leading through Balkh to Kabul and Peshawar. Izzat ullah maintained a diary of his tour and published it under the title: *Ahwal-i-Safar-Namah-i-Bukhara*, or simply: *Masir-i-‘Izzat ullah*, 1227/1812.

Ja‘far ‘Ali, Qāri (d. 1314/1896) belonged to Jarchah, a town about forty kilometers north-east of Delhi. He received religious education under the guidance of the famous and influential scholar of Lucknow, Saiyed Muhammad, son of Saiyed Dildar ‘Ali Ghufrān Ma‘ab. Amjad ‘Ali Shah conferred on Saiyed Muhammad the title of Sultān-ul ‘Ulama’ and placed the entire judicial department of Awadh government under his control. Ja‘far ‘Ali’s fame among his contemporaries was due to his practical excellence in *tajwid* = recitation of the Holy Qur’ān. As claimed by Muslim scholars, there are seven modes or phonetic expressions used for recitation of the Divine Book throughout the Islamic world. Qari Ja‘far ‘Ali was supposed to have developed command over all the seven expressions. His teacher in *tajwid* was Agha Muhammad, an emigrant from Tabriz, who passed many years in the city of Isfahan, and finally came to settle in Lucknow. In turn, Ja‘far ‘Ali trained a large number of disciples, both Shi‘ah and Sunni, as *qaris* = reciters of the Qur’ān. His admirers and some of the contemporaneous *tazkirah* writers ascribed supernatural qualities to him. An interesting story stated that after the Revolt of 1857, he was imprisoned by the English together with his relatives, the Saiyeds of Jarchah. At the time of prayers, his shackles automatically fell down; and this happened five times in the day. Later on, he received invitation from the Nizam’s prime minister, Salār Jang II, and proceeded to Hyderabad. Originally, he served

as professor in the *madrasah* of I'timad ud-Dawlah, Delhi, when the Revolt of 1857 broke out. His death occurred at the age of eighty-four in his home-town. Being the greatest qari-reciter, of his time, his disciples took notes of his discourses, which survived under the title: *Tajwid*.

Ja'far 'Ali Naqawi b. Saiyed Quth 'Ali (d. unknown) was the author of a biography of Saiyed Ahmad of Rai Bareli, the reformist leader of the Muslims, who gave call to *Jihad* against the atrocious policy of the Sikhs and died fighting with the army of Ranjit Singh at Balakot, Punjab (1242/1826). The title of the book was: *Tarikh-i-Ahmadiyah*.

James Skinner (d. 1257/1841) was an Anglo-Indian and could write Persian with command. He served in the British army of the East India Company and held the rank of lieutenant colonel. His works were: 1. a study of the castes and tribes of India: *Tashrih ul-Aqvam* and 2. a historical account of the princely families living in Punjab and Rajasthan: *Tazkirat ul-Umara*.

Janbâz, Hashmat Rai alias Bala Râm (d. unknown) composed poetry under the pen-name mentioned above and was a revenue officer like his ancestors. He wrote a book on *Siyaq* = revenue administration, as he said, for the instruction of his son, Rajeshwar Rai. It appeared as: *Kalid-Idrak*, completed in 1245/1829.

Jân Muhammad b. Abu Sa'id Ansâri (d. unknown) was a disciple of the sufi, Shaikh Najm ud-Din, and collected his Shaikh's letters: *Kalimat-i-Taiyyibat*, Shaikh Najm ud-Din settled in Rajasthan as *Khalifah* = spiritual successor, of Khwajah Muhammad Sulaiman of Tonsah and died in 1287/1870. Jân Muhammad's more important work was a Persian recension of Imam Ghazali's commentary on *Sura XII* (Yusuf) of the Qur'an, which appeared under the title: *Ahsan ul-Qisas*.

Jangali Mal Dehlawi, Lâla (d. unknown) was a scholar residing in the imperial capital and had special interest in the science of medicine. Many classical works of earlier physicians, like Avicenna's *Tadaruk ul-khata*, Muhammad b. Yûsuf Harawi's *Bahr ul-Jawahir*, and similarly, the famous *Hudûd ul Imraz* appeared in lithograph edition through his

sincere efforts. He collected together important medical terms, more than four thousand in number, from the above-named book of Harawi and prepared a dictionary, which could serve the students of Islamic medicine as a guide-book. Also, he preserved in it the sayings and experiences of great authorities and their methods of treatment in complicated cases. Its title proposed by him was: *Farhang-i-Bahr ul-Jawahir*, ca. 1295/1878.

Jawahir Lāl Akbarabadi, Hakim (d. unknown) lived in Agra and was translator of a number of books from Persian into Urdu and vice versa. His contemporaries knew him as editor of a newspaper, one of the earliest of its kind in Urdu; *Akhbar un-Nawah wa Nuzhat ul Arwah*, ca. 1268/1851.

Jawhar, Sewa Rām (d. unknown) lived during the days of Akbar Shāh II (d. 1253/1837). He versified a *qasidah* explaining the rules of Persian grammar. Its title was: *Jawhar ut-Tarkib*, 1235/1819).

Jawwād Husain, Saiyed Muhammad (d. unknown) was a scholar of Bihar and author of a concise history of Islam in India. In appendix, he added notices of the Saiyeds of Bihar. Its title was: *Tarikh-i-Hasan*.

Junaid, ‘Abd ullah al-Musawi (d. unknown) compiled a concise dictionary of Shaikh Sa’di’s *Gulistan* in three sections. The first two contained the meanings of Arabic quotations, extracts from traditions of the Prophet and verses of the Holy Qur’ān. All difficult words of Persian origin were placed in the third section. It was named: *Farhang-i-Gulistan*, completed in 1298/1880.

Kai-Khusraw Pārsi (d. unknown) lived in Bombay and was the author of a book on Zoroaster, the prophet of acient Iran, and the principles of the religion of Fire-worship. Its title was: *Gulshan-i-Farhang*.

Kāmil, Mirza Muhammad (d. 1235/1819) was a Shi’ah theologian of Delhi during the days of Shāh ‘Alam II and Akbar Shāh II. A scholar possessed with extraordinary zest for reading, he studied all the major writers of Islamic history down to Mulla ‘Alī Qārī and Taftazāni, before taking up a re-utation of *Tuhfah-i-Isna ‘Ashariyah*, the polemical attack of Shāh ‘Abd ul ‘Aziz against the Shi’ahs. His work, appearing in twelve

volumes, made him a controversial figure. And, as the members of his community suspected, he was secretly poisoned, the members of the royal family being accomplices in the foul play. Death enhanced his prestige among the Shi'ahs, who remembered him by the popular title, *Shahid-i-Rabi'* = fourth martyr. They visited his grave in one of the narrow localities of the capital, Panjah Sharif, and the practice has lasted hitherto. The title of Mirza Muhammad's stupendous work was: *Nuzhah-i-Isna 'Ashariyah*.

Karim Yār Khān (d. unknown) was a landlord of the area around Fatehpur, North India. He collected anecdotes concerning the life and miraculous qualities of a free-wandering saint, Khwajah Karak, who founded the town of Kara, on the bank of Ganges opposite Allahabad. Khwajah Karak must have arrived much before the time of the Khaljis. For, during their rule, his centre had expanded into a big city and was the residence of provincial governor. The above mentioned Karim Yār's collection survived under the title: *Malfūz-i-Asrār ul-Makhdūmin*, ca. 1311/1893.

Kashfi, Salāmat ullah (d. 1281/1864) lived in Kanpur and wrote a commentary on the *Sirr ush-Shahadatain* of Shāh 'Abd ul-'Aziz Dehlawi. The work appeared as *Tahrir ush-Shahadatian*, ca. 1281/1864. Another work of Kashfi was a polemical treatise: *Tuhfat ul-Abrār fi Jawab ul-Kuffar*.

Keshav Dās (d. unknown) wrote in Hindi an account of Bir Singh Bandelah, the bandit chief, who killed Shaikh Abu'l Fazl at the instigation of Prince Salim, Akbar's heir apparent in rebellion. It was named as Bir Singh Charitra. Later on, a scribe = *munshi*, of the East India Company translated it into Persian under the title: *Farah bakhsh-i-Jan*, 1244/1828.

Khair ud-Din Muhammad Ilahabadi, Maulawi (d. 1243/1827) initially chose for himself the career of a teacher and opened his own *madrasah* at Allahabad. When Allahabad came under Nawwāb Shuja ud-Dawlah of Awadh, financial grant to his *madrasah* was stopped. Circumstances led him to seek service under the British Officers of the East India Company. He was posted to many cities and developed

specialized interest in preserving their history and local traditions in the form of concise tracts. Meanwhile, the fast disintegration of political fabric in the country and the emergence of new situations did not escape his keen attention. A narrow minded man by personal temperament and training, he threw himself with the vigour of a fighting cock in the arena of polemical and religious debates, current in his days. He cast doubt as to the veracity of Shāh 'Abd ul-'Aziz Dehlawi, the author of *Tuhfah-i-Isna 'Asheriyah*, whose damning statements against the Shi'ahs were not sufficient in his view. Naïvely, he suspected the Shāh to be a secret believer of Shi'ah creed, and therefore, took upon himself to expose his 'duplicity' in a book. His works may be enumerated as: 1. *Jaunpur-Namah*, 2. *Guwalyar-namah*, 3. *Tuhfah-i-Tazah*, a history of Benaras, 4. *'Alam-Ashob*, narrating the invasion of Nādir Shāh till the death of Najaf Khān (1196/1781), 5. *'Ibrat-Namah*, details of the invasion of Ghulām Qādir Rohellah and his blinding of Shāh 'Alam II (1203/1788), 6. *Tawalla-i-'Aziz*, arguments against the above-mentioned theologian of Delhi. 7. biographies of scholars, chiefly belonging to Jaunpur, including himself in the end: *Tazkirat ul-'Ulama*, and 8. collection of historical anecdotes: *Sarabistan*.

Khalil, Muhammad Ibrāhim (d. 1317/1899) lived in Thatta, Sind; his ancestors being scholars and sufis commanding respect in the region. *Miskin* was another pen-name of Khalil. He composed verses in Persian, Urdu and his mother-tongue, Sindhi. His noticeable work was the continuation of Qāni' Thattawi's *tazkirah* of poets, particularly of Sindh, which appeared under the title: *Takmilah-i-Maqalat ush Shu'ara*, 1306/1888.

Khālis, Muhammad ud-Din (d. unknown) was teacher in a *Madrasah* at Rampur, his home town being Kiratpur, District Bijnor, North India. He prepared an exhaustive list of *alqab* = honorifics, used in letters to address various relatives, young and old, and to multiplicity of human beings holding status in society or government. No alphabetical scheme was followed either for the honorifics or their recipients. Having mentioned the *alqab* abruptly, he gave a few model letters and memoranda to government officials wherein the honorifics were suitably demonstrated. The title of the work was: *Insha-i-Kafi Shafi*, completed ca. 1252/1836.

Khweshgi, Pir Ibrahim Khān (d. 1273/1856) belonged to an Afghan family of scholars settled at Qasūr, near Lahore. In early life, he witnessed the turmoil caused by the Sikhs, which compelled his parents to evacuate their hometown and seek refuge elsewhere in Punjab. Personally, he served in the government of Ranjit Singh for some time, but soon left for Delhi in order to attain higher education; his field of interest being medicine. The East India Company offered him employment and he was posted as British agent in the state of Bahawalpur, Sind. During the active career, he developed friendly contacts with many English officers of the Company. The titles of Khān Bahādur and 'Mubariz ud-Dawlah' were conferred on him. Before retirement, he found opportunity of a visit to England. The observations of journey were preserved in a concise tract: *Sairistan*. His chief work, translated into English, was a history of the state where he spent many years of his life, *Tarikh-i-Bahawalpur*.

Khwush-Dil, Rāi Amar Singh (d. 1225.1810) was in the service of Maharajah Chait Singh of Benaras (1185/1771-1195/1780). Subsequently, he obtained employment under the East India Company and was posted at Aligarh. He was the author of: 1. a versified chronicle, sprinkled with praises, depicting the expansion of British power in India, *Razmistār*; 2. an abridgment of Sujān Rāi's *Khulasat ul-Tawārikh*, which appeared under the title, *Zubdat ul-Akhbār*, and 3. a tract concerning Taj Mahal; *Risalah dar Ta'rif-i-Rawzah-i-Taj Ganj*.

Lā'ī Muhammad Barani, Hakim (d. unknown) was a master musicologist possessing knowledge of both the Persian and Indian musical sciences. Also, he attained spiritual training under the guidance of Maulana Rafi' ud-Din, brother of Shāh 'Abd ul-'Aziz (d.1239/1824), sufi scholar, who lived in Delhi. In the preface to his book, he cited passages from original Arabic sources in support of his arguments. Particularly, there were repeated references to Abu Nasr Farābī (d. 339/950), the earliest Muslim philosopher and exponent of music, who treated it as part of mathematics. For the lawfulness of music, he turned to sufi beliefs and mentioned a book: *Murad ul-Muhtajin*, wherein it was recorded that all prophets of the past wept before God as they prayed

and chanted plaintive songs, to wit, Adam: *Rast*, Moses: *Ushshaq*, Aesop: *Irāq*, Yunus: *Husaini*, Ibrāhīm: *Hijaz*, and Isma'il: *Rahawi*. While discussing general principles, Lā'ī Muhammad borrowed, in case of Persian music, from Amir Khusraw and the *Bayāz* of Saiyed Murād 'Alī Bukhārī of Aurangabad. Whereas, for Indian music, his authorities were *Rāg Mala* and *Rāg Sagar*, the latter's author being Gorakh Nāth. He utilized other books as well and attended lengthy discussions of many contemporary masters. In Persian music, as he explained, there were six *Awāzah*, twelve *Maqām*, and one-hundred forty-five *Pardah*. But, Indian music was almost oceanic in character. Its elements, to begin with, were three *Kīram*, seven *Sūr*, four *Morchha*, six *Rāg*, thirty-six *Rāgnī*, sixty-three *Alankār*, and one-hundred-eight *Tāl*. Finally, all the above branched out into eight-thousand *Rāg*, and of course, three-hundred seventeen-thousand and nine hundred-thirty *Tāl*. Similarly, Lā'ī Muhammad devoted chapters to musical instruments and also, to dance. The latter's varieties and styles, personally known to him, were ninety-six, at least. Often, he compared Persian *Maqamat* with Indian *Rāg*. Initially, the author wrote the book as a token of gratitude to Nawwāb Ahmad Bakhsh, a nobleman and connoisseur of music himself, whose patronage Lā'ī Muhammad approached to seek. The title of the work was: *Mauj-i-Mausiqi*, completed in 1231/1815.

Lutf 'Alī Maududi Chishti (d. unknown) travelled in many parts of India and wrote a book on the cities and topography of the sub-continent. It appeared as: *Armughan-i-Hindustan*, completed in 1311/1893.

Madār 'Alī Farūqī (d. unknown) belonged to Etawah, North India, and was the author of model letters for the instruction of beginners. As a poet he composed under the pen-name, *Sabīq*. The letters about fifty-five in number, demonstrated mostly how to correspond with relatives and friends. He named the collection, *Insha-i-Nau-Ijad*, completed in 1224/1808.

Madhauji Sindhiya (d. unknown) was Maratha chief and founder of the princely line of Gwalior. His life was written at the request of a British officer of the East India Company by an anonymous author. Its title was: *Ahwal-i-Madhauji Sindhiya*.

Mahdi Najafi Kashmiri (d. unknown) was the author of a brief treatise, in which he discussed the rules that could be applied for testing the valid and truthful genealogy of a Saiyed, that is, descendant of the Prophet. The name of the work was: *Mazārib-ul-Mushakkikin fī Ansāb us-Sadāt ul-Muntajabin*, ca. 1312/1894.

Mahjūr, Nawwāb 'Ināyat Husain Khān (d. unknown) was son of the famous scholar and *tazkirah* writer, 'Alī Ibrāhīm Khān Khalīl. He compiled a *tazkirah* of Urdu poets, *Mada'ih ush-Shu'ara*, 1260/1844.

Mahmūd 'Alī, Khwajah (d. unknown) was the author of a dictionary which he divided into four parts. The last two contained synonyms and discourses on grammar respectively. It was named: *Farhang-i-Mahmūdī*, completed in 1306/1888.

Mahmūd Khān, Hakim (d. 1310/1892) was the grandson of Muhammad Sharif Khān, the nobleman of Delhi. Since generations, the profession of medicine was hereditary in the family. Mahmūd Khān left a number of textbooks: 1. *Qawānin-i-Hikmat*, 2. *Ziya-ul-Absār*, and a monograph on sex education, *Lazzat ul-Wisal*, ca. 1287/1870.

Malik ul-Kuttāb, Mirza Muhammad (d. unknown) came from Shiraz and settled in Bombay. He was a successful publisher of books and took advantage of the printing press that was recently imported into India through the Portuguese and other Western traders. He had been alive and active in business when the twentieth century of Christian era began. A collector of books and man of taste, he attempted to write himself: 1. *Zinat uz-Zamān fī Tarikh-i-Hindustān*, a general history of India, 2. *Tarikh-i-Qadīm-i-Yūnān*, earliest compilation in Persian, perhaps, concerning Greek history, 3. *Alf-Nahar*, collection of anecdotes and 4. *Tazkirat ul-Khwatin*, anthology of poetesses, dedicated to Nawwāb Shāh Jahān Begum of Bhopal, completed ca. 1306/1888.

Ma'mūn, Mir Nizām ud-Din (d. unknown) lived as a poet in the days of Shāh 'Alam II, and witnessed the period of his successor, Akbar Shāh II. His *masnawis* and fragments, occurring in the *Diwān*, cast interesting light on many contemporary events.

Mānak Chand (d. unknown) was the author of an account of Agra and its buildings, which he prepared at the request of the British Collector of the district. He named it: *Ahwal-i-Shahr-i-Akbarabad*, completed in 1241/1825.

Mānji Mal (d. unknown) lived in the reign of Akbar Shah II. He compiled chronological tables of the rulers of Delhi from Rājah Judhistir dwon to Akbar Shah, 1221/1806.

Mansukh Rāi Kāyasth (d. unknown) lived in Delhi during the days of Shah 'Alam II and served under an English officer of the East India Company, Captain Kirk Patrick. At the latter's instance, he prepared a manual of rules and regulations which dealt with civil and revenue matters of the Mughal government during the reign of Aurangzeb. Initially, he said, there were nineteen categories covering the entire corpus of rules. He, therefore, divided his work into the same number of sections or chapters. As the figures in all revenue registers were recorded in the ancient and archaic Pahlawi numerals, and their learning was necessary for every civil servant, he placed them in the first chapter. The succeeding chapters contained details of accounts realized under different rules. The title of the manual was: *Dastūr ul- 'Amal-i- 'Alamgiri*.

Maqbāl Ahmad, Maulawī (d. 1340/1921) was a Shi'ah theologian of Delhi well known for his writings on religious subjects. He lost his parents in childhood and made progress in life by intelligence and hard work. A brilliant student of traditional learning, he was among the early Shi'ah divines to acquire high degree of competence in English. Of the many tracts written by Maqbāl Ahmad, his fame lasted chiefly due to his translation of the *Holy Qur'an*.

Masita, Mirza (d. unknown) lived in the days of Shah 'Alam II (d. 1221/1806). He wrote a sketch of India's history for the instruction of his son, Mirza Kallu. Its name was: *Intikhab ut-Tawarikh*.

Miran Jān Hanafī Ilahabādi, Maulawī 'Alī Kabir (d. unknown) lived at Ghazipur. He translated into Persian the Arabic work, *Sirr ush-Shahadatayn* of Shah 'Abd ul-'Aziz Dehlawi. The book explained the

secret martyrdom of the two grandsons of the Prophet, Hasan and Husain, decreed by the Divine will. Miran Jān Hanafī named his translation as: *Izhar us-Sa'ādah fi Tarjumah-i-Asrār ush-Shahadah*. His independent work was a *tazkirah* of one hundred and ninety poets, mostly disciples of Shaikh Khub ullah and Shaikh Mahaqqar ullah, the sufis of Allahabad. The title of the work, a single copy of which seemed to have survived, was *Khazinat ush-Shu'ara*, completed in 1260/1844.

Miskin alias Dasaundhi Shāh (d. unknown) was initially a Khattri belonging to Shyam Chaurasi, district Jalandhar, Punjab. Having embraced Islām, he turned to sufism and renounced the world in fulfilment of the claims imposed by that discipline. During the time of Abu Zafar Bahādur Shāh, he lived at Ajmer, the abode of the Chishti Khwājah and the haven of Indian sufis. There, he divided his routine between spiritual exercises: prayers, recollection etc., and intellectual application to the problems of mathematics. Earlier, it seemed, he had gained experience as a civil servant in revenue department, which the people of his community controlled in Punjab, as did the Kayāsth clan elsewhere. For, his knowledge of rules and formulas involved in civil matters was unmistakable. Miskin was a mathematical genius. He possessed command over the works of Shaikh Baha'i Amili, Faizi's *Lilawati*, and other authorities. But, some of his talents, justly claimed by him, were "God-given". Figures and calculations, concerning variety of taxes, seemed to be his real delight. In two sections, Miskin brought out a voluminous and informative book on practical mathematics and *siyāq* = administrative practices the Mughal civil servants adopted to meet out financial requirements and raise monetary resources of their government. He named it *Majma' ul-Hisab*, completed in 1257/1841.

Muhammad 'Ali, Saiyed (d. unknown) belonged to Jansath, the seat of Barhah Saiyeds, Muzaffarnagar, North India, and was a professional physician. His house in Delhi, where he lived, was looted during the days of Revolt, 1857, and having lost all his belongings including the books of his personal library, he returned to his hometown. For the rest of his life, Muhammad 'Ali was occupied in scholarly pursuits and wrote books, chiefly, related to his subject: 1. *Bayaz-i-*

Hasan, 2. *Shifa ul-Ghuraba*, 3. *Jami' ul-Mutaffarriqain*, etc.

Mohan Singh (d. unknown) served as a revenue officer under Bhawani Shankar, *bakhshi* of Maharajah Jaswant Rao Holkar of Indore. He wrote an account of the Maratha ruler and his defeat by the British soldiers of the East India Company. The book was entitled: *Waqa' i'-i-Holkar*, completed ca. 1223/1808.

Muhammad 'Ali Yazdi (d. unknown) came from Iran as a free-wanderer and settled at Surat, Gujrat, after having visited many places in and outside his own country. He developed contacts with Sir John Malcolm, the East India Company's governor of Bombay. To the latter, he dedicated his memoirs, *Mizan ul-Akhlaq*, 1244/1827.

Muhammad A'zam Khān (d. 1319/1901) lived in Delhi and was known for his excellence in the field of Islamic medicine during the decades preceding Revolt of 1857. He wrote many books for the guidance of practising physicians. Important among them was: *Iksir-i-A'zam*.

Muhammad Bādshāh (d. unknown) lived at the court of Maharajah Mirza Anand Rāj, prince of the state of Vijayanagar, South India. He was a poet and composed under the pen-name, Shād. The Maharajah, who traced his origins from the rulers of the old and flourishing kingdom of fifteenth century A.D., was brought up in aristocratic traditions of the Mughal nobles. With Rashid as pen-name, he freely exhibited his creative powers in the field of Persian poetry. He was a generous patron of learning and encouraged Muhammad Bādshāh to undertake something outstanding for gaining the respect of posterity. The result of Muhammad Bādshāh's labours was a dictionary bearing his patron's name, *Farhang-i-Anand Raj*, completed in 1291/1875. Another interesting, although not as much known, work of the author was a collection of synonyms on dictionary pattern. Its title was *Farhang-i-Muradifat*, 1306/1888.

Muhammad Bāqir, Maulawi Agha (d. 1274/1857) was acknowledged as a brilliant scholar of Delhi during the days of Bahādur Shāh Zafar. His ancestors came from Hamadān, Iran, and settled in the city of Shāh Jahān. His son, Muhammad Husain Azād, attained greater fame as a pioneer of Urdu literature. Interestingly, the great reciter of the Qur'an,

Qari Ja'far 'Ali of Jarchah, did not see eye to eye with Maulawi Muhammad Baqir. The two exchanged sallies of wit and sarcasm in their pulpit orations and were supported by parties of even strength, the *Baqiriyah* and the *Ja'fariyah*, similar to the followers of Anis and Dabir in Luknow. In the course of suppressing the Revolt of 1857, the vindictive English sent Maulawi Muhammad Baqir to the gallows on the dubious report of a man of their race, whom the Maulawi had provided refuge in his house. He left a commentary on verse 32, Sura 33 of the Qur'an (*Tathir*), and a book of general history: *Hadi-ut-Tawarikh*. Also, he was an early journalist of North India, who began a weekly, *Delhi Akhbar*, in 1253/1837.

Muhammad Husain (d. unknown) belonged to Muradabad, North India, and was a sufi by training. His teacher was Saiyed Amanat 'Ali Husaini Chishti. He was the author of a *tazkirah* of saints. It covered specially those who came out from his own city and its neighbourhood. Its title was: *Amwar ul-'Arifin*, completed in 1286/1870.

Muhammad Ikrām ud-Din b. Muhammad Najm ud-Din, Maulana Mufti (d. unknown) lived in Delhi and was a descendant of Shaikh Abd ul-Haq Dehlawi, the great scholar of Akbar's time. He wrote a book in praise of the Prophet's grandsons, Hasan and Husain. In the course of its preparation, he consulted a large number of authentic and earlier sources. After completing, he submitted it to his friend, Hakim Sana ullah, who composed two chronograms and congratulated the author. Its title was: *Sa'adat ul-Kaunain fi-Fazā'il ul-Hasanain*, written in 1224/1809.

Muhammad Nasir (d. unknown) was grandson of the famous sufi and poet of Delhi, Khwajah Mir Dard (d. 1199/1785). He wrote a book on the science of music, named *Asl ul-Ussul*.

Muhammad Nūr 'Alam (d. unknown) was a professional physician living in Sikanderabad, a town situated towards north-east of Delhi, where his family members enjoyed the hereditary position of *qazi*. He completed his medical education under the care of Hakim Zaka ullah Khān, an eminent physician and scholar of Delhi. At the instance of his

borther, Muhammad Qutb-i-'Alam, also a physician with sufi background, he collected notes from the books of earlier authorities on Islamic medicine, adding comments of his teachers, Zaka ullah Khān and Quḍrat ullah Qāsim, and supplementing his own glossaries for further explanation. The volume appeared under double title: *Fawa'id-i-Tibbi/Mujarrabat-i-Muhammad Nūr 'Alam*.

Muhammad Sharif Khān (d. 1231/1815) was a noble man and leading physician of Delhi, whose family preserved the traditions of their ancestor, Khwājah Muhammad Yūsuf of Samarqand. The latter came in Babur's entourage as army physician. He and his family members made substantial contribution to the advancement of Islamic medicine. The Muslims themselves calling it: *Tibb-i-Yūnani* (Medicine of the Greeks). Muhammad Sharif wrote a number of books concerning his professional discipline: 1. *Talif-i-Sharifi*, 2. *'Ilaj ul-Amraz*, 3. *'Ujalah-i-Nafi 'ah* and 4. *Khwas ul-Jawahir*, etc.

Muhammad Wāris 'Ali b. Qāzi Wājīd 'Ali Khān (d. unknown) was the author of a book bearing discourses on natural sciences. Its title was: *Maqalat-i-Hikmah*, completed ca. 1264/1847.

Muhammad Wasi (d. unknown) lived in the time of Akbar Shāh II (d. 1253/1837) and was known for his scholarship. He wrote a book in highly ornate prose dealing with the lives of the Prophet and the first two orthodox caliphs. Its title was: *Durr-i-Be baha*.

Muhsin 'Ali, Saiyed (d. unknown) was the author of a dictionary containing idioms and proverbs. He collected together the said category of words occurring in all the three languages: Arabic, Persian, and Urdu, and arranged them alphabetically under distinct sub-sections. Altogether, the thirty sections, *Khazinah*, planned by him had each in turn three sub-sections, *Ganjinah*, accommodating the above mentioned words in their order. The name he proposed for the book was: *Kahzinat ul-Amsal*, 1270/1853.

Mun'im (d. unknown) lived during the days of Shāh 'Alam II (d. 1221/1806) and his successor, Akbar Shāh II (d. 1252/1837). He was the author of

a series of *masnawis*, which he dedicated to the above mentioned emperors. The collection has survived under the title: *Masnawiyat-i-Mun'im*.

Najaf 'Ali, Maulawi (d. 1299/1882) belonged to Jhajjar, a town in the North-West of Delhi, where his ancestors held the position of *Qāzi* and exercised social influence. He jumped in the controversy which raged against the great poet, Mirza Ghālib, and his extremely provocative dictionary, *Qatī'-i-Burhan*. In order to support Mirza Ghālib and dismiss the claim of his rivals he wrote a treatise, *Dafī'-i- Hazyān*, 1281/1864. Among his other works were: 2. a commentary on the Qur'ān, *Tafsīr-i-Gharīb*, and 3. *Qissah-i-Hir-Ranjha*.

Najm ud-Din Nagauri (d. unknown) obtained instruction in sufi way of life from the saint of Punjab, Khwajah Muhammad Sulaimān of Taunsa (d. 1267/1850). The place is situated near Dera Ghāzi Khān. He wrote a *tazkirah* of his spiritual guide and the latter's teachers adding brief autobiographical notices in the work. It was entitled: *Manaqib ul-Mahbūbin*.

Nawa Bada'ūni, Saiyed Ahmad (d. unknown) was a poet living in Delhi during the days of Shāh 'Alam II. His father, Maulawi Dalil ullah, moved from his birth-place, Bada'ūn, and settled in the Mughal capital. Nawa travelled to Iran and found access to the court of Fath 'Ali Shāh Qachār (d. 1250/1834). The latter conferred on him the high sounding title, *Sa'di-i-Hind*. Nawa left a collection of letters: *Ruqqa'at-i-Nawa*.

Nawwāb Dūlha, Saiyed Muhammad 'Ali Khān (d. 1294/1877) was a landlord of Shamsabad, District Farrukhabad, North India. Like all men of his class, he possessed love of literature and cultivated friendly relations with contemporary scholars who resided in the cities between Delhi and Calcutta. Having carefully utilized his independence and leisure, Nawwāb Dūlha enriched himself with knowledge and observations of useful nature, which he poured forth in a book. The miscellany of topics notwithstanding, it made interesting reading, for, there were instructive details in the work regarding social conditions of the author's time. Its title was *Marghūb-i-Dil* (chronogram = 1282) 1865.

And, he prepared a genealogy of Musawi Saiyeds, the descendants of Imam Mūsā al-Kāzim, including the Safawis of Iran: *Shajarha-i-Taiyibah*.

Nāzir, Munshi Bishan Lāl (d. unknown) composed a *masnawī* on the events which occurred under the viceroyalty of Lord Lytton and Lord Ripon, and named it: *Qaisari-Namah*.

Niyāz Dehlawi, Munshi Sada-Sukh (d. unknown) witnessed the reign of Shāh 'Alam II, and lived on many years afterwards. He passed his old age at Allahabad and was a gifted writer of prose and poetry. His book of history, *Muntakhah ut-Tawārikh*, gave a picture of the events of 1233/1817, and may be taken as an important source for the account of the later Mughals. Two more works, that is, *Tanbih ul-Gafilin*, on the caste division among the Hindus, and *'Aja'ib ul-Hind*, describing the wonders of India, are ascribed to the pen of Niyāz Dehlawi.

Nūr ud-Din Rizawi Shirazi (d. unknown) collected the sketches of social life in Bharoch, Gujrat, from post-Aurangzeb period till the establishment of British power in the area. He named the work: *Tarikh-i-Bharoch*.

Nūr ud-Din Zafarabādi (d. unknown) belonged to Zafarabad, a town in district Jaunpur. He wrote a history of the sufis, literary men, and nobles of that city. It appeared under double title: *Tajalli-i-Nūr/ Tazkirah-i-Mashahir-i-Jaunpur*, ca. 1299/1881.

Nūr ullah b. Muqim ud-Din (d. unknown) belonged to a town in district Bada'un, North India, and was the sufi disciple of Shaikh 'Abd ur-Rahmān. The latter's *Khanqah* = spiritual centre, was situated in Bansa, district Rai Bareli, Awadh. Originally, Shaikh 'Abd ur-Rahmān came from a village in Shikarpur, Sind, and after long wanderings in the usual fashion of sufis, at last chose the above named place to settle during the time of Sa'adat 'Ali Khān, ruler of Awadh (d. 1231/1815). Nur ullah wrote a biography of his teacher, naming the work: *Anwar ur-Rahman*, ca. 1243/1827.

Qāsim, Mir Quadrat ullah (d. 1246/1830) lived in Delhi and witnessed

the days of Shah 'Alam II. He practised medicine and was the pupil of Hakim Muhammad Sharif Khan, the great physician of the age. With his profession, he combined a taste for poetry and composed both in Persian and Urdu. Noteworthy among his works was a *tazkirah* of Urdu poets. It included 696 entries from early versifiers of the Deccan down to the author's own contemporaries. In the assessment of critics, Qasim possessed reliable information about literary men and was capable of presenting his material in coherent manner. Its title was *Majmū'ah-i-Naghz* (chronogram = 1221). Also, Mir Qudrat ullah translated into Persian the book originally written in Arabic by Shah 'Abd ul-'Aziz Dehlawi (d. 1239/1823), dealing with the martyrdom of the Prophet's grandsons, Hasan and Husain: *Sirr ush-Shahadatain*.

Qudrat, Muhammad Salih (d. unknown) served under the East India Company and was the author of a brief history written at the request of a British officer. He described the events from Shah 'Alam Bahādur Shāh I (d. 1124/1712) to Shah 'Alam II (d. 1221/1806). It appeared as *Tarikh-i-'Ali fī Silk ul-La'ali*. In a *masnawi*, Qudrat dealt with the achievements of Mirza Najaf Khan, the governor of Delhi (d. 1197/1782). Its title was *Najaf-Namah*.

Rahim Beg, Mirza (d. unknown) lived in Meerut, a historical city in the north-east of Delhi, and taught there in a *madrasah*. When the battle lines were drawn over the issue of Mirza Ghālib's *Qati'-i-Burhan*, he took his position in the rank of adversaries, who fought against Ghālib. He gave vent to his spleen in a short, abusive treatise, *Sati'-i-Burhan*, 1282/1865.

Rahim ud-Din (d. unknown) was the author of a dictionary of idioms used mainly by the poets, with illustrations from their verses, entitled: *Istilahat us-Shu'ara*, completed ca. 1290/1873.

Rahmān 'Ali (d. unknown) served in the state of a Rajput prince, Raghuraj Singh, the Rajah of Rewa in Bundelkhand, Central India. Originally, he was named as 'Abd ush-Shakūr. On the eve of the first interview for service, the Rajah suggested to drop 'Abd ush-Shakūr, and instead, take Rahmān 'Ali. He saluted in obedience, thereby, accepting

the change. Narah, a town in District Fatehpur, near Allahabad, was the home of his ancestors, where he was born in 1244/1829. His father, Sher 'Ali, held the administrative post of *faujdar* in the government of Asaf ud-Dawlah of Awadh and was also an expert physician. In 1256/1840, Hakim Sher 'Ali, aged seventy five, died leaving behind seven sons and five daughters; and Rahmān 'Ali, a boy of eleven years, was taken under the care of his elder brother, Amān 'Ali. The latter being court-physician at Rewa, was able to secure a job for his brother as well. Rahman 'Ali rose to the position of civil judge, and finally, member of the State Council. He collected biographical notices of a large number of religious scholars who belonged to the sub-continent. Having borrowed material from thirty-eight sources, he arranged the biographies in alphabetical order and named the work: *Tazkirah-i-'Ulama-i-Hind*, ca. 1284/1867.

Rajab 'Ali b. Fāzil Beg (d. unknown) was the author of a book on mathematics. In its preparation, he borrowed material from the works of his predecessors, chiefly, *Lilawati* and *Dastur ul-'Amal-i-Bekas* etc. The book was divided into two major sections: each had seven chapters with further sub-divisions. Its title was: *Badi' ul-Hisab*, 1256/1840.

Rāji, Mulla Bamun 'Ali (d. ca. 1266/1849) renounced his ancestral religion, Zoroastrianism, in favour of Islam, and also, his birth-place, Kirmān, Iran, and came to settle in Bombay. He possessed talents for poetry and composed a *masnawi*, praising the virtues of 'Ali, *Hamalah-i-Haidari*, completed in 1220/1805, and another work: *Dastān-i-Ghazwah-i-Hunain*.

Ranchhor Ji (d. unknown) belonged to a learned and influential family of Jūnagarh, Gujrat. In succession to his father and elder brother, he acted as *Diwān* of the State and commanded esteem of the Nawwāb of Junagarh, and his family. He attempted a history of Sawarashtra or Sorath, Kathiyawār, with particular emphasis on the events of Jūnagarh and Nawanagar, the two states situated in that region. The book was named simply as: *Tarikh-i-Sorath*, completed in *Samwat* 1886 = 1245/1830.

Rangin, Sa'adat Yār Khān (d. 1251/1838) lived in Delhi and was the disciple of Shaikh Zūhūr ud-Dīn alias Shāh Hātim, an outstanding poet

and sufi. He came to Lucknow in the general exodus after the invasions of Ahmad Abdali and found service under Prince Sulaiman Shikoh. His chief literary companions were, amongst others, Mirza Qatil and Saiyed Insha. A man of brilliant and versatile character, he was the author and poet mainly of Urdu, but had been equally successful in Persian. Among his many works of unique interest, mention may be made of 1. *Majalis-i-Rangin* 2. *Akhbar-i-Rangin*, 3. *Faras-namah*, and 4. collection of verses: *Diwan-i-Rangin*.

Rasa, Shaikh Ahmad 'Ali (d. unknown) belonged to Lucknow and served the East India Company outside his home-town. He wrote memoirs mentioning the account of a number of learned men and poets of his time, and named it: *Zikr-i-Yaran-i-Zaman*, 1276/1860.

Rashid ud-Din Maudud Lala (d. unknown) lived in Ahmadabad, Gujrat, and wrote an account of the saints buried in that city, naming it *Mukhbir ul-Auliya*, ca. 1256/1840.

Ratan Lal (d. unknown) belonged to Kayasth community and was the author of a geographical tract, which simply came out as *Risalah-i-Jughrafiyah*; but the author conceived two other names also, *Maqta' ul-Arz* and *Takhsis ul-Bilad*, 1251/1835.

Sa'adat 'Ali, Saiyed (d. unknown) served as *Mir Munshi*, secretary, in one of the British residencies located in the princely states of Rajasthan, and settled in Delhi after retirement. He criticised Mirza Ghalib for his controversial disctionary, *Qati' -i-Burhan*, and named his work: *Muharriq-i-Qati'*, 1280/1863.

Sadid ud-Din (d. unknown) lived in Agra, where Sultan Sikandar Lodhi had transferred his capital in 910/1504. The two great Mughals, Akbar and Jahangir, remained there till Shah Jahan returned to India's old seat of power (1054/1648). Sadid ud-Din wrote a history of the city and its buildings under the title, *Ahwal-i-Agra*, lithographed, 1265/1848.

Sahar, Ahmad Husain (d. unknown) was the author of *tazkirah* of a Urdu poets, eighty-five in number, with their span of life from Khwajah

Mir Dard to Ghālib; its title being: *Bahār-i-Be Khizan*, 1261/1845.

Sahba'i, Shaikh Imām Bakhsh (d. 1274/1857) was one of the leading scholars of Delhi during the time of the last Mughal emperor, Bahādur Shāh Zafar, and was executed in the Revolt of 1857. As Mirza Ghālib declined to accept teaching postition in Delhi College, its English Principal contacted Sahba'i, who agreed and served as professor of Persian for about fifteen years till his death. A bi-lingual poet, he left his *Diwān* of verses and commentaries on a large number of textual classics, which constituted the syllabus of higher education in those days. On the model of Zuhūri, he wrote a prose piece in praise of Bahādur Shāh Zafar: *Rezah-i-Jawahir*. And, of particular importance must be his collection of essays in ornate style: *Bayaz-i-Shauq payām*.

Saiyed Ahmad (d. 1246/1831) belonged to Rai Bareli, Awadh, and was the disciple of Shāh 'Abd ul-'Aziz of Delhi. He gave militant direction to his reformist zeal and struggled in difficult situation to check the moral degeneration of his co-religionists. True to the teachings of Shāh Wali ullah, he turned, first against the Shi'ah community, lashing the mourners of *Muharram* and breaking their *ta'zieh*s. Next, he proceeded to challenge the Sikhs whose persecution of the Muslims in Punjab had aroused widespread resentment. His stormy career came to a tragic end fighting against the army of Ranjit Singh at Balakot. He wrote many small tracts with the object of propagating his message. Mention may be made of *Tanbih ul-Ghafilin*.

Saiyed Muhammad b. Saiyed Ghulām Nabi (d. unknown) was the author of a genealogy of his community, the Saiyeds of Bilgrām. Its double title was: *Nazm ul-La'ali/Subhat ud-Durr wal Yaqūt* (chronogram = 1259 = 1843).

Salām ullah Rāmpuri (d. 1233/1817) belonged to Rampur, North India, and was teacher in the *Madrasah*, situated in his own city. He translated into Persian two of the six great canonical works namely the *Sahih* of Imām Bukhārī (d. 256/869) and the *Shama 'il un-Nabi* of Imām Tirmizī (d. 279/892).

Sana ullah Panipati (d. 1125/1810) served as *qazi* in his home-town, Panipat, situated at a small distance from Delhi, and was *khalifha* = spritual successor, of Mirza Mazhar Jân-i-Janân, the Naqshbandi sufi and poet of the capital. He was the author of many juristic, polemical and sufistic tracts. Noteworthy among them were: 1. *Tazkirat ul-Ma'ad*, 2. *Shihab-i-Saqib*, 3. *Irshad ut-Talibin*, and 4. *Tafsir-Mazhari*.

Sangat Chand (d. unknown) lived in Delhi during the days of Akbar Shah II, one of the later Mughal emperors, who lived at the mercy of the English. Sangat Chand was acknowledged for his scholarship and had friendly relations with the emperor's son, Mirza Jahangir, and many English officers of the East India Company, posted in Delhi. He compiled a collection of letters in ten chapters: *Insha-i-Riyâz ul-Wifaq*, ca. 1204/1789.

Sangin Beg, Mirza (d. unknown) lived in Delhi and had contacts with Charles Metcalfe, the Resident of East India Company at the court of Akbar Shah II. In response to Metcalfe's request, Sangin Beg composed an account of the monuments and inscriptions of the city of Delhi and named it: *Sair ul-Manâzil*, ca. 1241/1825. Understandably, Sangin Beg's work was utilized by Syed Ahmad Khan in composing his work on the sme subject in Urdu, the *Asâr us-Sanâdid*.

Sant Prashad, Munshi (d. unknown) was a literary man of Arrah, district Shahabâd in Bihar, and watched with great interest the literary battle fought by a large number of wits over Ghâlib's *Qatî'-i-Burhan*. He edited a small collection of four fragments. The first piece of poem was addressed by Ghâlib himself to Ahmad 'Ali, the author of *Mu'iyid-i-Burhan*. In reply to the above, there appeared another under the name of Ahmad 'Ali's pupil, Maulawi 'Abd us-Samad Silhati. Ghâlib's two pupils, Saiyed Muhammad Bâqir of Arrah and Khwajah Fakhr ud-Din Husain, brought out one poem each strongly supporting their teacher. Sant Prashad published all of them together as: *Hangamah-i-Dil Ashob*, 1282/1865.

Sarābhai, Munshi (d. unknown) wrote a history of the Gayakwar rulers, a clan of the Marathas, whose seat of power was the city of

Baroda. It narrated events from their rise to power till 1234/1818, and was entitled: *Haqiqat-i-Ahwal-i-Sarkar-i-Gayakwar*.

Sarshār, Puran Chand (d. unknown) belonged to a family of literary men and was himself a popular poet during the time of Shah 'Alam II. His grandfather, Munshi Thuri-Mal Tamkin, possessed expertise in revenue matters and witnessed the reign of Muhammad Shāh. He left a collection of letters and documents casting interesting light on the working of the Mughal government. Sarshār edited the work and named it: *Guldastha-i-Faiz*.

Sarwar, Mir Muhammad Khān, Nawwāb A'zam ud-Dawlah (d. 1250/1834) belonged to a noble family of Delhi and lived there during the days of Akbar Shāh II. He was contemporary of the great poets, Mau'min, Zauq, and Ghālib, and actively participated in the literary gatherings of the capital. Zauq praised Sarwar's *masnawi* entitled *Sab'-i-Sayyarah* in a chronogram = 1236. It was an interesting exercise: a juxtaposition of seven romantic tales versified in seven different metres. His chief contribution was a *tazkirah* of Urdu poets: *Umdah-i-Muntakhabah*.

Shefthah, Nawwāb Mustafa Khān (d. 1286/1869) belonged to the clan of Bangash Afghans and was born in Delhi when the grand old age of the Mughals was about to pass out of history. He held distinguished position among the literary men of the capital. Zauq, Ghālib, Hakim Mu'min Khān and Mufti Azurdah, who were the last luminaries of the brilliant culture, gave fair recognition to his talents. When the fateful Revolt of 1857 erupted, Shefthah, like a dauntless leader, was in the first line of revolutionaries. After its failure, a sentence of death was passed against him and all his ancestral state of Palwal was confiscated by the British. He survived and somehow managed to recover the small estate of Jahangirabad in District Bulandshar. Among the contemporaries, Shefthah was famous for his literary scholarship and critical acumen. He composed verses both in Persian and Urdu using the pen-names Hasrati and Shefthah respectively. His memorable work is a *tazkirah* of *Rekhtah* poets, *Gulshan-i-Be-khar*, completed in 1250/1835. Also, he wrote an account of pilgrimage to the holy cities of Mecca and Medinah *Targib us-Salik ila Ahsan ul-*

Masalik, 1256/1841.

Shibli Nu'mānī (d. 1333/1914) belonged to A'zamgarh, an eastern district of Uttar Pradesh, North India, and was born in a family claiming descent from the Rajput clan, converted many centuries ago. He associated himself with Syed Ahmad Khān in the movement, launched by the great leader, for educational and social awareness of the Indian Muslims. Later on, he founded an independent college at Lucknow, *Nadwat ul- 'Ulama* (1326/1908), where he preferred to retain the traditional pattern of education. His significant contribution to Persian literature was the lengthy and interesting survey of poets, written in Urdu and named: *Shi'r ul- 'Ajam*. Shaikh was a poet and left a *Diwan*.

Sil Chand (d. unknown) was a college student at Agra when he responded to the invitation of the British Collector of the district and wrote a historical account of the city of Agra and its buildings in about 1241/1825. It was entitled: *Tafrih-i- 'Imarat*, or more elaborately *Ahwal-i-Imarat-i-Mustaqrr ul-Khilafah*.

Sirāj ud-Din Shahjahānabādī (d. unknown) belonged to Shāh Jahān's Delhi and was engaged in the profession of medicine. His teachers were Delhi's eminent physicians, particularly, Hakim Zaka ullah Khān, whose book, *Dastūr ul- 'Amal*, he always consulted for guidance. On the pattern of the same work, Sirāj ud-Din prepared his own handbook and named it: *Qanūn-i- 'Ilāj*, ca. 1245/1829.

Sūfi, Ahmad Khān (d. unknown) lived in Akbarabad, Agra, where he was born in 1250/1834. He was the owner of a printing press, one of the earliest in India, known as *Matba' -i-Mufid-i- 'Am*. Also, he composed *masnawi* poems: 1. *Bilqis wa Sulaimān*, based on *Surah* 27 of the *Qur'ān* 2. *Fusūn-i-Babil*, and 3. holy wars during the time of the Prophet: *Jang Namah*.

Sunder Lāl (d. unknown) belonged to the Kayasth, Mathur, community of Kol (Aligarh). He wrote a history of Kol, Mathura, and Brindaban. It was entitled: *Gul-i-be-Khazan* and also *Majmu'ah-i-Faiz* completed in 1241/1825.

Surār, Pit Prashād (d. unknown) belonged to a Kayasth family of Delhi and composed poetry under the pen-name mentioned above. His command over chronograms made him famous among his contemporaries. He wrote a *tazkirah* of poets, *Tazkirah-i-Surār*, ca. 1269/1852.

Taftah, Mirza Har-Gopal (d. 1296/1879) was the favourite pupil of Mirza Ghalib, whom the great poet, being childless himself, adopted as his son. Hence Mirza, the title of Mughal princes and nobles, became part of his name. He belonged to a Kayasth family of Sikanderabad in District Bulandshahr. Taftah survived in literary history chiefly as one of the addressees of his master's remarkable letters in Urdu. He exercised his poetic talents exclusively in Persian and left a *Diwan* of verses.

Tapish, Mirza Agha Jān (d. 1129/1813) was the son of Mirza Yūsuf Beg, an emigrant of soldierly profession from Bukhara, and trained in poetry under the guidance of Delhi's Sufi, Khwajah Mir Dard and the poet Sa'il, Mirza Muhammad Yār Beg. Tapish witnessed political upheavals and experienced many vicissitudes as he served in succession Shāh 'Alam II, Prince Jawān Bakht, and Nawwāb Wazīr 'Alī of Awadh. The authorities of East India Company deposed Wazīr 'Alī within a few months of his accession as they found him unfit for their purpose. He was imprisoned in Fort William, Calcutta, where Tapish was one of his companions. Among the works of Tapish were 1. a dictionary of Hindi words accepted into Persian usage in the Indian environment. *Shams ul-Bayān-i-fī Mustalihat-i-Hindustan*, and 2. a volume of interesting anecdotes, *Bahar-i-Danish*.

Taqi 'Alī (d. 1290/1873) belonged to Kakori near Lucknow. Like his father, Turāb 'Alī, he was also a sufi and Qalandar. He wrote a detailed biography of his father adding account of his spiritual ancestors, the sufis of the Qalandariyah order. It was entitled: *Rauzat ul-Azhar fī Ma'asir al-Qalandar*.

Turāb 'Alī Kakorawi (d. 1275/1858) belonged to a family of sufis. He pronounced himself to be a qalandar, free wanderer, although he lived a settled life at Kakori near Lucknow. His ancestor was the famous scholar and sufi, Nizām ud-Dīn Qārī alias Shaikh Bhikan, who lived in the days of Humayun and Akbar. Turāb 'Alī narrated his account in a book, *Kashf-i-*

Mutawari fi Ahwal-i-Nizām ud-Din Qārī. Also, he wrote a book explaining the ways of the branch of sufis, the qalandars, accustomed to wandering from place to place, and named it: *Usul-i-Maqṣad*, 1226/1811.

Turki Qalandar, Turki ‘Ali Shāh (d. unknown) claimed descent from the great poet, Ferdowsi, and was born at Nūr Mahal, a place near Lahore, where his grandfather, a native of Herat and a soldier in the armies of Nādir Shāh, stayed behind and settled when the invader had gone away. Earlier in life, he was influenced by sufi discipline and seemed to have wandered freely for many years. The Sikh Maharajah of Nabha, Punjab, offered him patronage, and at the Maharajah’s instance, he prepared a Persian version of the *Ramayan* under the title *Farrukh-Nāmāh*. He witnessed the tragedy of 1274/1857, the so-called Mutiny, for, he was living in Delhi at the time and had friendly relations with Ghālib, Sheftah, Sahbā’i, and other literary men of the capital. As the city was pillaged by the English soldiers, he lost precious notes of unfinished books, for which he lamented all his life. In his sixties, he emigrated to Hyderabad, Deccan, and was perfectly healthy after having crossed the age of ninety years, when he wrote the *tazkirah* of poets, personally seen by him, *Mardum-i-Chashm-Didah* containing two hundred thirty entries and completed in 1332/1913.

Upadhyay, Kurji Jadev Mir (d. unknown) was acquainted with the history and antiquity of Cutch in Gujrat. His oral version in Gujrati language concerning past record of Jarejah, the ruling tribe of the region of Cutch, was rendered into Persian at the instance of the British Resident of Cutch in the year *Samwat* 1878/1238/1822. Its title was: *Nasab Nāmāh-i-Jarejah*.

Wājid ‘Ali Khān (d. unknown) belonged to Hyderabad and lived in Poona where he found service under the Maratha chief, Baji Rao. He witnessed the military conflicts of the Marathas with the East India Company and recorded his observations under the title: *Gulshan-i-Jang*, 1233/1818.

Wājid ‘Ali Khān, Hakim (d. unknown) was born at Hoogli, Calcutta, where his father served under an officer of the East India

Company. Earlier, as he said, his ancestors were men of position in Mughal government. Having studied common educational syllabus under the guidance of his own father, Wajid 'Ali left home at the age of sixteen and took to free wandering. He was thirty six years of age when the idea of writing a book of knowledge crossed his mind. In his view, the traditional syllabus had ceased to be relevant and a fresh course of education was required to raise the mental level of young students. He executed the plan of his work in two major portions: 1. *'Ulūm* = sciences, comprising thirty seven chapters, and 2. *Funūn* = arts or jobs of skilled artisans. The four sub-divisions of the latter portion contained altogether seventy six sections or chapters, so to say. Beginning from alphabet, the book encompassed all academic subjects as well as crafts and professions. Its title was *Matla' ul-'Ulūm wa Majma' ul-Funūn*, completed in 1262/1845. Also, there were a few medical treatises among the minor works of Wajid 'Ali Khān.

Waqār ul-Mulk, Saiyed 'Ali Khān Tabrizi or Hijāzi (d. unknown) was posted as Iranian consul in Bombay. He stayed in India for ten years and travelled widely through the length and breadth of the sub-continent. On 24th January 1881, in company of Mr. Edward Stack, he left for Iran. He preserved his observations about India and her people in a monograph entitled: *Jam-i-Jam-i-Hindustān*, ca. 1314/1897.

Yakta, Ahmad 'Ali Khān (d. unknown) lived in the reign of Shāh 'Alam II, and was the author of a scholarly *tazkirah* of Urdu poets *Dastūr ul-Fasahat*, completed in 1249/1833.

Yār Muhammad b. Tāj Muhammad (d. unknown) was a friend and disciple of the Chishtī sufi, Khwajah Muhammad Sulaimān of Tonsa, a town near Dera Ghāzi Khān, Punjab (d. 1267/1850). Yār Muhammad prepared an abridgment of Khwajah Sulaimān's biography, originally written by another disciple, Hāfiz Ahmad Yār. The title of the original was *Manāqib-i-Sulaimāniyah*. Yār Mohammad's abridged version appeared as: *Manāqib-i-Sharīfah*.

Zaka, Khūb Chand (d. 1263/1846) was a learned scholar of Delhi and the disciple of Nāsir Dehlawī. At the instance of his teacher, he composed

a lengthy *tazkirah* of earlier as well as contemporary *Rekhtah* poets, containing about one thousand five hundred entries. Its title was '*Iyār ush-Shu'ara*, ca. 1247/1832.

Ziya ullah, Shāh (d. 1292/1876) called himself Fakhri, that is, the disciple of Shaikh Fakhr ud-Din, a sufi of Delhi, who had a large number of adherents during his life-time. Ziya ullah composed a *Nasab-Namah* or the so-called *Shajarah* = genealogy, of Muslim saints from the Prophet downwards. The sufis attached great importance to *Shajarha* and often repeated it in their pious routine. He named it: *Maktab-i-Ziya'* (chronogram = 1289/1872).

CHAPTER 14

Inversely Proportional Developments (1118/1707 A.H-1274/1857 A.D)

It was a peculiar phenomenon that political disintegration made no adverse effect on the level of human intelligence and creativity in the Indian sub-continent. The impact seemed to be rather reverse. On the one hand the central structure of the empire received shattering blows from invaders and freebooters. On the other hand, society gave abundantly active encouragement to the arts of popular entertainment: music, dance, poetry and all branches of literature. Particularly, literary activities remained impervious to external conditions; although in the course of time prosperity and peace became rare commodities. Drowning personal woes in poetry should have naturally led to the growth of second rate stuff. But that was not the whole truth. There was no dearth of qualitative excellence in literature side by side. People in large number exhibited amazing refinement of taste. Their intellectual attainments justly enabled them to occupy distinguished position in literary history. Briefly, in the period that began with the death of Alamgir Aurangzeb, 1118/1707, and lasted for one and a half century up to the year of Revolt, 1274/1857, precisely, till the day of Bahadur Shah Zafar's exit from his ancestors' residence, the Red Fort of Delhi, deserves our critical notice. From Syed Ahmad Khan onwards, history

changes its course and we enter a new era; the era of awakening, reckonable as the beginning of constructive endeavour in reaction to alien domination.

Judged in its political perspective, the span of time spread over one hundred and fifty years brought utter shame and left a record of most painful memories in India. Moral depravity made the ruling classes absolutely worthless creatures. At last, men like Ja'far of Bengal and Sadiq of the Deccan committed deeds beyond which no limit of ignominy and infamy could be imagined. But, we are concerned here with people belonging to altogether different category. The regular appearance of highly accomplished literary talents in the succeeding generations offered sufficient compensation.

With the loss of temporal authority there was corresponding increase in the fashion of poetry, and also, the appeal of books concerning various fields of knowledge. Let us not forget that out of five great poets of Persian born in the sub-continent, three, namely, Bedil, Ghalib and Iqbal belonged to the later times.

Between Bedil and Ghalib the intervening years abounded in illustrious names representing both, Iranian and indigenous groups. For the sake of confining our quest we must select the samples of just three names from each group:

1. Qizilbash Khan Ummid: came from Isfahan, where he polished his talents under the guidance of Mirza Tahir Wahid. In Delhi he developed friendship with a young nobleman, Mir Qamar ud-din, before the latter emerged into prominence as Nizamul-Mulk Asafjah. Having managed for himself the pompous titles and the governorship of six Deccan / provinces, Mir Qamar ud-din opted out of Delhi politics. Qizilbash Khan accepted his old friend's invitation and marched in his company to Hyderabad. After some time the cities of the Deccan ceased to hold his attention and the longing for Delhi became irresistible. There was a fair reason to come back. For the last two centuries Isfahan and Delhi were the most important centres of civilization in the eastern zone of the Islamic world. Isfahan lingered in memory only; so he would not sever his rela-

tionship with Delhi. His house was the meeting place of the most talented people living in the capital. All his contemporaries acknowledged him as their superior in scholarship and refinement of manners. Some human beings, it is believed, are born with an assigned role during their times. Ummid guided his generation in the realm of literature.

*"Az ghurur-i-husn kamtar nist istighna-i-ishq,
Bim-i- bisyari mara az tust az Ummid ham.
Shawq betabanah zan lah boxa i darkhawst kard.
In gunah bar ma giraft o az karam bakhshid ham."*

2. Walih Daghistani: *"Hamiz qissah-i-shawqam ba intiha nu raxid,
Damid subh waley ba tu guftu baqist."*

Misfortune marked out a few individuals of Iran for the ordeal of sustaining two calamities in succession: the horror of the sack of Isfahan by the Afghans, and again after twenty eight years, the horror of the pillage of Delhi and *Qatl-i-am* = general massacre of its inhabitants by Nadir Shah. Ironically, those were God-fearing individuals well known for their gentlemanly conduct; they were not sinners deserving torments of hell. Rumi, the poet, was driven to exasperation musing over the situations of similar nature: "The ways of God are baffling." *Juz ke hairani nabashad kar-i-Din*. They witnessed both and survived the ordeal. However, sadness and sorrow were not going to part with them during the rest of their lives. To that small band of gifted spirits belonged Walih Daghistani. Their praiseworthy achievement was that they did not allow their personal grief to mingle with their art; and thus, it was intelligently utilized in staking claim for immortality. The study of their poetry reveals that nothing has diminished of the literary charm and colour necessarily required to make it first rate. *Ghazal* dominated the fashion; and they were capable of attaining the same heights of imagination as we usually notice among the classics. In order to pursue the real joy of mind, Walih Daghistani undertook large scale study of poets and meanwhile picked up their best verses. The result was a stupendous *tazkirah*. Let the contemporaries compare their genius with the old masters.

3. Hazin, Shaikh 'Ali: One of the outstanding characteristics of Is-

Islamic civilization was to acknowledge among all arts the superior position of poetry. Rest followed in convenient order. The princes took pride as poets; the aristocracy treated that class with consideration; and society at large accorded an ideal gentleman's honour to the poet. He lived as favourite of the people. However, from time to time unusual instances also took place when his dignity faced serious challenge. Once, Anwari, the *qasidah* writer of Great Suljuqs and proverbially one of the "three prophets of Persian poetry" was made to ride on the back of an ass, the mob mocking with insults and paraded through the streets of the city of Balkh. In utter disgust, Anwari denounced all poets including himself as beggars. During their times the Indian Timurids strived endlessly to restore the prestige of literature. In fact they inaugurated the most propitious age for its promotion. The poets found the luckiest opportunity. They were rewarded with their body-weight of silver. Another feature of the age was that the number of the aristocratic classes, who happily joined the rank of poets, registered great increase. Those who arrived from Iran were professionals as well as aristocrats. Shaikh Ali Hazin belonged to the elitist camp and possessed all the fastidiousness typical of his class. Imagine the plight of such a man selling precious belongings of his house including the books of his library to save his family from starvation. The occasion was the siege of Isfahan by the Afghans. That was not the end of the tragedy; it repeated itself with equal fierceness in Delhi. Hazin went into hiding and passed sleepless nights due to the scare of Nadir. The tyrant knew him personally. These sufferings and disasters seemed to have left serious impact on his mental framework. The first casualty was balanced thinking on literary issues. He developed peculiar indignation regarding sub-continental scholarship. Particularly his judgement about the Persian poetry produced in India was unduly harsh. Sirajuddin Ali Khan Arzu commanded great respect among his Indian contemporaries. Hazin made Khan-i-Arzu the target of his disdain and crossed reasonable limit of decency. That uncharitable and contemptuous attitude proved detrimental to the cause of Persian in the sub-continent. Thanks to Hazin, Indian writers started the process of switching over from Persian to their mother-tongue Urdu, which was fully capable of taking literary shape. However, leaving aside the short comings of inflated ego and morbid disliking of the Indians, Hazin's position among the most important poets of later period could not

be disputed. From the above scrutiny one fact clearly comes out: so long as the sub-continent was a known arena for the manifestation of Persian genius, their mind retained its prestige as a rich store house of philosophysical and aesthetic ideas. Hazin died in Varanasi and the following verses are inscribed on his tombstone:

*Hazin az pa-i-rah paima basey sargashtgi didam,
Sar-i-shoridah bar balin-i-asa'ish rasid inja.
Zaban dan-i-mahabbat buda am digar nami danam,
Hamin danam ke gosh az dost paigham'i shunid inja.*

Now, let us pass on to the three samples from amongst the Indian group of writers :

1. Shah Gulshan Shaikh Sa'd ullah: belonged to the generation of pioneers, who played crucial role in the civilizational progress of the subcontinent. They initiated the building up of a new language, Urdu; and thus, succeeded in making the time span under our notice quite distinct regarding its constructive and creative character. In continuous succession the generations remained active on the scene from Shah Gulshan, the pupil of Mirza Bedil, to Ghalib; rather to the time of Iqbal and his contemporaries. They guided the language from developmental stages, till it attained full-fledged stature, and meanwhile, embellished it with profuse and charming literature. The meeting of Shah Gulshan with Wali Dakani was a turning point. It brought epoch-making change. When Wali came to Delhi from Golconda, the Deccan, and met Shah Gulshan, the Shah counselled the young poet to focus his exclusive attention upon Urdu instead of Persian. Thus, Wali earned distinction as the first urdu poet. Modern researchers gave precedence to the last Qutb Shahi king for collecting his verses into a *Diwan*. Decidedly, serious scholarship allowed credit to Shah Gulshan for causing major shift in cultural scenario. He was a Sufi; and complete renouncement of world being essential condition of the discipline, so he lived the life of ideal piety and poverty in Zinat ul-Masajid, the mosque built by Zinat un-Nisa Begum along the bank of Jamuna.

*Abad az kharabi-i-ma mulk-i-bighamist,
Qufl-i-shikasta-i-dar-i-maikhana aim ma*

Vocal music was his chief excellence next to poetry. All the professional

singers of the Capital, male and female, deemed it a privilege if he condescended to hear their performance by way of encouragement. In their circles he was called Second Amir Khusraw. Just as Hazin received secret messengers from rulers and ex-rulers of the day, bearing their tales of woe and seeking his advice, in the same way all nobles of the empire, whose chief game was mutual intrigue, waited upon Shah Gulshan as seekers of spiritual blessings.

2. Khan-i-Arzu, Siraj ud-din Ali: was the most erudite literary genius living in the subcontinent after Mirza Bedil vacated the stage. His love of learning and great abilities as creative writer made him highly respected personality among the scholarly circles of Delhi. When evil circumstances compelled them to leave the Mughal Capital, Khan-i-Arzu also joined their company and took shelter in Lucknow. The devotion to intellectual pursuits lasted till the end of life. Admittedly, he left perceptible influence over the mind of succeeding generations. All young talents of literature acknowledged him as their guide for inspiration. Hakim Shuhrat, the writer of a *tazkira*, was Arzu's pupil. His rating is noteworthy: "Just as all the *Ulama* are the children Imam Abu Hanifa, similarly all the later poets are the children of Khan-i-Arzu. That was the popular mood during the post-Bedil era before the emergence of Ghalib. Of necessity, he presented himself as a poet; for poetry was the fashion of the day.

Buwad mushkil gar insân muskha-i-jami' badast uftad,

Kunad ta admi paida fulak bisyar migargad

His real merit was intimate acquaintance with the curriculum of knowledge produced by Islamic civilization since the golden age of Baghdad. Luckily, a class of scholars enjoyed uninterrupted existence among the Muslims of the subcontinent, whose mental equipoise the flux of political conditions could never disturb. Their simple living guaranteed easy chance for reading and free discussion. They were the men who safeguarded the cultural standard from deterioration; and that object was realized by them from generation to generation. Deviating from the long tradition observed in the subcontinent, where Persian classics absorbed all attention, Khan-i-Arzu showed equally keen interest in the study of Arabic literature, chiefly, the works of pagan Arab poets. To his credit he left a *Diwan* of Arabic verses. It must be nothing less than a sacred relic to those who still remem-

ber him.

3. Sirāj Aurangabadi: We remember Siraj as a model poet of unique character, who gained immortality due to a single verse of Urdu. Aurangzeb's elimination of Deccan Kingdoms did not interrupt the course of creative activity in the area. The Sufis came out as alert custodians and retained the continuity of cultural standard with a sense of mission. Surprisingly, these holy men of the Deccan initiated a great experiment. They cultivated a rich harvest: the Urdu language. As in the North so in the Deccan, Persian enjoyed the advantage of long tradition. But the generations of anonymous writers devoted consistent attention to introduce change in the popular taste. Needless to say, interaction with common folk was a Sufi's primary object. The whole fraternity pooled their efforts to build up easily intelligible medium of ideas. Siraj Aurangabadi belonged to the crucial period of transition. Muslim society of the subcontinent was developing awareness in favour of Urdu as compared to Persian. It was not difficult for Siraj to ascertain his role. He was a Sufi. Let us not forget, every Sufi happens to be a literary genius; and undoubtedly, for a genius the old and the new literary surroundings do not make a big difference. He is capable of searching out his independent vocabulary in every version. Now the verse:

Chali samt-i-gaib sai woh hawa ke chaman mūrād ka jal gaya,

Magar ek shakh-i- nihāl-i-gham jisē dil kahein woh harī rahi.

Siraj delivers the tidings of consolation. The destiny of human beings both individuals and communities forming civilization, is linked with the health and inner vitality of the soul. The known metaphor of the Sufis for soul is Qalb or Dil. So, let us listen to him: "Hot wind burned the whole orchard. Only one branch is left green. It is the same called Dil." Siraj had unhindered access to the legacy of Sufistic philosophy fashionable in the areas since the days of Khwajah gesu-daraz. Secondly, generations of learned men had been flocking to settle in Aurangabad, the city of Siraj, soon after Alamgir shifted the theatre of his activities from North to the Deccan. These were the contributory factors, which made Siraj one of the leading personalities of the age and enabled him to play major role in the shaping of Indo-Islamic civilization. Muslim society of the subcontinent was inspired by him to pass on from Persian to Urdu and adopt the local

language as the medium of their literature and serious thought. Fate decrees the distinction of building bridges in history to very few people.

From the above references it comes to light that the literary mind of the age was perfectly active and vigorous. The innovative character of the passing generations revealed itself in the birth of Urdu language. Abundant scope lasted to engage the attention of the students of literary history throughout the period. Let us presume, therefore, that decadence in society had not been all pervading. Its evil effects took mainly the ruling classes in firm grip, which in turn led to the loss of political authority. Admittedly, administrative disorder and economic ruin moved hand in hand. In given conditions, misery and misfortune descended upon innocent mankind at short intervals. Nonetheless, literature insistently offered its assurance that healthy soul was inexhaustible reservoir of ideas. The record of cultural achievements left by the descendants of Babur, the so-called Mughals, was as brilliant during the last stages of their existence as it was in the beginning.

The generation of Ghalib, Mufti Azurdah, and Sheftah left parallel tradition of Persian poetry. Only one man was there to retain its glamour. Shibli Nû'mani was endowed with the gift of poetic genius. At the early age, he exhibited mastery over style. His understanding of literary devices was perfect. Nor was the knowledge of poetry's secret charm beyond his reach. Simultaneously, he had received systematic education in the field of Islamic sciences. Customarily, the learned classes, *Ulama* so to say, maintained careful distance from poets and the practice of poetry. The same difficulty came in the way of Shibli. He confined his attention chiefly to religious subjects, scholastic philosophy, and a detailed historical study covering the classics of Iran. Once the *Ulama* accepted him as full-fledged member of their fraternity, reservation became all the more necessary. It must be a burdensome affair for the lover of art to conceal his real identity, particularly, in case of singers and dancers conscious self-restraint does not work at all. Poets may struggle to take shelter under artificial shyness. As regards Shibli, he possessed multi-dimensional personality. Investing attention to a singular field was beyond the nature of such a man. Although he did not compose regularly and freely, literary critics acknowl-

edged his absolute command over the domain of Persian verse. He wrote *ghazal*, the most interesting version of love poetry. Obviously, his *Diwan* of verses is concise. For, he tried his imagination after long gaps and strictly observed the rule of selectiveness. It had its own advantage; every verse translated deep emotional feelings and was capable of conveying most delightful impressions.

Atiya Faizi's presence gave additional significance to the generation of Shibli and Iqbal. She symbolized the awakening of Muslim womanhood. Her European education made her a dynamic personality of the age. The cultural uplift of the women of her community was Atiya's declared mission. Once, in a meeting of student's union at Aligarh Muslim University she pushed away the curtain. A group of like-minded girls, already convinced by Atiya, came out in her company and occupied the front benches in full view of the audience. It was an event in the history of Aligarh. Voices were raised to praise as well as denounce her. Nobody, however, denied the fact that she was the messenger of advanced ideas. Both Shibli and Iqbal were impressed by Atiya's noble aspirations and watched her activities with keen interest. The series of letters addressed by them, ofcourse in Urdu and English, clearly established the literary dignity and importance Atiya commanded in their reckoning.

Shibli raised Persian poetry to the highest point of popularity, thanks to his *She'ru'l-'Ajam*. But, it had not reached the highest point of creative excellence. The final task was to be accomplished by Iqbal.

This closing chapter of the book has been attempted by way of rejoinder. So, it has to be deliberately brief. Small rejoinders are necessary as they refresh the readers from tiredness after finishing the lengthy study.

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